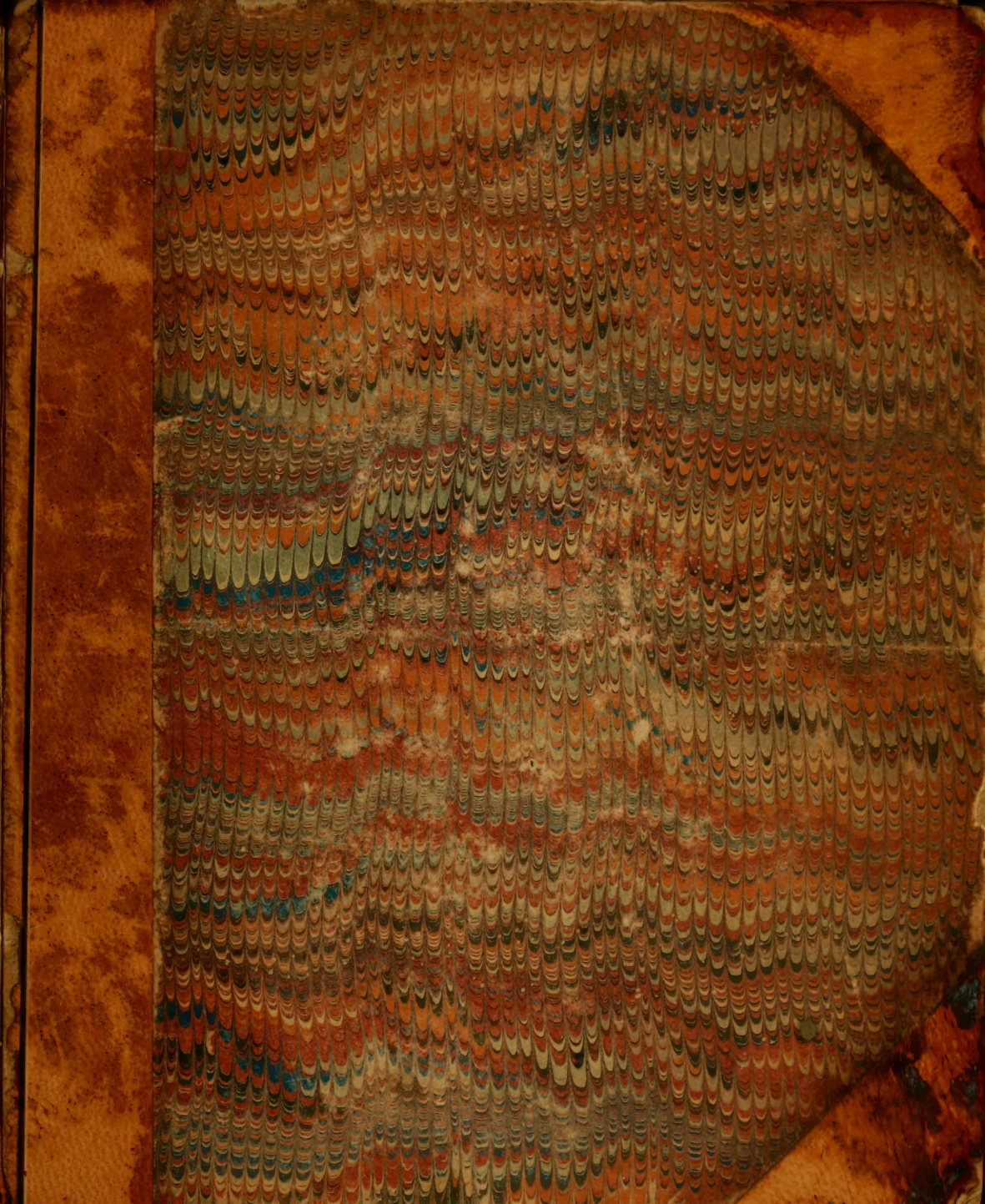

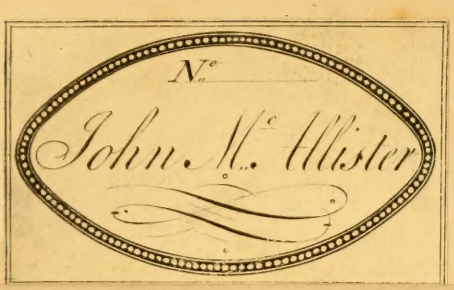

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AN HISTORICAL ESSAY Upon the LOYALTY Of PRESBYTERIANS

In *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* from the Reformation to this Present Year 1713.

WHEREIN

Their steady Adherence to the *Protestant Interest*, our happy *Civil Constitution*, the *Succession* of *Protestant Princes*, the just *Prerogatives* of the *CROWN*, and the *Liberties* of the *People* is demonstrated from Public *Records*, the best Approv'd *Histories*, the Confession of their *Adversaries*, and divers Valuable *Original Papers* well attested, and never before Published. And an *ANSWER* given to the Calumnies of their Accusers, and particularly to two late Pamphlets *viz.* 1. *A Sample of true Blue Presbyterian Loyalty* &c. 2. *The Conduct of the Dissenters in* Ireland &c.

By James Kirkpatrick of Belfast.

In Three Parts.

With a *PREFATORY ADDRESS* to all her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, of all Persuasions, in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, against the *Pretender*, on behalf of the *PROTESTANT* Religion, the *QUEEN*, the House of *HANOVER*, and our *LIBERTIES*.

Printed in the Year MDCCXIII.

PROPERTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A

PREFATORY ADDRESS

To all her Majesty's Protestant Subjects of all Persuasions, in Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *against the* Pretender, *on behalf of the Protestant Religion, the* Queen, *the House of* Hanover, *and our Liberties.*

THE *Flaming Divisions of Protestants have no where been a greater scandal to Religion, nor more dangerous to the Civil Liberties of any Nation in the World, than amongst us in* Great-Britain *and* Ireland: *All* Europe *knows it, and all the Contending Parties Confess it. And yet alas! the fatal Disease continues: This makes us appear to the sober thinking Part of Mankind, as if we had a mind to dispute our selves out of our Religion and our Liberties, as if we scorn'd our Deliverance, and courted our Ruin, while Unity amongst our selves (the chief, if not the only means under God, of saving us)* instead of Meeting *with a due Regard, is treated with Insolence and Contempt: And* Moderation *and* Moderate *Men loudly Decry'd, and Ridicul'd both from* Press *and* Pulpit; *And now we are brought to that Pass, that these who won'd cure our Divisions,* can't; *and they who* can, won't.

If we search into the unhappy Causes of these continu'd Divisions, we'll find 'em all Reducible to Two *General Heads.* 1. *The different Sentiments that are amongst Protestants, about* Church-Government, Liturgies and human Ceremonies *in* Divine *Worship, and about the Terms both of* Ministerial, *and* Private Christian *Communion with respect to* these *Things.* 2. *Their not Exerting themselves according to the Common Principles of the Protestant Religion, wherein they are all agreed, and the true Interest of* British *Subjects. As to the first, 'tis neither the Design of this* Book *nor of this* Address, *to touch the Merits of*

the

the Cause, or to enter upon the Controversies that are Agitated amongst British *Protestants upon these Heads. But the* second *Cause is what I am resolv'd to lay open, and to offer my humble Advice for the speedy and effectual Cure of it. And I am confident that all Pious and Good Protestants will find from Experience, that wou'd we all do what the Common Principles of the Protestant Religion we are agreed in oblige us to do, our differences about the debated Points wou'd either insensibly dwindle away, and be Compromis'd; or, if continu'd, wou'd be Manag'd with that Charity and Meekness that wou'd allay our Heats, and prove the Glorious Harbinger of the Peace of* Jerusalem, *as well as a strong Pillar for the support of our happy* Civil Constitution. *While any Protestant,* Episcopal, Presbyterian, *or* Independent *stands Musing with himself what can be the reason why all the Desires and Endeavors of good Men for the Union of Protestants have met with no better Success; it wou'd very well become him, to make an Enquiry whether Protestants of* all Denominations *have not provok'd an Holy God to permit a Spirit of Discord to rage amongst 'em, as a punishment for their not Practising the Matters they are agreed in, which are the* Substantials *and* Vitals *of Religion. It is certain, that the shining Beauties of true Holiness are Attractive of the Love and Reverence of all good Men, it Unites their Affections, and links 'em into a Harmony of Measures.*

Brotherly Love *and* Meekness, *the Essential Ingredients of true Religion, have so much of the Temper of Heaven in 'em, that they wou'd soon make us all easy. Charity wou'd put the* best Construction *upon the Principles and Practices of one another. It wou'd not strain Consequences, nor infuse groundless Jealousies, nor wilfully misrepresent* Matters *of* Fact, *nor use bitter Scurrilous Expressions, to alienate the Affections of Protestants and keep 'em at a distance from one another. It wou'd cover and forgive* real *Faults instead of Raking into* Imaginary *ones. It wou'd make all good Men Honor Men of worth and real Goodness, tho' of a different Persuasion from themselves, much more than the* Debauchees *of their own Persuasion. A Charitable Churchman wou'd esteem a pious Presbyterian much more than a Profligate Wretch of his own Communion, who thinks to recommend himself by* Cursing, Swearing, Drinking *and* Mobbing for the Church; *and so wou'd a Charitable Presbyterian have a real value for the Image of God in a Churchman, and despise a Prophane Presbyterian, let him profess what Zeal he pleases for Presbytery to the highest Degree. This wou'd make Men Impartial in their Judging of Principles and Persuasions, and not load a Community with Reproaches upon the Account of the Faults of some* Knaves *and* Fools *which belong to it. In a Word, it wou'd make us all abandon every base* Party-Interest; *it wou'd cure* Bigotry *on all sides, and keep Men from running Matters to* Extremes. *And as the Angels re-*

rejoyce over one sinner that repenteth, whether he hath obtain'd that Repentance by the Gospel Preach'd in a Parish-Church *or a* Meeting House; *So wou'd this Heavenly Quality of Love to God and the Souls of Men, make us all rejoyce in the real Good that is done or got by any of* another *Persuasion, and renounce and bewail the sin and folly of any of* our own.

This Holy Religion which all of us profess, and which teacheth us all these Divine Lessons I have been mentioning, ought to be inviolably maintain'd, by uniting *our* best Interests *and Endeavors against the Common Enemy. It can't be unknown to discerning Protestants, that since our Happy Reformation from Popery,* Hell *and* Rome *have been at Work, always by* secret fraud, *and some times by* open Violence, *to reintroduce into these Nations the Tyranny, Idolatry, Heresy and other abominable* Superstitions *of the* Roman Antichrist, *& that for compassing their Accursed End they have always employ'd their* Engines *of* Division *for destroying our Happy* Civil Constitution, *and embroiling the* State. *They have endeavor'd to debauch our* Morals *and destroy our* Liberties, *that by being made* Atheists, *and* Slaves, *we may be made* Papists *or* any *thing. For he that can renounce his God and his Country, will stick at nothing; for he has nothing left him that's worth keeping.*

The great hopes of that wicked Party have been still rais'd by the Expectations of a Popish *Prince upon the Throne. What encourag'd the* Popish Plot *in King* Charles 2's *Reign, but the hopes of a* Popish Successor? *And they could never hope for Success, but by blinding the Eyes of Protestants, and making 'em* Tools *to promote their Interest. The Noble Patriots of that Reign us'd their utmost Interest for Carrying the* Bill of Exclusion; *and yet Protestant Hands must throw it out to the* Dishonor *of Religion, and the* Enslaving *these Nations. But Almighty God who sent us the Great King* William *and the late* Glorious Revolution, *to convince us of the Obstinacy and Folly of these who had given Occasion for it, hath blest the Crown and Kingdoms with a* Train *of Successive Glories; one of the* greatest *whereof is, a perpetual Law of* Exclusion of all Popish Princes *from the Throne; and our* Noble Legislature *have settled the Succession in the* Illustrious Protestant House of Hanover; *in whose Interest our* Religion, *Her Majesty's Happy* Government *over us, and our Civil* Liberties *are deeply embark'd; and without which they can't in all human Probability, be preserved. And therefore our Common Principles as Protestants and Loyal Subjects lay us under the most* solemn *and* Indispensable *Obligations, to maintain it, and to oppose the Popish Pretender.*

Tho' we be so unhappy, as not to agree in our Religious Sentiments about the Establish'd *Terms of Church-Communion, yet this is a Noble* Center *of* Union,

for

for us all to join in as one man *in defending the* Reform'd Religion, *the* Queen, *the* Hanover-Succession, *and our* Country, *against the* Pretender *and his* Abettors. *Our greatest danger is from the* Protestant Jacobites *the* Monsters *of our Age, and those who are blindly led into their Measures. And therefore let us all unite against them, and practise the Advice given us by our late Glorious Deliverer in his last Speech to his Parliament;* ' *Let me Conjure you* (says he) *to* ' *Disappoint the only hopes of our Enemies by your* Unanimity. *I have shown and* ' *will always shew, how Desirous I am to be the COMMON FATHER of all my* ' *People. Do you in like manner lay aside Parties and Divisions. Let there be* ' no other Distinction *heard of among us for the future; but of those who are* ' *for the* Protestant Religion, *and the* present Establishment; *and of those who* ' *mean a* Popish *Prince, and a* French-Government.

It is near Forty Years since England *has been struggling for a* Bill of Exclusion, *and it cou'd not be obtain'd until we were all ready to be devour'd by* Popery *and* Slavery, *and until our Gracious God sav'd us by a* Revolution, *which was next to a* Miracle; *and thus he taught us as* Gideon *taught the Men of* Succoth *by* Briars *and* Thorns; *may his Infinite Mercy prevent the Necessity of a second instruction of that kind. Shall we be such an Ungrateful Generation both to God and Man, as to reject our Mercy and* Freedom, *and prefer our old Chains to our Valuable Liberties! For God's sake, let us not follow the Wicked Example of the murmuring* Israelites, *who were for returning to the* Egyptian Bondage, *after God had delivered 'em from it, and brought them thro' the* Red Sea. *Can Infatuation it self do worse, than to throw up at once all the Religion we have gain'd since the* Reformation, *and all the* Privileges *we ever had since we were a People? Or, shall we be so vain and Credulous, as to believe that the* Pretender, *who if he comes to the Crown, must come fraught with all the Vengeance that Enrag'd Resentments of his suppos'd* Father's *being unjustly Dethron'd and himself injur'd can supply, will ever protect the Religion and Liberty, which he has been taught from his Infancy to destroy? Shall we be so Demented, as to think that the Model of a* French *Government, and the Doctrines of the* Popish Religion *will ever suite the Complection of a* British *Protestant? Or, can any man of Sense believe, that the* Ridiculous Report *of the* Pretender's *turning Protestant has any* Reality *in it; our Adversaries are so sensible of the strength of the Protestant Interest in these Nations, that they dare not attempt to obtrude the* Pretender *upon us, but under a* Protestant mask: *But the accurs'd Dissimulation of the* Pope *and* Jesuites, *and their* dispensing *with* Oaths *and* all that's Sacred *to serve a Turn, has made 'em too Infamous, to gain Credit to such a Forgery, as the* Pretender's *being Protestant.*

Let any wise Man consider his Education *in a* Court *which hath destroy'd one of the* famousest Protestant *Churches in the World, aim'd at the Ruin of* all *the rest, and who wou'd never have Maintain'd him unless they had been assur'd of his being a true Son of the Church of* Rome; *in which his Interest has been so great very lately, as to procure the Promotion of a* French Abbot *to a* Cardinal's Cap. *And he has never shown the least disregard to what the* French *Court Authoriz'd to be Publish'd as his Father's Dying Advice to him, viz.* That he shou'd never change his Religion, and always look on the French King as his Father. *When he attempted to invade* Scotland *Anno* 1708. *he did not so much as pretend to be a Protestant. And during the whole War, while he had any hopes of a* French *Power to force him upon us, never allow'd his Friends once to suggest his Change in Religion. But now when there seems to be* no hope *left him, but by* Dissembling *a Change, nor no other way to* blind *the People and put an Argument into the Protestant* Jacobites *Mouth, he's,* all of a sudden, given out for a Protestant. *Did not his* Pretended Father *for some years, while Duke of* York *call himself a Protestant, yet no man in* England *doubts of his having been at that very time as much a Papist as he was in the moment of his* Abdication; *but he put on a* Protestant Mask, *to deceive the People, until he had ripen'd matters, by procuring the* severe Persecution *of the* Protestant Dissenters, *the Disgrace of all* Moderate Churchmen, *and the exalting of all men of* Arbitrary Principles, *and doing everything which the then Court gave out for an advancement of the Glory and Grandeur of the* Church *of* England; *by which they meant only a* Party, *rais'd to ruin their fellow-Protestants, and by that means to make way for the next Bloody* Popish Scene *that was to be open'd. Let any man compare all this with the* familiar *Arts and Impudent* Forgeries *of the Church of* Rome, *and try if he can reconcile himself to the report of the* Pretender's *turning Protestant.*

And yet this gross Artifice *is pursu'd with such Impudence by some of the* Jacobites, *as they stop not to insinuate their hopes of bringing in their* Popish Master, *under the Notion of a* New Convert, *by the* Legislature, *and in* form *of* Law: *This they suggest to weaken and discourage the Friends of the* Hanover-Succession. *But this can't go down with any, but with those who have a mind to asperse our* Noble Legislature *as a Company of worthless Abject Slaves, as men abandon'd to all that's* Sacred, *and Dear to them and us as* Men *and* Christians.

There is not one Member of Parliament that can sit or vote in either House, until he has first Abjur'd *the* Pretender *and* Sworn *to maintain, to the utmost of his Power, the* Hanover-Succession. *And is it possible to imagine that the Peers and Commons of* Great-Britain *shou'd render themselves so Infamous to the whole world, & fix such an indelible stain of Perjury upon themselves to all posterity? Shall a Rogue be pillory'd and Cropt for false swearing, when he aims but at the Estate and*

Life of one Subject; and shall the Parliament *of* Great-Britain, *the most* August *and* Honorable Senate *in the whole World, at once perjure and destroy themselves, and ruin the Crown & Subject & Religion the Honor of both? The* Legislature *were it possible for 'em to arrive at that Monstrous degree of Wickedness, are too wise to do a thing which all good Protestants must look upon as a* Nullity *in it self, as being founded in* Perjury, *and the* vilest *of* Crimes.

They know that tho' a Jacobite's *Conscience be preparing a Solution for our* Oaths *against the* Pretender, *it is not possible for all the* Jesuitical Quibblers *to advance any thing that's Tolerably Plausible. 'Tis true, 'tis more than whisper'd, that our Oaths oblige us only to maintain the* Hanover-Succession, *while it continues to be settled by Act of Parliament, but if the Legislature shou'd alter the* Succession *that our Oaths determine, & are no farther Obligatory. The Weakness of this* Unconscionable Divinity *will appear, if we consider, that besides that God has a Right by our Oaths to our utmost Endeavours to perform the thing we have vowed to him, which Right no human Law can supersede; besides this, (I say) the Legislature have no power to alter the Succession: not only because they have* sworn *and must swear before they can act any thing, that they will* never alter it *(having sworn to maintain it to the utmost of their Power, to which nothing can be a more direct Contradiction than the altering it) and therefore* altering *it being an Act of* Perjury, *is a* Nullity *in it self. And no Christian can have the face as to say, that the* Perjury *of* one *Man or of the* whole Legislature *can excuse the* Perjury *of* another.

They have Abjur'd *the* Pretender *without leaving any Room for receiving him, let his Profession of the Protestant Religion be what it will. For they have sworn to* maintain, defend and support the Succession as the same stands limited *&c.* to the Princess Sophia and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants; and *therefore let the* Pretender *call himself what he will, we must stand by the House of* Hanover, *or be Perjur'd. The Law settling the Succession in that Illustrious Family, hath provided, that if any of them shou'd turn* Papist *or* Marry a Papist, He *or* She *so doing shall lose their Right for ever to the* Crown, *and the next* Protestant Heir *shall succeed as if He or She were dead; from whence it is plain, that there is* no Room left *for receiving such a Person again upon his* turning Protestant, *for he is looked upon as* dead, *and the* next Heir *has as sure a* Title *as if he were* dead. *Our Laws are so careful for preventing a* Popish Successor, *and for securing the Crown to Persons, whom the Nations may have no just Cause to* suspect *of* Popery, *that they render* Papists uncapable for ever of inheriting the Crown, *and when a* Protestant *Prince, only for his Marrying a Papist shall* lose the Crown, *tho he ever was and continues to be a Protestant, and is yet* disabled *from* Succeeding; *and all for fear of* Popery *and* Popish Councils *shall any Protestant of Common Sense think it safe for us to receive the* Pretender, *whose being a* Bigoted Papist *all his days,* Educated *in Principles Destructive*

to our Religion and Liberties makes him much more dangerous to us (let him profess what he will) *than a Protestant who only* Marries *a* Papist, *and continues a* Protestant *himself*; *who yet stands excluded by our Laws: and seeing the* Abjuration-Oath *was impos'd for securing the Government and Nations against all those Evils, 'tis reasonable from the Intention of the Imposers and the Nature of the thing, as well as from the express Words of it, to interpret it in the* utmost Latitude *possible against ever paying Allegiance to the* Pretender *upon any* Pretence whatsoever.

And we ought farther to observe, that the Hanover-Succession *is not a* meer Act *of the* Legislature, *but an* Indissoluble Covenant: *for it is one of the Articles of the* Union *of* Great-Britain *by a Positive Covenant between the two* British *Nations, upon which they became* one: *and the* Parliament *of* Great-Britain *must first have a Power to destroy themselves and the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, before they have any Power to alter the* Succession; *which is now become a Covenant with the* Dutch, *who are* Guarantees *of the Succession: and whose Interest can* never allow *'em to consent to the* Alteration *of it.*

From all these Reasons it is plain, the Hanover-Succession *is an* Unalterable Fundamental *Constitution of these Kingdoms, by our Obligations to God, and the World, the Reformed Religion, the Liberties of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *and even of all* Europe. *We have therefore one of the* best *of* Causes *to assert, the firmest human Laws that can be devis'd to support it, & our Gracious Queen at the* Head *of 'em, all the* Protestant *Churches in the* World *on our side, and none but* Papists, *and some* Distracted *People who* call *themselves* Protestants, *against it; whose part no Protestant can take but at the* Expence *of his* Conscience, *Honor and* Interest.

Let us then contend for it as for OUR ALL, *Let us not render one another Uncapable of Defending the Common-Cause, or resisting the Common Enemy; let us not* persecute *or* disgrace *one another, when our* United strength *is all little enough against these who wou'd rejoyce in nothing more than in* widening *our Breaches large enough for letting in the* Pretender, *to ruin us all; and because, as matters are stated, the Church of* England *is the only Party that have Power enough to Oppress the Presbyterians, therefore the* Papists *and* Jacobites *are at work to push 'em on to* Persecution, *a thing so Opposite to the Nature of the Protestant Religion, and declar'd by the Church of* England *to be against her Constitution. And yet some* Unwary Bigots (*not considering whose Cause they manage*) *are Industrious to Misrepresent the Presbyterians in* Great-Britain *and* Ireland *as men of* Disloyal Principles *and* Practises, *as* Jacobites *and* Incendaries; *the utmost*

Charity that is due to those who are guilty of reproaching them, is, that this proceeds from a blind Zeal *against 'em, which makes 'em take every thing upon Trust, that is said against a* Presbyterian. *But I must observe, that a Man can't do more Effectual Service to the* Pretender, *than to create a Jealousy between the Church of* England *and Presbyterians, and to make the World believe the* Latter *to be* Jacobites. *For, if the Church of* England *believe the Presbyterians to be* Jacobites, *pray what heart will the honest* Hanoverian *Church men have, when they conclude that all the* Papists, *the Presbyterians, and a part of the* Episcopal *Church (which every body owns) are for the* Pretender? *Won't this exceedingly discourage* Hanover *and his Friends? and indeed, were it true, it were to be fear'd the* Pretender *wou'd not long delay paying us a visit. And the Design I had in Composing the following Book, is to shew the* Ridiculousness *and* Madness *of those who serve the Interest of the* Pretender *by Aspersing the Presbyterians with Disloyalty. Their* Keenest Adversaries *can't find an handle to go upon, but by reproaching them in the first place: for, if they be supposed to be Loyal Subjects, all Protestants wou'd call it* Persecution *to* molest *them; and therefore seeing they can't persecute 'em without* pretending *'em guilty of* Disloyalty, *every one must see, that reproaching 'em is a step towards their Persecution. And seeing there is not any Party of Protestants within Her Majesty's Dominions that are more united in their* Zeal against *the* Pretender *and for the* Hanover-Succession *than they, and that all Men must own 'em to be a very Considerable Body, it's humbly submitted to all Protestants, whether the persecuting, disabling and disheartning of such a* Loyal People *be not* one *of the most* Effectual ways *to ruin the Protestant* Religion *and* Succession. *I beg the* Reader *may seriously consider what I have offered upon the Methods and Severities of K.* Charles 2*d's Reign against the* Protestant Dissenters, *where I have prov'd, from the* Votes and Addresses *of* Parliaments, *the* Speeches and Authority *of the* Greatest Patriots *in* England, *and of the Communion of the Church too, that all these Severities were contriv'd and executed either by* Profest Papists *or their* Protestant Tools, *to serve the* Popish Interest, *advance the* Popish plot, *and bring a* Papist *to the Crown. And therefore I beg, that when the* Protestant Jacobite *wou'd just play the* same Game over again, *and by the* same Means, *that we may grow wise from Experience, and shew that the Friends of the* Queen *and* Hanover Family *shall* ALL STICK TOGETHER.

And for the Encouragement of all honest Gentlemen of the Churches of England *and* Ireland, *to join hands with the Presbyterians, and to confide in 'em, I have in the following Book shown the* Loyalty *both of their* Principles *and* Practices; *wherein I have not propos'd to my self to serve any* Party-Interest, *but to prevent*

and

and remove the Jealousies, which if entertained, may be Fatal *to all* true Protestants, *and hinder them from uniting against the Common Enemy. I have sincerely designed to promote her Majesty's Interest, and the Preservation of the* Protestant-Succession *in the illustrious House of* Hanover, *by showing that the* Presbyterians *may be* depended upon *as Cordial Friends to* both. *And I am Confident all honest Men of the Churches of* England *and* Ireland *will rejoyce in it; and therefore I persuade my self that no* wellaffected *Protestant* of any *Persuasion, will be offended at my undertaking to prove that our* Common-Interest *hath more friends to stand by it, than* some People *wou'd allow off.*

And I thought this Design cou'd not be so well obtained unless I shou'd look back into the Behaviour *of Presbyterians in* former *Reigns, and compare the whole with the* Loyalty *of their* Principles, *and ANSWER the most Considerable Calumnies that have been raised against 'em: And this hath obliged me to Intermix with this* Historical Essay *several very Material* Points *of the* Civil History *of these Kingdoms, which were necessary for setting my* Subject *in a clear Light.*

And I have been so far from Partiality in my inquiries, that tho most Considerable Defences I have made for the Loyalty of Presbyterians are grounded upon such Vouchers as were Profest Members of the Church of England, *and who were Zealous Patrons both of her Government and Worship, as the Reader will find, when he comes to peruse the Book it self. And where I have adduced any of thier own* Manuscripts, *or built upon* their own Authority, *I have demonstrated the Credit of my Vouchers by such Arguments as are sufficient to induce the belief of all* Unbiass'd *Judges. Where I set forth and explain their Principles, 'twas absolutely necessary to have Recourse to their* Confessions *of* Faith, *the public* Declarations *and* Actings *of their Ministers and Elders, consider'd as a* Society *and* Body, *acting in Name of the whole. For every Party must be allow'd to know their own Principles best, and no* Principle *ought to be father'd upon them, but what they have own'd and espoused by some thing that may be justly called the act and Deed of the whole Body. And therefore shou'd the Reader find any Mistakes in what I have asserted of them in this Book, these ought not to be imputed to the whole, but to my self; who, tho I write in their Defence, yet write not in* their Name, *except in these Passages which are quoted from their public* Confessions, Addresses, Apologies, *and such like* Authentic instruments *declaring their* Common Sentiments, *whereof I am only the* Transcriber *and not the* Author.

While I *was laying the* Scheme *of my* answer *to the Calumnies of their Adversaries, having perused several of the Uncharitable Libels publish'd both in former Reigns,*

and since the late Happy Revolution 1688. I *met with* two Pamphlets *that furnished me with a* Collection *and an* abridgment *of the most material of them all, with* additional *Accusations to anything that had formerly appeared in* print *against them; and therefore I have refuted these* two Pamphlets *in* particular, *as they came to be consider'd in the Method of my* History; *The first of them is entitul'd* a Sample of True Blew Presbyterian Loyalty in all Charges and Turns of Government, *and was publish'd* Anno 1709. *The second is Entitul'd,* The Conduct of the Dissenters of *Ireland* with respect both to Church and State, *and was publish'd,* Anno 1712. *They are both done by* one Author; *in both of 'em the Author does either wretchedly misrepresent the Principles and Practices of Presbyterians, or draw false Consequences from them; and the* Genius *of both his papers (which are contain'd in* two Letters *to his Friend) breaths of either the* one *or* 'tother *of these* Errors; *of which they are so entirely made up, that he has scarce a* Paragraph *that's free of them, or that he does not improve by the Assistance of some of them, as an* handle *of* Calumny *against an* harmless, Loyal *and* Peaceable *Body of her Majesty's good Protestant Subjects. His stile is bitter and Virulent, raised by the* Warmth of Imagination, *and stuff'd with Multitudes of* Uncharitable, Satyrical, *and* Groundless Insinuations. *I have endeavor'd to consider* calmly *and* Patiently *what he hath advanced in* heat *and* haste.

My Design obliging me to take a much larger Compass, than a bare answer *to his Papers, I have mix'd my* answer *to him with the Body of this* Historical-Essay, *and contriv'd the whole so as to enlighten the* main Subject *I had in view; and tho' I shou'd think it a* Peculiar Advantage *to my Book, that my* Reader *won'd be at the Pains of Comparing both* his *and* mine *together, yet I have made my Answer so clear, as my Readers that can't easily get his Papers into their hands will find the whole Subject laid before 'em; and his Objections farther* Illustrated *and more* fully urg'd *in divers places, than* what he has done himself; *for my design in meddling with his Papers being (as I observ'd before) to consider 'em as an Abridgment of the most material Calumnies that had been publish'd against Presbyterians, I have not only fairly repeated 'em, but supply'd out of* other Authors *what seem'd to be wanting in* him, *and obviated what Cavils he may be suppos'd to make against my Reply.*

After I had prepar'd my Book *for the Press, I met with an Answer to the first of his Pamphlets, viz.* A Sample of True Blew Presbyterian Loyalty, *printed this Year at* Glasgow; *wherein there are many Valuable* Memoirs, *well-improv'd, which are* more than an answer *to that Pamphlet, and yet the nature of my subject made it necessary to* answer *both his Pamphlets notwithstanding. For his* second Letter *refers in many Particulars to his* first, *and is built upon the mi-*

mistakes contain'd in it: and therefore my answer *to the* second *had been* Incomplete *and not* Intelligible, *unless I had answer'd the* first *too; and tho' the* first *has been more than answer'd by another hand, yet that* Answer, *and this* Book *may not happen to get into the same hands; and if they shou'd, there is such a variety of matter in 'em, as* neither *of 'em makes the* other *useless and Needless.*

The Second *and* Third *Part of the* Conduct of Dissenters *consists of particular pretended Facts, which the Author does not reduce to any one Period or Reign: and therefore I have been oblig'd to consider them distinctly, in the* third part *of this Book. And the Reader will perhaps censure me for taking any notice of such of these* pretended Facts, *as he will be fully satisfy'd upon Perusal of this Book, to be but* Trivial. *But the reason why I did it, was, to shew the strain that the Accusers of the Loyalty of Presbyterians go upon: they muster up every* little story *they can catch at, and pick up all the* private Chat *they can find over a* Bottle of Wine, *or at a* Tea-Table, *and run straight to the* Press *with it, where they represent it in* wrong Colours: *And there can't be a stronger Argument of the Loyalty of Presbyterians, than the Weakness of these* trifling *Objections, which are made against it. For had their Adversaries any thing that's material to offer, they wou'd not insist on these* little things, *which being the* Tattle *of* tale-bearers, *are but very* indifferent Vouchers *for an Historian; tho' good enough to fill up a* Libel, *or garnish a* Satyr. *And where I met with 'em in his* Letters, *I have endeavor'd to refute 'em both* shortly *and* sufficiently, *and then to proceed to some Material Piece of History, that may be more entertaining to my Reader.*

I find different Copies *of the* Conduct of the Dissenters *pag'd in a different manner, some of 'em beginning at* page 35. (*as I suppose because his* first Pamphlet *ended there*) *others beginning at* page 1. *I have followed the* latter *in my Quotations; of which it was necessary to give the Reader this* Advertisement, *lest he shou'd fall upon one of the* Copies *that is otherwise* pag'd.

I shan't detain the Reader with any farther Account of the Method of this Book, of which the Contents *will give him a view at once. And the* Alphabetical Table *at the Close will direct him to the* Principal Points *in this* Treatise. *All I shall add is, that I earnestly desire the Reader may peruse it carefully with the same regard to* Truth *and* Charity *that I had in composing it, and with that Glorious End of* Uniting *all Protestants in Zeal for the* Reformed Religion, Loyalty *to our most* Gracious Sovereign *the* Queen, *and hearty Concern for the Succession in the Illustrious House of* Hanover, *and for* extinguishing and utterly defeating the hopes of the *Pretender* and all his *Abettors.*

The

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ERRATA.

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PART FIRST.

The Loyalty of *Presbyterian* Principles in all *Reigns* Stated and Argu'd: and the Loyalty of Presbyterian Practices in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. Vindicated.

CHAP. I.

The Loyalty of Presbyterian Principles

IT has been the Ancient practice of a certain Sort of men, to braud the best of people and their most *laudable Designs* with the odious Characters of *Disloyalty*, *Rebellion*, and *Faction*; that they might run 'em down at once with the blows of Civil Authority, and draw upon 'em the Vengeance of Secular powers. With this *mighty Engine* did those go to work, who wrote to *Artaxerxes* against building of the House of God, & the City of *Jerusalem*. They recommend him to the *Records* of his *Fathers* as their Authentic Vouchers: *so shall thou find* (say they *Ezra* 4. 15.) *in the*

Part. I. *book of the Records, and know that this City is a rebellious City, & hurtful unto Kings and Provinces, and that they have mov'd Seditions within the same of old time, for which Cause was this City destroy'd.*

Our blessed Saviour was traduc'd and persecuted as an Enemy to *Cæsar*. And his holy Apostles as *turning the World upside down*, And *doing contrary to the Decrees of Cæsar*, Acts 17. 6, 7. Our Glorious Reformers, who (under God) rescu'd Religion from Idolatry, Tirannv and the other Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, mett with the same Fate. From all which 'tis easy to determine whether those men be true friends to Magistracy who by their bold and scandalous Libels do promote Jealousies and misunderstandings between the *Magistrate* and *Subject*, and thereby endeavour to subvert the very fundamentals of lawful Authority, while they try to bend the *Straight Scepter* of Government into a *crooked Rod* of Tyranny and Oppression.

They degrade the *Higher Powers* from their Throne of Impartial Justice; and wou'd paum upon 'em the little *Sneaking* office of revenging their private quarrels, to the ruine of the public.

Whether the Author of the Pamphlets I am now answering, deserves any part of the above Censure, *I* leave to all impartial men to Judge.

Each of his Performances is one continued bitter Invective against *Presbyterians*, *as Disloyal*, *Rebellious*, *Seditious*, &c. And what he advanceth to support these Scurrilous Reflections is either false in it self, or altogether inconsequential and Sophistical.

And therefore no body can blame these he so falsly accuseth, if they express a Just Resentment of these Intolerable abuses put upon 'em by this Author; especially, seeing the Consequences of those things concern no less than their Lives, Fortunes and Reputations, beside the many Evil consequences to the Public.

The Author's profess'd design in his first Letter is to refute the prevailing Opinion he mentions *p.* 3. *viz.* *That the Presbyterian Dissenters of Ireland have ever been, in all Revolutions, most Loyal Subjects to the Crown:* The *Presbyterian* Ministers in the North of *Ireland* do assert it (as he observes) in their Address to the Queen *Feb:* 1708; The Author of the *Parallel* do's likewise maintain it, but is far from *giving up the point Entirely in Relation to the Presbyterians of England and Scotland*, as our Author alledgeth.

I can't find the leaſt Inſinuation to that Purpoſe in all that Pamphlet, & therefore I cou'd wiſh the Author had been pleaſed to have pointed to ſome of his Expreſſions, as the foundation of his Remark; And eſpecially ſeeing he founds a conſiderable part of his Reaſonings upon that *ſingle point*, ſuppoſing it all along as a matter not deny'd, *That the Preſbyterians in England and Scotland rebell'd againſt the Queen's Royal Anceſtors.* Part. I.

Seeing he endeavours to prove his Charge againſt the Preſbyterians of *Ireland* chiefly from their Agreement with thoſe of *Great-Britain* and thence concludes all *equally Guilty*, I muſt needs ſay, he founds his Argument (to uſe his own Phraſe in another caſe) upon what is a *ſtrong averment*, of his own: *It* paſſeth with him as *notoriouſly true beyond all Contradiction*, And the Author of the *Parallel* hath granted it; that's proof enough with him; tho' both theſe Premiſſes are *notorious* miſtakes.

Seing *Loyalty* is the ſubject of this debate, we muſt firſt of all fix the true notion of it, before we enter upon the detail of this Controverſy.

And here I deſire one point may be granted me *viz.* *That the Eſſential and Fundamental Principles whereupon the late happy Revolution Anno 1688 was effected, and the great Bleſſings conſequential upon it farther ſettled and Eſtabliſh'd, are Juſt, and honeſt, and conſequently conſiſtent with Religion and Loyalty.* Methinks he that denys this ſeems to have borrow'd his notions of Loyalty from *St. Germains*, and therefore can't be allow'd to be a very proper Judge of *untainted Loyalty* to the Queen.

Theſe High-flown Notions of Loyalty, which ſacrific'd all that's dear to us as men and Chriſtians to the Arbitrary will of Princes, are effectually deſtroy'd by the *late Happy* Revolution, which was built upon the Ruins of that *ſlaviſh* Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* & *Paſſive* Obedience.

If any call for proof of this Aſſertion, they may have it from the moſt noted Divines of the *Church* of *England*, among whom let the Rev^d. Mr. *Hoadly* be firſt heard, becauſe his Teſtimony has the honour to be confirm'd by the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, whose vote is in theſe words.

Mercurii 14 *die Decembris* 1709.

" Reſolv'd, That the Rev^d. Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*, Rector of St.

Part. I. "*Peter's Poor London*, for having often strenuously Justify'd the "Principles on which her Majesty and the Nations proceeded in "the late happy Revolution, hath Justly merited the favour and "Recommendation of this House.

The whole strain of Mr. *Hoadly*'s Writings, to which the above vote refers, is Levell'd against *Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience* as inconsistent with the Revolution-Principles, of which take the following Passages.

" If (*a*) therefore they (*i. e.* Magistrates) use their power—— " to the hurt and Prejudice of humane Society,——they ~~his~~ act " not in any such Instances by Authority from God, but contrary " to his Will: Nor can they, in such Instances, be called ~~any~~ his " Vice-gerents, without the highest Profaneness: And therefore " to oppose them in such Cases, cannot be to oppose the Autho- " rity of God; nay, a *Passive Non-Resistance* wou'd appear, upon " Examination, to be a much greater opposition to the Will of God " than the contrary. For tho' He himself——appointed this " Person to govern; yet his chief design in this being the good, " and happiness of Society; *tamely to sit still*, and see that entirely " ruin'd and Sacrific'd to the Irregular Will of one man, seems a " greater Contradiction to the Will and Design of God than any " Opposition can be: For it is a *tacit Consent* to the Ruin and Mi- " sery of Mankind, whose public Peace and Happiness is the sole end " of Government.

" For (*b*) tho' his (*i. e.* the Magistrate's) Authority in carrying " forward the *end* of his Power cannot be resisted without the high- " est Guilt; yet his Power in acting contrary to that end may be " opposed without the shadow of a Crime, nay with honour and " Glory.

He excellently qualifieth this Doctrine (*c*) when he says " it " is the Indispensable Duty of *Subjects* to submit themselves to such " Governors as answer the good end of their Institution, to such " Rulers as he (*i. e.* St. *Paul*) here describes; such as are not a *ter-* " *ror to good Works, but to the Evil*, such as promote the public good " and are continually attending upon this very thing. To these " the profoundest Reverence, and lowest Submission is due, as to the

(*a*) *Serm*: *before* Lord *Mayr. of* London *Sept* 29. 1705. *Rom.* 13. *p*: 8. (*b*) *p.* 9. 10. (*c*) *p.* 7. ibid.

" the greateſt Bleſſings a Society can enjoy ; and reſiſtance to theſe Part. I.
" is a moſt unpardonable ſin.

" There (*d*) have been many Divines of the firſt Rank in theſe " latter Ages, who have publickly eſpous'd the Doctrine I have " taught ; or laid down ſuch *Principles* as inevitably tend to it, " the great and Judicious Mr. *Hooker*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, and others " might be nam'd. But what is of moſt moment, the whole *Con-* " *vocation*, the Church of *England* Repreſentative, in Queen *Eli-* " *zabeth's* Reign, publickly acknowledged it Glorious to aſſiſt *Sub-* " *jects* in their reſiſtance to their *Sovereigns*, and their Endeavours " to rid themſelves of their Tyranny and Oppreſſions, It is now " generally acknowledg'd that the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance was " carry'd too high in ſome late Reigns &c. We (*e*) have been " effectually ſaved from Imminent Ruin by the Practice of that *Doc-* " *trine*, which I have taught : And therefore methinks, there is " little reaſon to think it an *unſeaſonable* attempt, to Juſtifie that " *Reſiſtance*, without which we had not now been in the good E- " ſtate in which we find our ſelves. For I muſt obſerve, that it is " not to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, that we originally and chiefly " owe our happineſs, but to that *Reſiſtance*, without which the pre- " ſent Eſtabliſhment cou'd not have been made. Is it therefore ſea- " ſonable to endeavour to render people perfectly ſatisfy'd and eaſy " under the Reign of her *Excellent* Majeſty ? If it be, how can " it be prov'd unſeaſonable to endeavour to ſatisfie the minds of " men about the lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance, without which ſhe cou'd " not in all human appearance, have been ſeated on this Throne ? " Is it ſeaſonable to endeavour to make men ſatisfy'd and eaſy in " the proſpect of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* ? Why then muſt it be " thought unſeaſonable to endeavour to perſuade the Conſciences of " men, that the foundation of this *Eſtabliſhment* and that *Reſiſtance* " without which it cou'd not have been, are lawful and honoura- " ble ?

Dr. *Burnet* preſent Biſhop of *Sarum* in his *Enquiry into the Mea-* *ſures of Submiſſion to the Supreme Magiſtrate* Juſtifies *Reſiſtance*, and among

(*d*) *The meaſures of Submiſſion to the Civil Magiſtrate*, p. 149.
(*e*) *Ibid*: p. 169, 170.

Part. I. "among many other reasons gives this for one there (*f*) is nothing "more evident, than that *England* is a free Nation, that has its "*Liberties* and *Properties* reserv'd to it, by many positive and ex- "press Laws: if then we have a Right to our property, we "must likewise be suppos'd to have a Right to preserve it: for "those Rights are by the Law secur'd against the Invasions of the "Prerogative, and by consequence we must have a right to pre- "serve them against these Invasions. It is also evidently declar'd by "our Law that all Orders and Warrants, that are Issu'd out in Op- "position to them are null of themselves; and by consequence any "that pretend to have Commission from the King for those ends, "are to be consider'd as if they had none at all.

The same Reverend and Learn'd *Prelate* in his Speech in the House of *Lords* in *Great-Britain* upon the first Article of the Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverel*, proves that the *Doctrine* of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience was rejected by the most Celebrated *English* Reformers, by Queen *Elizabeth* and the *whole* Clergy of *England*, of which the following Passages are recommended to the Readers serious perusal: "Since it is grown to be a vulgar Opinion, that by the "Doctrine of the Church of England, all Resistance in any case "whatsoever, without Exception, is condemn'd; I think it is in- "cumbent on me, who have examin'd this matter long and carefully "to give you such a clear account of this Point, as may as fully satisfy "you as it did my self.——When the Articles of Religion were "settled, the Books of the *Apocrypha* were indeed declar'd not to "be a part of the Canon of Scripture, but yet to be useful for "the Example of Life, and the *Instruction of manners*. And a great "part of these are the Books of the *Maccabees*, which contain the Histo- "ry of the *Jews* shaking off the Yoke of the Kings of *Syria*, when they "were broke in upon by a total overthrow of their whole Law, and an "unrelenting Persecution. *Matthias* a private Priest began the Resist- "ance, which was carried on by his Children, till they shook off "the *Syrian* Yoke, and form'd themselves into a free Government, "under the Family of the *Maccabees*. It were easy to shew that "the *Jews* had been for above 400 Years subject first to the *Babylo- "nian*, then to the *Persian*, and at last to the *Grecian* Empire: "So that by a long Prescription they were subjects to the Kings of "*Syria*. It were easy also to shew that this Resistance was foretold "by *Daniel*, in Terms of *high Commendation*, and is also mention'd

(*f*) *p.* 4. in

" in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as the Work and effect of their *Faith*. If then all Resistance to Illegal and Barbarous Persecution is unlawful, these Books contain nothing but a History of a Rebellion, and all the Devotion that runs thro' them is but a Cant, and instead of reading them as *Examples of Life, and Instruction of manners*, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with Detestation. I shall afterwards shew what use was made of these Books; not only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole Body in Convocation was about to determine. Part. I.

" The next step to be made, is to consider the *Homilies*: The second Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against *wilful Rebellion*, is generally believed to have been composed by Bishop *Jewell*, who was by much the best writer in that time. It is certain, he understood the meaning of them Well: Now I will read you two Passages out of his Defence of his apology for the Church of *England*; from whence we may clearly gather what his Notion of Rebellion was, and that he thought a defence against unjust and Illegal Violence was not Rebellion. In one place he has these words;

" *The Nobles of* Scotland *neither drew the sword, nor attempted, War against the Prince: They sought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your Barbarous and cruel Invasions: They remembred, besides all other Warnings, your late dealings at* Vassay, *where great numbers of their Brethren were murder'd, being together at their Prayers in the Church, holding up their Innocent hands to Heaven, and calling upon God.* In another place he writes, *Neither do any of all these (Luther*, Melanchthon) *teach the people to rebel against their Prince: But only to defend themselves by all lawful means against Oppressions, as did* David *against* Saul, *so do the Nobles in* France *at this Day, they seek not to kill, but to save their own Lives.*

" These Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent rising against a Prince executing the Laws, which was the Case of the three Rebellions in *England* that they had in View: that in K. *Henry* the 8*th's*, in K. *Edwards*, and in Q. *Elizabeth's* Time, where the Papists took Arms against their prince, who was executing Laws made in matters of Religion, and that with a great Gentleness.

" Let us next look thro' *Q. Elizabeth's* long and Glorious Reign, and

Part. I, " and see what was the Constant Maxim of that time.

" The Year after the Queen came to the Crown, the war in *Scotland* broke out between the Queen Regent that Governed by " Commission from her daughter then Queen of *France* and the " Lords in *Scotland*. She to obtain the Matrimonial Crown to be " sent to *Francis* the 2d. gave assurances for the Exercise of the " Reformed Religion; but that point being gain'd, she broke " all her *Promises*, and resolv'd to force them to return to the " Exercise of the *Popish* Religion, Upon which the Lords of *Scotland* form'd themselves into a Body, and were call'd the Lords " of the Congregation. Forces were sent from *France* to assist the " Queen Regent; upon that Q. *Elizabeth* enter'd into an agreement " with the *Scotish* Lords, and sent an Army to their Assistance, " which continu'd in *Scotland* till all Matters were settled by the " Pacification of *Leith*; And in a *Manifesto*, that I have in my " hands, set forth 25 years after that, I find her reflecting upon that " Interposition in the Affairs of that Nation with great Satis- " faction.

" The year after this War was ended, upon *Francis* the 2d's. " Death *Charles* 9th, who was a child, succeeded in *France*, Edicts " were granted in favour of the Protestants, These were soon after " broken by the Triumvirate, and upon that follow'd a series of war " often pacified, but alway breaking out again, by reason of the " Violence and Cruelty of the Government. All these Wars, till " *Henry* the 4th. Was settled on the Throne, were in a Course " of 28 years that which some wou'd call *Rebellion*, being carry'd " on against two succeeding Kings. Yet the Queen was in all that " time still assisting 'em with men and money.

" In the Year 1568, the Provinces in the *Netherlands*, threw " off the *Spanish* Yoke; that was become intolerably severe and " cruel. The Queen for some Years assisted them more covertly, " but when the Prince of *Orange* was kill'd, and they were in dan- " ger to be over-run, she took them more openly into her Pro- " tection; and by the *Manifesto* which I have in my hands, she " publish'd the Grounds upon which she proceeded. She laid down " this for a Foundation that there had been an Ancient League " not only between the Crown of *England* and the Princes of the " *Netherlands*, but between the Subjects of both Countries under " their seals interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. If this was

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'a good reason for the Queen's giving aid to the Oppress'd Peo-
'ple of the *Netherlands*, then if the case had been reverst, that
'the People of *England* had been illegally and cruelly oppress'd, it
'furnish'd the Princes of those Provinces with as good a reason
'for assisting them. In this assistance given the States, the Queen
'persisted till the end of her Reign; nor was this only done by
'the Court, but both Parliament and Convocations granted her
'several aids to maintain these Wars: And in the Preambles of
'those Subsidy Acts, *The Queen's Proceedings in those Particulars*
'*were highly approv'd and magnify'd. Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*,
'and several other Writers in that time, Justify'd what she did;
'and not one that I ever heard of censur'd or condemn'd it.

'Upon King *James*'s coming to the Crown, the first great Ne-
'gotiation was for a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provin-*
'ces; which lasted several Years. The States insisted on a Preli-
'minary, that they shou'd be acknowledg'd free, Sovereign and
'Independent States; the *Spaniards* wou'd not yield to this, nor
'wou'd the States recede from it. Some here in *England* began to
'say, they were Form'd in Rebellion, and ought not to carry their
'Pretentions too far: Upon that King *James* suffer'd a Convoca-
'tion to meet; and a Book of Canons, with relation to the Su-
'preme Authority, was prepar'd; in which tho' the Authority of
'the Prince, even when he becomes a Tyrant, is carry'd very far;
'yet the Case of the *Maccabees* is Stated; and it was determin'd,
'that when a new Government, tho' begun in a Revolt, is come
'to a thorow Settlement it may be own'd as lawful.——

——'But I saw much clearer into the matter by an Original Let-
'ter of King *James*, which a worthy Gentleman sent me. I knew
'his hand well, the Letter is in Print; but I will read some parti-
'culars of it. It is directed to Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop
'of *Canterbury*. It begun with Censuring some Positions concerning
'a King in Possession, the same with our modern Term of a King
'*de facto*: He goes on in these Words, *My reason of calling you toge-*
'ther, was to give your Judgments, how far a Christian & a Protestant King
'may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their
'own Sovereign upon the account of Oppression, Tyranny or what else you
'like to name it. In the late Queen's time this Kingdom was very free
'in assisting the Hollanders *both with Arms and Advice; and none*

'*of your Coat ever told me, that any Scrupled about it in her Reign*
'*Upon my coming to* England, *you may know, it came from some of your*
'*selves to raise scruples about this matter, yet I never took any notice*
'*of these scruples, till the Affairs of* Spain *and* Holland *forced me*
'*to it. I call'd my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the*
'*World about us, of the justness of my owning the* Hollanders *at this time.*
'*This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say. I wish I*
'*had not.*——————Here is a full account of King *James*'s Thoughts of this matter, which was then the chief subject of Discourse all Europe over.——————This lets us see, that the Words in King *James*'s Speech that year to his Parliament, were not chance words that fell carelessly from him, *A King leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Govern by Law: In which the King's Conscience may speak to him, as the poor woman to* Philip *of* Macedon, *Either govern by Law, or cease to be a* King.

'There is another eminent Instance towards the end of that Reign that shows what the sense of our best Divines was in this Matter; When the Archbishop of *York*'s son and Mr. *Wadsworth* had chang'd their Religion in *Spain*, *Wadsworth* writ over a bold Defence of that; and among other things, Charg'd the Reformation with Rebellion. This was answer'd by one of the best Books of that time, writ by Dr. *Bedell*, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*, who afterwards promoted him to a Bishoprick. His words on this Head are full: I will read some of them. *Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to to be cut by their fellow-Subjects, or to their Prince, at their meer Wills, against their own Laws and Edicts? You wou'd know* quo jure *the Protestants Wars in* France *and* Holland, *are Justified.* First, *The Law of Nature which not only alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth every living thing to defend it self From Violence.* Secondly, *That of Nations, which permitteth those who are in the Protection of others, to whom they owe no more than an honourable Acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Sovereigns, and to usurp their liberty, to Resist and stand for the same. And if a lawful Prince, who is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods, shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion, after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own Guard, and being assailed, resist Force with Force*

as

" *as did the* Maccabees *under* Antiochus: *In which case notwith-* Part. I.
" *standing, the Person of the Prince himself ought always to be Sacred,*
" *and Inviolable; as was* Saul *to* David; No Commentary is wanted here.

' *My Lords*, You see how this Matter stood during King ' *James*'s Reign. In the first year of King *Charles*'s Reign, *Grotius*'s ' Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, was publish'd at *Paris*, dedicated ' to the King of *France*, while *France* was under the Administ- ' ration of the wisest and most jealous Minister of the late Age ' Cardinal *Richelieu*. In that Book, in which he asserts the Rights ' of Princes with great zeal yet he enumerates many cases in ' which it is *lawful to resist*: particularly that of a total Subversion, ' And that Book is now all *Europe* over in the highest Reputation ' of any Book that the Modern Ages have produc'd. In the ' beginning of King *Charles*'s Reign, a War broke out in *France*, ' against the Protestants; upon which he sent over Ambassadors, ' by whose Mediation a Peace was concluded; but that being ill ' kept, the War broke out again; and the King thought him- ' self Bound by his Mediation to protect the Protestants. So in ' the Second Session of the Parliament 1628. in the Demand of a ' Supply that the Lord Keeper *Coventry* made in the King's Name ' these words are to be found, France *is sway'd by the Popish Fac-* ' *tion, and tho' by his Majesty*'s *Mediation, there were articles of Agree-* ' *ment between that King and his Subjects, that Treaty hath been* ' *broke and those of the Reform'd Religion will be ruin'd without pre-* ' *sent help.* Upon this the Commons petition'd the King for a ' Fast, and desir'd the Concurrence of the Lords who join'd with ' them in it. The King Granted it: and an Office was Compos'd ' suitable to the Occasion; in which among other Devotions, the ' Nation was directed to pray for all those; *who here or elsewhere were* ' *fighting God*'s *Battels and Defending his Altars.* Thus the whole ' Body of the Legislature did concur for a Fast for that, which if ' this Doctrine is true, was no better than Rebellion; and yet the ' whole Nation, Clergy and Laity were required to pray for Suc- ' cess in it.

The same point is clear'd by the Learned Bishop of *Oxford* in his Speech upon the same Article, from whence I shall quote the following Passages; ' If in a Legal Monarchy, where such Laws have ' been enacted by Common Consent of Prince and People, as are to ' be the measures of his Government as well as of their *Obedience*

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'that limit his Power as well as secure their Rights and Properties, the Prince shall change this Form of *Government*; into an Absolute '*Tyranny*, set aside those Laws, and set up an *Arbitrary Will* in the 'room of them: When the Case is plain, and when all *Applica-* 'tions and *Attempts* of other kinds prove unsuccessful; if then the 'Nobles and *Commons* join together in defence of their *Ancient* 'Constitution, *Government* and *Laws*, I cannot call them Rebels. 'Allow me, my Lords, to lay before you a few things in mainte- 'nance of what I have Advanc'd. And,

'1. I would humbly offer some Effects, which I allow do not di- 'rectly prove what I have said to be true, but they do prove it to 'have been the Opinion of our Princes, Parliament, Clergy and 'People in the Reigns of those three great Princes, Q. *Elizabeth*, 'K. *James*, and King *Charles* 1. I mean the *Assistance* which these 'Princes gave to the Subjects of other Countries that were resisting 'their Respective Princes; and to enable them to do so, they had '*Subsidies* given them in *Parliament* and *Convocation*------ and there 'were Prayers Compos'd and us'd for the Success of their 'Arms.

'Surely, my Lords, if those *Princes*, *Parliaments*, Clergy and '*People* had been of Opinion, that the *Resistance* of Subjects a- 'gainst their Princes, was in no Case lawful, but always Dam- 'nable *Rebellion*; they wou'd never by aiding and assisting such '*Rebels* have involv'd themselves in the Guilt, and expos'd them- 'selves to the Dangerous Consequences of such a Sin. I mention 'not the particular Stories, because they are better known to your 'Lordships than to me, and because I doubt not but in the Course 'of this Debate, some *Lord* or other will give a large *account* of 'them; but I cannot forbear observing one thing relating to that 'Assistance, which that pious Prince, and now glorious Saint in 'Heaven, K. *Charles* 1. gave to the *Rochellers*, who were surely the 'Subjects of the King of *France*, he order'd a Fast by *Proclamation*, 'and appointed a *Form of Prayer*, to be drawn up for the imploring 'of God's Blessing. It is highly probable that Bishop *Laud* had the 'great hand in composing those Prayers, he being then Bishop of '*London*, and in great favor, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, '*Abbot*, at that time in Disgrace, but whoever compos'd them, 'I beg leave to read part of one of the *Collects* in that Office. *O* '*Lord God of Hosts, that givest Victory in the Day of Battle, and*

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Deliverance in the time of Trouble, We beseech thee to strengthen the Hands, and encourage the Hearts of thy servants in fighting thy Battles and defending thy Altars that are among us, and in all the Reformed Churches. It seems the Reformed Churches were thought to have *God's Altars among them then*, however they have been vilify'd since. But that which I would observe from this Passage is this, that neither that Excellent King who commanded those Prayers to be compos'd nor the Bishops who compos'd them, nor the Clergy and People who us'd and join'd in them, cou'd in so solemn a manner have recommended those Forces to the Divine Protection and Favour, and as such as were *fighting God's Battles*, if they had thought they were fighting against God in his *Vicegerent*, and *as defending his Altars*, if they believ'd they were resisting his Ordinance.

2. I could produce several Authorities in support of what I have laid down, but I shall mention but one; It is in a Book written professedly on this Subject and the passage I shall quote, comes *home in point* to the matter in hand ——— The Book I mean, is intitul'd, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion.* It is written by way of *Dialogue* between a Christian whom the Author calls *Theophilus* & a Jesuit whom he calls *Philander.* I beg leave to read a Quotation out of it. *Theophilus* the Christian says, *I busy not my self in other mens Commonwealths as you (the Jesuits) do, neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist, to be Rebels: Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the people may plead their Right against their Prince, and not be charg'd with Rebellion. Philander* the Jesuit asks, *as When for Example? Theophilus* the Christian reply's thus. *If a Prince shou'd go about to subject his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws established by Common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasure? In these and other Cases, which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their Ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels.* This Book is said, in the Title Page, to have been perus'd and allow'd by public Authority; was written by a great Man, Dr. *Bilson* then Warden of *Winchester-College*; Printed at *Oxford* by the University Printer, and dedicated to Q. *Elizabeth*, and the Author was afterwards made Bishop of *Winchester.* I could offer many other Authorities ——— But I am superseded in producing,

and

'and your Lordships trouble sav'd in hearing more particular Quotations to this purpose, by what is yielded by a Revd Divine of great Parts and Learning, far enough from the suspicion of being prejudic'd against the Rights of Princes, or partial to those of the People, I mean the Revd. Dean of *Carlisle*, who in a latin Discourse preach'd and printed in this Town upon the *Duty of Submission*, Stating some Cases of Extreme Necessity, and putting the Question, *Whether it may not be lawful for the People in such Cases to Resist*? Answers *Viri boni & graves, &c.*

'*That good and Judicious Men, men that have taken great and useful pains in defending the Rights of Princes, and repressing popular License, have contended that it is lawful:* He adds indeed *whether they have done right or wrong, let others judge*; and does not give his own opinion. But since he has granted, that such Men as he has describ'd, Men of *Probity and Judgment*, Zealous Assertors of the *Rights of Princes*, and *Repressors of Popular License*, have contended that in Cases of *extreme Necessity* it is lawful for the People to *defend themselves*; I may comfort my self, If I err in my Opinion, that I err in good Company. But I humbly conceive I do not err, and that,

'3. For this plain Reason, That if it be utterly unlawful to resist in any Case whatsoever, even that of a total Subversion of the Constitutions and Laws: then there is no Distinction of Governments, of *Absolute* I mean, and *Limited*: or if there be a Distinction, it is a *Nominal* one without any *real* Difference, for what Difference is there between a Prince's Governing Arbitrarily without Law, and Governing Arbitrarily against Law? Betwixt having *no Laws* at all, and having *precarious Laws?* that depend intirely on the Will of the Prince, whether he will observe one of them or subvert them all, and if he does, the People *cannot help themselves*.

'But, my Lords, I hope and believe that there is a real Distinction of Governments, and that the Subjects of all Governments are not in the same wretched Condition that those of *France* and *Turkey* are in. I hope we have not boasted falsly or vainly of *our own Form* of Government, that we are bless'd with a Constitution more happy than any other Nation in the World enjoys, that allows and secures as great and (I had almost said) God-like Power and Prerogatives to the Crown

as

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'as any wise and good Prince can desire, a power of doing e-
'very thing that is good and nothing that is ill, and at the
'same time secures most valuable Rights and Priviledges to the
'People.

Dr. *King* (now Archbishop of *Dublin*) in his first Chap. of his *State of the Protestants of Ireland.* Justifies this Doctrine of Resistance and says. 'It (*g*) Then in *some Cases* the Mischief of 'Tamely submitting to the Tyranny and Usurpation of a Go-'vernor may be worse and have more dangerous and mischie-'vous Consequences to the Common-wealth, than a War, I sup-'pose it ought to be granted, that where this necessity is 'certain and apparent, people may lawfully resist and De-'fend themselves even by a War, as being the lesser evil.

Mr. *Johnson* says in his Notes on the Pastoral Letter, 'It (*h*) is *vain* to talk of Laws which secure to us our lives, 'Liberties and Estates, when *Passive-Obedience* comes into play: 'For the Property we have in these things, which makes them '*all our own*, is *swallow'd* up by *Irresistibility*.

In his *Argument proving the Abrogation of King James to be according to the Constitution of the English Government*, he quotes some of the oldest and most Famous Lawyers, as *Bracton*, *Fortescue* &c. And the most famous Laws of the *English* Constitution, in favor of this Resistance from *Knyghton*'s History.

Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Council *gave up the Cause* of Non Resistance, and allow'd that the General Doctrine admitted of Exceptions of cases of *extreme Necessity*, which is all that either Presbyterians or any other Loyal Subjects plead for. And I shall here insert a Passage or two from two of their Speeches: The two Gentlemen do now fill the most Eminent Posts in Law within Her Majesty's Dominions; Sir. *Simon Harcourt* being Ld. *High Chancellor* of *Great Britain*, and Mr. *Phipps*(now Sr. *Constantine Phipps*) Ld. *High Chancellor* of *Ireland*.

The former pleads for the *Dr* upon the first Article of his Impeachment thus: 'My (*i*) Lords, There is *nothing further from* '*our hearts*, nor is any thing less necessary to the Doctors De-'fence, than for us to dispute or call in Question the Justice of

(*g*) p. 5 (*h*) p. 28. (*i*) p. 108. 109. of Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Tryal

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'of the Revolution; we are *ſo far* from it, that we look on our ſelves to be arguing for it, whilſt we are endeavouring to ſhow your Lordſhips, that the *Reſiſtance uſed at the Revolution, is not inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of the Church of England*, and with the Law of *England*, and that the Doctor uſes no other Language, than what they both ſpeak.

I humbly apprehend, my Lords, that Extraordinary Caſes, Caſes of Neceſſity are always implied, though not expreſſ'd in the General Rule. *Such a Caſe undoubtedly the Revolution was*, when our late unhappy Sovereign, then upon the Throne, miſ-led by evil Counſellors, endeavor'd to ſubvert and extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

The latter makes the very ſame Conceſſion in theſe words. 'To (*k*) carry this yet further, ſuppoſe that the urging the Illegality of Reſiſtance on any Pretence whatſoever, had been a Subſtantive Clauſe, and had no Relation to or Dependance upon any other Clauſe or Sentence; or ſuppoſe ſuch a General Aſſertion can be collected from any part of the Doctor's Sermon, yet it muſt be taken only for a general Propoſition; And if ſuch General Propoſitions are true in the general and to a common Intent, tho' they are ſubject to particular Exceptions, yet it is ſubmitted whether the Doctor is not well warranted in aſſerting ſuch a general Propoſition, without mentioning the particular Exception? For *all general Rules have Exceptions*, and yet the Perſon that Cites them, ſeldom or never mentions the Exceptions; for when ever ſuch general Propoſitions are urged, the *Exceptions are always underſtood* & implied, And, there was leſs Reaſon to mention the Exception in this Caſe, becauſe it is ſo univerſally known: *It had the Concurrence of the whole Nation and was ſo often eſtabliſh'd and approv'd by the Legiſlature.*

'And the *Doctor* entirely concurs with the Gentlemen of the Houſe of *Commons* that the *Revolution is an Exception*; and is not Adverſary to one of the Learn'd Managers, who was pleaſed to admit, it was the only Exception from this general rule; and I ſubmit to your *Lordſhips*; if the naming that Exception would not be a greater Reflection on the Revolution, than the preaching that Doctrine in general Terms without naming it? For to name now, ſince the Revolution, would be

'be to suppose, that it was not implied and understood as an Exception, out of that general Proposition, before the Revolution, and then the Exception is to be warranted by the Revolution, which is to infer, that no Resistance was lawful till the Revolution; whereas we say, *That such an extraordinary Case, as that of the Revolution, was always implied as an Exception out of that general Doctrine, and so the Doctrine Justifies the Revolution.* Part. I

Those Eminent and Learn'd Lawyers spoke agreeable to the Heroic and Just Principles asserted in the Associations Subscrib'd by so many Persons of Honor and Integrity, upon the happy Arrival of our late *GLORIOUS DELIVERER*, then Prince of *Orange*, & afterwards King *William* of IMMORTAL MEMORY, two whereof I shall here transcribe. The Association sign'd at *Exeter* runs thus.

'We *(l)* whose Names are hereunto Subscrib'd, who have now 'joyn'd with the Prince of *Orange*, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws, and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince 'of *Orange*, and to one another, to *stick firm* to this Cause, in 'the Defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secur'd to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under 'Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by 'which cause his Person might be expos'd to Danger, and to 'the Cursed attempts of *Papists*, and other Bloody Men; We do 'therefore solemnly engage to God, and one another, That if 'any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only 'those that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find 'in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a Just Revenge 'to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the Execution of any 'such Attempt (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) shall 'not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the 'Vigor that so Barbarous an Action shall deserve.

(l) *vid:* The Secret History of Europe Part 2*d* p. 192.

Part. I. In the Northern Association, which (as the Author of the *Secret History* of *Europe* says) was honor'd with the presence of the Bishop of *London*, and even of her present Majesty Queen *Anne*, there are these Remarkable words, 'We (*m*) being made sadly 'sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, that is, 'by the Influence of Jesuitical Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, that not being willing to deliver our Posterity 'over to such a Condition of *Popery* and *Slavery*, as the aforelaid 'Illegalities do inevitably threaten; We will, to the utmost of 'our power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of 'Orange, &c. And herein we hope all good Protestants will, with 'their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, be assistant to us, *and not be bugbear'd 'with the opprobrious Terms of Rebels*, by which they wou'd fright 'us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolencies and 'Usurpations; for we assure our selves, that *no Rational and Unbyass'd person will judge it Rebellion* to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronation; 'which Oath how well it hath been observ'd of late, we desire a 'Free Parliament may have the Consideration of. We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law, but he was always 'accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to *resist 'such a one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence*, &c.

The above mention'd Author makes this Reflection upon that Association; 'There (*n*) were the Sentiments of those Church men 'and Patriots. These were the Sentiments of the Duke of 'Leeds, *the Bishop of London, and a great number of Lords and Gentlemen*; who had their Swords by their sides to defend them, 'and make good what they asserted of the Lawfulness of Defence 'against Tyranny.

The Office for the 5*th* of *November* plainly implies that Solemn thanks are returned to God Almighty by the Clergy and all of the Establish'd Churches of *England* and *Ireland* for his *Blessing the Resistance* made to K. *James*, and his defeating the Opposition made to the Prince of *Orange*, in these Words, 'We bless thee for giving his Majesty that now is, a safe Arrival here, and for making 'all *opposition fall* before him, till he became our King and Governor.

(*m*) *id. ibid.* p. 195. (*n*) *ibid.* p. 196.

vernor.

Part. I.

It wou'd be tedious to trouble my Reader with all the Quotations that might be adduc'd on this Head; but I have singled out those already mention'd, to show the true State of the Controversy, the *Just Limitations* of the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and some of the chief Arguments to support it, from the *Law of Nature* and *Nations*, *positive Laws of God*, the *Constitution* of *England*, and the Opinions of the *most Learn'd Episcopal Divines*, and even of *whole Convocations*; from which the World may see, That 'tis neither a *Peculiar Presbyterian Tenet*, nor repugnant to the Duty and Allegiance that is due to Magistrates; but on the contrary, a necessary and honorable Defence of Her *Majesty*'s Title, a Security to the *Protestant Succession* in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, and a just *Barrier* of the Liberty of the Subject. Of all which the *British* Parliament were so fully sensible, as to pass a most Solemn Censure, and fix an Indelible Stain upon the Opposite Doctrine, in the Deliberate and Just Issue of the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*.

Seeing then this Doctrine of *Resistance* in Cases of *extreme Necessity* is supported by the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, the Judgment of the most *Eminent* Divines and Lawyers, the happy Constitution of *Great Britain*, and the *most Renown'd Monarchs* that ever sat upon a *British* Throne, and is an Essential Fundamental Principle of the late happy *Revolution*, and the Source of all the Blessings deriv'd to us from it; it's plain that neither Presbyterians nor any other People can be justly charg'd with Disloyalty, for the practice thereof. If ever Presbyterians *resisted* their Sovereign when he was acting for the end of his Office, the Public good, Religion, Liberty and Property, they must confess guilt, but this is what they deny: If all their Resistance was to the *unjust* Invasions of *Liberty* by the *Prerogative*, and when the Prince us'd his *Power to the hurt and Prejudice of human Society*, and in no other Case, I shou'd think them fairly acquitted of all Rebellion and Disloyalty, upon the same Principles *on which her Majesty and the Nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution*; And for my own part, I am free to venture *the whole Cause* upon this Issue: Let it *stand* or *fall* by that unbyass'd Test of true *British* Loyalty.

A Native Consequence of what has been advanc'd concerning the Doctrine of *Resistance*, is, that a decent and modest Discovery of the Subjects uneasiness and grievances under some part of the Administration

Part. I. nistration of the Prince's Government, is very Consistent with a Dutiful and Loyal Behaviour. To assert *Infallibility* in the Church, is Popery; and to lodge it in the Prince, is slavery; and both of them are dangerous Errors, refuted from the consideration of the Universal Corruption and lapsed Estate of mankind. There is nothing more odious than a fulsome Flattery, with which some people in all Ages and Nations have entertain'd their Magistrates; as if their Government were like that of God Almighty's, without the least shadow of a blemish, and uncapable of being mended, as being entirely faultless. 'Tis true, a Giddy Populace have often groundlessly censur'd the laudable Actions of their Superiors, and murmur'd against the *Best* of Governments; Such Factious *Male-Contents* are to be discourag'd in all Societies. But then 'twere highly unreasonable on the other hand, to Abridge the Subjects of their Native Liberty of complaining, when they are hurt; or of letting their Magistrates know (so it be done with a becoming Humility and Decency) their just Desires of being eas'd of their Pressures, and protected in there just Rights, according to the true ends of Government. To *doom* the Subject to a perpetual and *unmanly* Silence in such Cases, for preventing of Faction, is such a Remedy, as the *shutting of one's mouth* to prevent his *ever saying* an ill thing; and to make men *slaves* least they shou'd turn *Rebels*.

Another Notion of Loyalty as false as any of the former is, That a *Subject must be of his Prince's Religion, or the Religion of the State*. God is the *Lord* of *Conscience*, and therefore it does not belong to *Cæsar*. Religion is of a Divine Original founded upon the Laws of God, and can't receive an higher Affront than to make it such an unstable and mutable *Piece of Vanity*, so precarious and uncertain as to be turn'd into all the shapes of *human Policy*, and modell'd by the variable *Civil Constitutions* in the World. Shall God depend upon Man? or a Rebellion against the Creator be honor'd with the name of Loyalty to the Creature? No. Must a Man be a *Mahometan* in *Turkey*, a *Papist* in *France*, and a *Pagan* in other places in the World, because the Magistrate is so? No sure. And this shows, that we must not choose our Religion, *because* it is the State-Religion, but because it is the Religion of the *Bible*; and consequently, that a man can't be Disloyal *merely for differing* in Religious Matters from the public Establishment. I confess, that some bad men and bad Subjects may espouse pernicious Principles destructive of Civil Government, and

and incorporate them into the Body of their Religious Tenets; as the Papists do, and some of the wildest German Anabaptists did: But these Errors are to be refuted and condemn'd, *not because* they are contrary to the Religion of their Prince *but because* they are contrary to the *true Christian* Religion, the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to lawful Civil Authority agreeable to it. Part. I.

The Uncharitable and Mistaken Notion of Loyalty which some Bigots in these Nations have, is this, That *Conformity* to the Establish'd Church is *Loyalty*, and *Non-Conformity* Disloyalty: The Falshood whereof abundantly appears from what has been said: Indeed, if our Author or any other can prove, That the Presbyterian Non-Conformists have embody'd any Rebellious or Disloyal Principle into their *System* of *Divinity*, they must yield the Cause. But I hope to make the contrary appear in the Sequel of this Chapter, and that the same true Conscientious *fear of God* which makes 'em dissent from the *National* Establishment of the *Church*, does bind 'em to *all* the Duty and Allegiance which *good Subjects* owe to Her Majesty, who is too Wise and Religious a Prince to believe that any *Sett* of People who have robb'd God of His Right, shou'd ever Conscientiously assert Her's; or that those who wou'd *Compliment* Her with their Consciences, which belong to God, shou'd have any Conscience left 'em to give Her Majesty that which is *Her own*: For 'tis generally true, That those who wou'd give Magistrates too much, ha'n't Honesty to give 'em *enough*, and are among the first who desert them in their Straits.

Having thus detected and refuted the most Popular false Notions of Loyalty, I come to show wherein it consists, and I humbly conceive it may be describ'd thus.

True Christian Loyalty Consists in *the Subjects paying an high Reverential honour to the* Person *of the* Supreme Magistrate, *and in their maintaining and supporting (in their several Stations) all the* Authority, Power and Prerogatives *justly belonging to him or her by vertue of the* Laws of God, Nature and Nations, *the* Original Compact *between the Prince and People, and* the just *Laws of the State, by paying of due Tribute, obeying the* just Acts *of Lawful Authority, venturing life as well as Fortune* in defence *of the Prince and Constitution upon a Good Call, and by Prayers to* Almighty God *for a blessing on his or her Person or Government*; *and in doing all this for* Conscience sake.

Upon this Foundation, I proceed to consider what our Author has

Part. 1. has advanc'd againſt Diſſenters; wherein he firſt attacks their Principles, and next their Practice.

With reſpect to the firſt, he ſays p. 5. "I do not purpoſe at 'preſent to make ſo exact an Enquiry into all their *Political* 'Principles, as perhaps I ſhall in ſome time; but ſuch only as 'relates to thoſe Principles, which are productive of their pre-'tended *Loyalty*." If the Author ſhall think fit to make and publiſh ſuch an *Enquiry into all their Political Principles*, I wou'd humbly adviſe him to make a more *exact* one than what he has pretended already to have made relating to *thoſe Principles, which are productive of their* (real, and not only pretended) *Loyalty*. This Enquiry of his is *juſtly chargeable* with two things, any one whereof is ſufficient to demonſtrate with how little exactneſs it has been made. 1. It is *extremely* Defective in the Enumeration of thoſe very Principles he pretends to diſcover. 2. Theſe Principles he mentions are unaccountably miſrepreſented, and wire-drawn into the worſt ſenſe & harſheſt Conſtruction which can poſſibly be put upon them, contrary to the *Rules* of Chriſtian *Charity*, and ſound *Reaſoning*.

1. *It is extremely Defective in the Enumeration of thoſe very Principles he pretends to diſcover.* I can't gueſs at the Reaſon of this Omiſſion, unleſs it be this, that ſuch of their Principles as he has thought fit to paſs are ſo indiſputably clear and natively *productive of Loyalty*, as ſets 'em beyond the reach of malice it ſelf, which can't find in 'em the leaſt ſhadow of a Crime, and therefore it was not for his purpoſe to mention them. But I hope the Impartial Reader (who will be ſtill ſatisfy'd to hear what Can be ſaid *Pro* and *Con*) will excuſe me, if I ſhall mind him of ſome of thoſe Principles, which our Author, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, has omitted. Such as I mention are contain'd in the following Paſſages; the firſt whereof is the 25*th* Article of the *Confeſſion of Faith for the* Church of *Scotland*, compos'd *Anno* 1560. confirm'd by the Parliament of that Kingdom; and ſubſcrib'd by King *James* himſelf and his houſhold *Anno* 1580. and by perſons of all Stations *Anno* 1581. In purſuance of an act of the *King* & *Privy Council*: And the whole Nation oblig'd themſelves to maintain and defend it *Anno* 1588, upon which Account 'tis call'd the *National Covenant*; And 'tis to this day own'd and Eſtabliſh'd as the *Confeſſion* of *that* Church. The Paſſage is this

25. Of

25. *Of the Civil Magistrate.* Part I.

'We confess and acknowledge Empires, Kingdoms, Dominions and Cities, to be distincted and ordain'd by God; the Powers and Authority in the same, be it of Emperors in their Empires, of Kings in their Realms, Dukes and Princes in their Dominions, and of other Magistrates in their Cities, to be *God's holy Ordinance* ordain'd for manifestation of his own Glory, and for the singular profit and Commodity of mankind: So that whosoever goeth about to take away, or to Confound the whole State of Civil Policies, now being establish'd, we affirm the same men, not only to be Enemies, to mankind, but *wickedly to fight against God's expressed Will.* We further confess and acknowledge that such persons as are plac'd in Authority, are to be *lov'd, honour'd, feared* and *holden in most Reverend Estimation*, because, they are the *Lieutenants of God*, in whose Sessions God himself doth sit, and judge: Yea, even the Judges and Princes themselves, to whom by God is given the Sword to the praise and Defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open Malefactors. Moreover to *Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates*, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the Conservation and Purgation of the Religion appertain, so that not only they are appointed for Civil Policy, but also for maintenance of the true Religion, and for suppressing of Idolatry and Superstition whatsoever: As in *David, Josaphat, Ezechias, Josias*, and others highly commended for their zeal in that case, may be espy'd. And therefore, we confess and aver, That such as *resist the Supreme Power*, doing *that which appertaineth* to his Charge, do *resist God's Ordinance*; and therefore, cannot be guiltless. And further, we affirm That whosoever deny unto them their aid, their Counsel, and Comfort, *while the Princes and Rulers diligently travel in the Execution of their office*, that the same men deny their help, support and Counsel to God, who by the presence of his Lieutenant doth crave it of them.

The second Passage is taken from the Westminster Confession, allow'd also and receiv'd by the Church of *Scotland*, and by the Presbyterians in *Ireland*, as the Confession of their Faith, and as such subscrib'd by all the Ministers and Preachers of both, and compos'd

Part. 1 pos'd by an Assembly of the most Famous *English* Presbyterian Divines. In 23*d*. Chap. of the said Confession we have these words.

'God the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath *ordain'd Civil Magistrates* to be under him, over the people, for his own Glory, and the public good; and to this end hath arm'd them with the *Power of the Sword*, for the defence and Encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evil Doers——— The Civil Magistrate may not assume to himself the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Yet *he hath Authority*, and it is his duty to take order, that Unity and Peace be preserv'd in the Church, that the Truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all Blasphemies and Heresies be suppres'd, all Corruptions & *abuses in Worship and Discipline prevented*, or reform'd; and all the Ordinances of God duly settled, administred and observ'd. For the better effecting whereof *He hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide, that whatsoever is transacted in them, be according to the Mind of God.*

'It is the duty of People to *pray* for Magistrates, to *honour* their persons, to *pay* them Tribute and *other Dues*, to *obey* their lawful Commands, and to be *Subject* to their Authority, for *Conscience* sake. Infidelity or Difference in Religion, doth not make void the Magistrates just and Legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him. From which *Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted &c.*

The 3*d*. Passage is taken out of a Book entitul'd *English Puritanism containing the main opinions of the rigidest Sort of those that are call'd Puritans in the Realm of England*, wherein they hold Chap. 6. 'That there shou'd be no Ecclesiastical Officer so high but that he *ought to be subject unto, and punishable by the meanest Civil Officer in a Kingdom*, City or Town, not only for Common Crimes, but even *for the Abuse of their Ecclesiastical Offices*; Yea, they hold that they ought to be more punishable than any other Subject whatsoever, if they shall offend against either Civil or Ecclesiastical Laws. They hold, that the Civil Magistrate is to *punish with all Severity* the Ecclesiastical Officers of Churches, if they shall *intrude* upon the Rights and Prerogatives of the Civil Authority and Magistracy, and shall pass those bounds and limits that Christ hath prescrib'd to them in his word.

They

Part I.

'They hold (Chap. 5. *concerning the Censures of the Church*) That 'the *keys of the Church* are not to be put to this use to *lock up* the Crown, 'Swords or Scepters of Princes and Civil States, or the Civil Rights, 'Prerogatives, and Immunities of Civil Subjects in the things of 'this Life.

The *4th* Passage is taken out of a Book entitul'd *English Presbytery, giving the main Opinions of Presbyterians in England* p. 11 (Concerning the Civil Magistrate) they say, 'That they do with all 'Thankfulness to God, *own* and *revere* his Ordinance of *Civil Ma-* 'gistracy; and are so far from encroaching upon it, that they be- 'lieve no Minister of the Gospel ought to employ himself in it. But 'to give up himself to *Meditation and Prayer*, and the *meer spi-* 'ritual Oversight of the flock of Christ committed to him.

'*For the Due Form of Government, or power of Governors in any* 'Nation, they believe *God's word hath fix'd no universal Rule*, only 'confirming the just Laws of Kingdoms and *Policies*, And they 'believe it to be their Duty to be obedient to such *Governors* in all 'places, as the Laws in that place have establish'd, and in the exe- 'cise of such power as those Laws have given him. From the Obedi- 'ence to which no person upon the account of Religion can pretend 'to an Immunity. And in the exercise whereof no Magistrate ought 'by any to be resisted.

The *5th* Passage is taken from Mr. *Corbet's Account of the Principles and Practices of several Non-Conformists*, which Book was approv'd by them, as appears by the Title page: In it they say p. 8. 'We 'believe that the power of Civil Magistrates *is God's Ordinance*, ne- 'cessary for the Government of the World ——— We acknow- 'ledge that Supreme Magistrates have a *Civil Supremacy in all Eccle-* 'siastical Matters, and a Political Episcopacy over the Pastors of the 'Church in their Sacred Administrations, and may *compel them* to 'the performance of their Duty, and punish them for their Negli- 'gence or Male-Administration, that they may *call Synods, make* 'Canons, *and warrantably thus reform the Church*, when it stands in 'need of Reformation. ——— Moreover, we believe that the 'Higher Powers are not to be mere Executioners of the Judgments 'of Ecclesiasticks, but that they may and must be *judges thereof them-* 'selves, in order to their own execution.

The *6th* and last Passage is taken out of the Book entitul'd, *A Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry publish'd, by the Ministers*

Part I.

nisters and Elders, met together in a Provincial Assembly in London *November 2d.* 1649. 'We (o) freely acknowledge, that *Magistra-* 'cy is an *Ordinance of God*, appointed for the great good of Man- 'kind; so that, whoever are enemies to *Magistracy*, are enemies to 'Mankind, and to the *Reveal'd Will of God.* We desire to hold up 'the honor and greatness, the power and Authority of lawful Ma- 'gistracy, against *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, and all others, that *despise* 'Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities. We say, that the Magist- 'rate is, in a civil Notion, the *Supreme Governor in all Causes Eccle-* 'siastical; the keeper of both Tables; the *Nursing-Father* of the 'Church: That belongs to him, by his Political Power, to reform 'the Church, when corrupted; to preserve it, when reformed; to 'suppress Blasphemy, Idolatry, Heresie, Schism, and prophaneness, 'and whatsoever is contrary to Godliness and sound Do- 'ctrine; that the people under him, may *lead a quiet life, in all* 'Godliness and Honesty. That he is sent of God, for the punish- 'ment of evil doers (amongst which, are Hereticks, as well as others, 'and therefore call'd *evil Workers*; and Heresies *evil Deeds*, *Phil.* 3. 2. 2 Ep. *John* ver. 11.) and *for the praise of them that do well.* 'That he is the *Bishop of those things that are without the Church*; *as* 'Constantine *stiled himself.* That to him belongs to *punish Church* 'Officers, *with Civil punishments*, *when they abuse their power*; and 'to give protection to the public Exercise of Church Government, 'wi hin his Dominions.

Upon the whole let the Impartial Reader judge of two things, 1. Whether our Author's *Enquiry into the Principles of Dissenters that are productive of Loyalty*, has any tolerable measure of exactness, when he has not mention'd *so much as one* of those Principles, I have now quoted out of their most Authentic Writings; tho' they are the main Fundamentals not only of their Loyalty, but of the Loyalty of all Faithful Subjects whatsoever.

2*ly*. Whether Presbyterians, adhering to and Practising the above Principles, can possibly be disloyal; and therefore whether Loyalty be not the *Native Consequence of such Principles*. If they obey all the Magistrate's lawful Commands, neither resisting nor diminishing any thing of their just power, praying for them, assisting and aiding them with their lives and fortunes, exempting no manner of persons Eccle-

(o) p. 8.

Ecclesiastical nor Civil from their Jurisdiction, and doing all this from Principles of Conscience, in regard to the Authority of God (to all which the above mention'd Principles lead 'em) I believe 'twill be hard to prove 'em disloyal, until they once be prov'd either to have abandon'd or contradicted their Principles. Part I.

The Enquiry our Author has made into the *Principles of Presbyterians, that are productive of their Loyalty*, is not only extremely defective (as I have shown) but

2ly. *These Principles he mentions are unaccountably misrepresented, and wire drawn into the worst sense and harshest Construction which can possibly be put upon 'em, contrary to the Rules of Christian Charity, and sound Reasoning, and to the genuine sense of the words*; as will appear by an examination of them. He begins thus 'And (p) thus far I 'will venture to assert, That if the *Dissenters of Ireland* will allow 'themselves to be the same in Principles of Discipline and Govern-'ment with their Elder Sister the Kirk of *Scotland* (and I do think it 'never was, nor ever will be deny'd) they are so far from being the 'Queen's most *Loyal Subjects* from their known Principles, that 'from their principles of Discipline and Government, all Crown'd 'Heads are rather Vassals and Subjects to them, when ever it shall 'happen that the Kirk is able to exert her Inherent power, even to 'Excommunication and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate.' In all this there is not any thing that has the shadow of an Argument, unless it be in these words, '*whenever it shall happen that the Kirk is able* '*to exert her Inherent Power, even to Excommunication and Exclusion* '*of the Civil Magistrate.* This Inherent Power is nothing else but the power of the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the *power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; and 'tis Impossible that the Civil Magistrate can ever be hurt by it, where the Word is truly preach'd, the Sacraments duly administred, and the *power* of the *keys* rightly us'd: Nay, on the contrary, it is a great support and Comfort to all good Magistrates, when the Church takes all possible care to reform and purge their people from scandalous sins, which provoke God Almighty to pour out his Judgments both on Princes and People: And they may still expect the greatest Loyalty and Affection from those whose chief Endeavours are to promote Piety among their Subjects. Either this Inherent power *of it self* is injurious

(p) *Sample of True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty p.* 5.

Part 1. rious to Magistracy, or 'tis only the abuse of it that is so. For the first, he hath not offer'd in these words, the least syllable to prove it. And for the second, that is no Argument against the *Inherent Power* at all: For any one of Common sense knows, that the *Abuse* of any thing it in it self good & useful is not to be imputed to the thing *abus'd*, but to the *Abusers* of it. Because some Magistrates have highly abus'd their Office, shall we therefore cry down Magistracy? Because some Ministers have highly abus'd their Sacred Function, shall we therefore lay aside that holy Office? In a word if the *Presbyterians* have in the Exercise of their *Inherent Power* wrong'd the Civil Magistrate at any time, that is no Argument against the *Inherent Power* it self, because in such Cases they must be suppo'sd to be guilty of Male-Administration. And if our Author can prove this, it is chargeable upon the *Practices* and not upon the *Principles* of Presbyterians, and therefore comes in Impertinently in this place.

As to this *Inherent Power* it self the Presbyterians claim no more than what the Primitive Christians had for the three first Centuries; and we must either suppose 'em all that time to be Disloyal Subjects or else that the *Inherent power* of it self can't make any Church Disloyal.

If it be objected that for the three first Centuries there being no Christian *Emperors*, the Christian Church must have an *Inherent* Power, otherwise they cou'd have *none* at all; but that after *Constantine*'s time, the Case was alter'd, And that there was no Parity of Reason for claming an Inherent power of Church-Discipline: The answer is very Obvious, and 'tis founded upon a Principle which the Most Critical Writers upon this Subject, and particularly the most Learn'd of the Church of *England* have advanc'd. Viz. *That the Power and right of Princes to concern themselves (by vertue of their Office as Magistrates) in Ecclesiastical Matters do's not depend upon their Religion.* This is very clearly expres'd by the Learn'd Bishop *Burnet* in his Exposition of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*. When he is treating of the 37*th Article* concerning the *Regal Supremacy* after he had prov'd from the Holy Scriptures that Princes have a Right and power to concern themselves in Matters Ecclesiastical (which no Presbyterian denies) he next describes the Measure and Extent of that power in these words. p. 286.

'It is certain, First, That this Power does not depend upon the 'Princes Religion: Whether he is a Christian, or not: or whether 'he is of a True or false Religion: or is a good or a bad man. By the

Part I.

'the same Tenure that he holds his Sovereignty, he holds this likewise. '*Artaxerxes* had it as well as either *David* or *Solomon*, when the *Jews* 'were once lawfully his Subjects; and the Christians ow'd the same 'duty to the *Emperors* while *Heathen*, that they paid them when 'Christian. The Relations of Nature, such as that of a *Parent* and 'Child, *Husband* and *Wife*, continue the same that they were, what-'soever Men's Persuasions in Matters of Religion may be: So do also 'Civil Relations, *Master* and *Servant*, *Prince* and *Subject*; they are 'neither increas'd nor diminish'd by the truth of their Sentiments 'concerning Religion. All Persons are subject to the Prince's Au-'thority, and liable to such Punishments as their Crimes fall under 'by Law. *Every Soul is Subject to the Higher Powers.* Neither is '*Treason* less *Treason*, because spoke in a Pulpit, or in a Sermon: 'It may be more *Treason* for that, than otherwise 'twou'd be; be-'cause 'tis so public and deliberate, and is deliver'd in the way in 'which it may probably have the worst Effect. So that as to Persons 'no great Difficulty can lye in this, since every *Soul* is declar'd to be '*Subject to the Higher Powers.*

From this Principle it follows as a Native Consequence, That if the Church had an Inherent Power under Heathen Emperors, they must have it under Christian ones too; and this very Principle was asserted by Christian *Emperors*, and by Councils that were held under them, as well as by particular Fathers who flourish'd in their Reigns. The same Judicious Historian (Dr. *Burnet*) in his Book Entitul'd, *The History of the Rights of Princes*, &c. describing the *Inherent Right* that was in the Primitive Church to Elect their Bishops, gives us the following Remarkable Account of the *Christian Emperors* declining to meddle in that Matter, so as to deprive the Church of their *Inherent Right*.

'This way of Election (says he *p.* 29. 30. 31.) was not a Privi-'lege peculiar to *Alexandria*; we have two great Instances that shew 'that *Constantine* did not interpose in Elections. The one was in *Ni-'comedia*, where *Eusebius* being turn'd out by the Order of the Coun-'cil of *Nice*, as well as *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*; *Constantine*, writing '(*q*) to those of *Nicomedia* concerning their chooSing a new Bishop, 'says, *That was in their Power, and depended on their Judgment.* And 'near the end of his Letter he says, *That it was in their Power to raise* 'that

(*q*) *Theod. l.* 1. c. 20.)

'*that Joy in him, which he had when he found pure, Orthodox, and well-tempered Biſhops.* And when *Euſtachius* was turn'd out of *Antioch*, upon the falſe ſuggeſtions of the *Arian* Party, *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea* was choſen to be put in his room; Upon which an Inſtrument, or *Decree of Election* was made; but he refuſing to accept of it, *Conſtantine* writ to them, (*r*) In which he takes Notice that *their Cuſtom was to uſe great care, prudence and diligence in the ſeeking out ſuch a Biſhop as was fit for them.* And in another Letter (*ſ*) to the Biſhops that were then at *Antioch*, he recommends two Perſons to them, *Euphronius* and *Georgius*; but deſires, that when they propos'd theſe or any others to be choſen, *the Election ſhould be made according to the Rule of the Church, and the Tradition of the Apoſtles.* This is but a Recommendation; two are offered, but leave is given to the Biſhops to put more in the Liſt; and a Charge is added to manage the Election according to Cuſtom. It was no wonder that all complied with ſuch a Recommendation, and choſe him that was firſt named. But it is viſible that the *Emperor* left them to their Liberty.

'Great Confuſions follow'd in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, by reaſon of the *Arian* Hereſy, many of the Orthodox Biſhops being turn'd out, and others put in their rooms, by the Emperor's Authority; whom among other things, *Hilary* accuſes for this, That *he gave Biſhopricks to thoſe of his Party:* And Writing againſt *Auxentius*, addreſſes himſelf thus to theſe Biſhops placed by the Court (*t*); *O ye Biſhops, I pray you what Suffrages did the Apoſtles make uſe of? did they receive their Dignity from the Palace?* And he runs out more copiouſly on thoſe Court Biſhops, in his Expoſition of the firſt *Pſalm*; He ſays, *The Ambition of Secular Honors had corrupted them, and that they were polluted by the peſtiferous Contagion of thoſe Affairs in which they were converſant.* When that Storm was over, and the ſhort, but terrible Cloud rais'd by *Julian*, was diſſipated, then the Ancient Method of Elections was again continu'd. But two things occaſion'd great Contentions in them; The one was, The Wealth and Dignity of ſome Sees; the other was, the Heats that had been rais'd by the *Arian* Hereſy, by which Peoples minds were embittered one againſt another.

Here are Paſſages demonſtrating not only that the Chriſtian Em-

perors

(*r*) *Euſ. de vit.* Conſt. l. 3. (*ſ*) *Ib.* c. 62. (*t*) *Lib.* 1. *in* Conſt.

Part I.

perors left the Church to their former *Intrinsic* Liberty of Elections, but that they thought it not Inconsistent with their Imperial Dignity and Rights, nor with the Allegiance due to them from their Subjects, that they (*i. e.* Emperors) might be *Subject as Christians* to their Bishops in Matters of a Spiritual Nature that concern'd their Souls. Any that pleaseth may consult the Originals from which *Burnet* quotes these Passages, which I have consider'd, but 'twou'd be too tedious to insert 'em here; and therefore I have contented my self with his Abstract.

The Council of *Antioch* assembled about the year 341, decreed in their 12th Canon 'That (*u*) no Presbyter depos'd by his own Bishop, 'and that no Bishop depos'd by a Synod *should presume to trouble the* 'Emperor; but that he shou'd apply himself to a *greater Synod of* 'Bishops, and lay before them what Allegations he has to make of the 'Justice of his Cause, and wait for their Sentence; and that if in-'stead of doing this, he *apply to the Emperor*, that his Fault shall not 'be pardon'd, nor shall he ever be restor'd to his Office.

Nothing can be more expres in favour of the *Inherent Power* of the Church in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Matters, even under Christian *Emperors*, than the above Canon. If it be objected that they were *Arians* who compos'd it, and that 'twas design'd to hinder *Athanasius* from being protected by the Emperor; it's confess'd, that the Design they had in framing it might be very bad; but if it had not been allow'd in that Age, that the Church had an Inherent Power, they durst not have asserted it: And it had been extremely prejudicial to their Interest, to have done it, which is all the use I make of that *Canon*.

But what is a full and satisfying answer to that Objection, and sets the Matter beyond Debate, is the Regulation establish'd by the *6th* Canon of the General Council of *Constantinople* assembled, about the year 381 or 383. as some think. It settles the Method of Ecclesiastical Processes against Bishops and Presbyters, upon an Accusation brought against them in Matters of Scandal, and does not allow these Causes to be properly cognizable in any Courts or Assemblies, but *Synods* and *Ecclesiastical Judicatories*. For

(*u*) *vide* Histor. Eccles. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Cap. 9. p. 715. Conformite De La Discipline, Ecclesiastique Des Protestans De France avec celle des anciens Chretiens, Par M. Larroque. p. 153. *Burnet's* Hist. *Of the Rights of Princes*, &c. *p.* 39.)

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'For they decree 'That *(v)* if Persons that are neither Hereticks nor excommunicated, nor Condemn'd nor accus'd of scandal, 'shall say that they have any Ecclesiastical Accusation to bring against a Bishop: The Council decrees that *first of all* such Accusers shall give in their Accusations to *all the Bishops of the Province*, 'and before them prove the Scandalous Crimes laid to the Bishop's Charge. And in case it fall out, that the Bishops of the Province 'be not sufficient, nor fit enough to censure those scandals, then 'the Accusers are to go to a *larger Council* of the Bishops of the 'Diocess, to be assembled upon *this cause*. And that the Accusation shall not be given in until the accusers profess under their 'hand, that they are ready to undergo the like Censure themselves, 'if they shall be convicted of calumniating the Bishop accus'd by 'them. That if any person, having contemn'd this appointment 'of the Council, *SHALL DARE TO APPLY TO THE EMPEROR*, or to the Tribunals of *SECULAR MAGISTRATES*, or demand the judgment of a General Council, having affronted all the Bishops of the Diocess: The Council determines, that he shall not be admitted to be an accuser, because he has *DESPISED THE CANONS, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE, and broke the Rules of Decency and good Order.*

Here we have a Council *appropriating* the trial of Bishops in Matters of Scandal, and in what belongs to their meer spiritual Function, to the Cognizance of *Ecclesiastical Judicatures*; than which nothing can be a more direct proof of the Judgment of the Primitive Church for the Churches Inherent Power of Discipline, and even under Christian *Emperors*. The Fathers of this Council were not *Arians*, as these of the Council of *Antioch* were; and yet their Canon is a strong Confirmation of the matter of the above mention'd 12*th* Canon of *Antioch*. This Council consisted of above 150 Bishops, who were all Orthodox in receiving the Creed of the *Nicene* Fathers. It was amongst these called a General Council, and therefore their Judgment is not only more Venerable, but a more convincing Proof of the

(v) vide Eccles. Hist. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Cap. 9. p. 853. 854, Conformity De La Discipline Ecclesiastique Des Protestans De aver celle des Anciens Chretiens, Par M. *Larroque*. p. 153.

the general sense of Christians in that Age, concerning the *Intrinsic Power* of the Church in the Matter of Ecclesiastical Discipline. And therefore either those Christian Princes must be concluded to be grosly Ignorant of the Essential Prerogatives belonging to their Imperial Crown, and the Primitive Bishops disloyal in usurping upon 'em, (which I suppose, Is not agreeable to the general sense of sober Protestants and good Men;) or, Presbyterians, who claim no more Inherent Power, than the latter pretended to and the former granted, can't be convicted of Disloyalty on that Account. Part I.

Hosius, a *Spanish* Bishop in the fourth Century, delivers his sense of this matter very fully, in his pious and Learn'd Epistle to the Emperor *Constantius*, an *Arian*, and Persecutor of the Orthodox. In the said Letter, we have these Memorable words.

'Pray (*w*) forbear and remember thou art a Mortal: Be afraid 'of the day of Judgment; keep thy self pure unto that day. Do not 'intrude into *Ecclesiastical Busines*; do not command us in these 'things, but rather learn them of us. To thee hath God committed the Empire: But he hath *entrusted us with the affairs of the* 'Church. And, as he that casts an evil Malignant Eye upon thine 'Empire, contradicts the Divine Ordinance: So beware, lest thou, 'drawing unduely to thy self, the matters that belong to the Church, 'involve thy self in great guilt; It is written, *Render to Cæsar the* 'things that are Cæsar's, *and to God the things that are God's*. It 'is not lawful for us to hold the Empire upon Earth, neither hast 'thou, O Emperor, the *Power of Holy Things*. These things I sincerely write for the Care of thy Salvation.

This *Hosius* was an Eminent Confessor for the Orthodox Faith, in great esteem with the Emperor *Constantine*, and a great Intimate and friend of *Athanasius*, (*x*) and can't be accounted disloyal for lodging this *Inherent Power* in the Church.

Chrysostome goes upon the same Principle, in one of his Homilies the English Translation whereof I shall give you in the word of the Revd. Dr. *Potter*. It runs thus,

(*w*) Apud Athanasium in Epistola ad Solitariam Vitam Agentes, et Hist. Eccles. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Chap: 10. p. 1189.

(*x*) *vide* Sorom. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. 16. Socrat. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. and Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

Part 1.

'The (y) Limits of the *Kingdom* are intirely distinct from the Limits of the *Priesthood.*——The *King's* Province is to manage the affairs of the Earth; but the Power of *Priests* reaches Heaven, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* To the *King* are committed the things here below; to me, *the Bishop* the Things of Heaven. The *King* is intrusted with mens Bodies, but the *Priest* with their souls. The *King* remits their Debts of Money, but the *Priest* the Debts of their Sins. TheKing compels, the *Priest* exhorts. The *King* governs by Compulsion, the *Priest* by Counsel: The former hath sensible Weapons; the latter Spiritual. The former wages War with the *Barbarians*, we with Devils: And this is the *greater Government.*

But to come to the Opinions of Reform'd Divines upon this Head, (among whom I shall name only those of the Episcopal Communion in *England* and *Ireland*) let it be consider'd, That the Presbyterians except no more from the Magistrates Commission, than what the *Archbishops*, and *Bishops* and *Clergy* of *Ireland* in their Convocation did agree upon in their Articles Compos'd anno 1615. In their 58 Article they say "Neither do we give unto him (i. e. the Supreme Magistrate) the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the POWER OF THE KEYS". And to let us know where they lodge this power of the Keys, which they will not give to the Magistrate, they tell us Art. 69 'But particular and Visible Churches——be many in number: wherein the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's Institution, the Word of God is taught, the Sacraments are Administred, AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE KEYS IS USED, the more or less pure are such Churches to be accounted.' Now upon this I wou'd enquire, Whether the Establish'd Church of *Ireland* Representative be Disloyal Subjects, for asserting this point? If they be not, why shou'd Pretbyterians be accounted Disloyal for their asserting as much and no more?

Neither do they claim any more *Inherent Power* but what is necessarily included in such Demands as some of the Most Learn'd and Pious of the *Primates* both of *England* and *Ireland* have thought fit

(y) Chrysostom Homil. 4. in verba Esaiæ vidi Dominum. &c. Vol. 3. p. 872. 873. Edit. Front. Duc. apud *Dr. Potter* in his Discourse of Church Government p. 211. 212.

fit to make on behalf of the Church; I mention two of 'em viz. Archbishop *Grindal* Primate of all *England*, and *Usher* of *Ireland*, whose Memories are precious to all good men. *Grindal* wou'd not discountenance the Meetings of Godly Ministers in *England* for their Learn'd Exercises and Conferences, tho' that Practice was misrepresented to Queen *Elizabeth* and upon that occasion the Primate had the Misfortune to fall under her Displeasure, Whereupon he wrote a Petition to her *Majesty* full of that Candor, Piety, Integrity and Gravity that became him; some part whereof I shall here transcribe. Part. I.

——— 'I (z) am inforc'd with all Humility, and yet 'plainly to profess, that I cannot with safe Conscience, and without the offence of the *Majesty* of God give mine assent to the suppressing of the said Exercises, much less can I send out any Injunction for the utter and universal Subversion of the same.——— 'Bear with me, I beseech you, *Madam*, If I chuse rather to offend 'your Earthly Majesty, than to offend the Heavenly Majesty of 'God. And now being sorry that I have been so long and tedious 'to your Majesty; I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the 'same, that you wou'd consider these short Petitions following. 'The first, that you wou'd refer ALL THESE ECCLESIASTICAL Matters which touch Religion, or the Doctrine or DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH unto the Bishops and Divines of the Church of your Realm, according to the example of ALL CHRISTIAN EMPERORS and Princes of all ages: For indeed they are to be judg'd as an ancient Father writeth; *in Ecclesia seu Synodo, non in Palatio.* When your Majesty hath Questions of the Laws of your Realm, you do not decide the same in your Court or Palace, but send them to your Judges to be determin'd. Likewise, for the Duties in Matters in Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, *the ordinary way* is to defer the decision to the Bishops, and other head Ministers of the Church. *Ambrose to Theodosius* useth these words. *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis: quanto magis, in Causa Religionis Sacerdotes Domini æquam est consulas.* And likewise to the Emperor *Valentinian Epist.* 32 *Si de fide conferendum est, Sacerdotum debet esse justa Collatio, Si enim factum est Constantino Augustæ Memoriæ Principi qui nullas le-*

(z) *Fullers* Church-History *Cent.* 16. *Book* 9. p. 128, 129.

Part 1.

'*ges ante præmisit, sed liberum dedit judicium Sacerdotis.* And in the same place the same Father saith, that *Constantius* the Emperor, 'son to *Constantine* the great, began well, by reason he follow'd his 'Father's steps at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon him '*difficile in a Palatium judicare*, and thereby fell into *Arianism*, a ter-'rible Example. The said *Ambrose* so much commended in all Hist-'ories for a godly Bishop, goes further, and writeth to the said 'Emperor in this Form. *Si docendus est Episcopus a laico, quid se-'quitur? laicus ergo disputet, & Episcopus audiat a laico: At certe, si 'vel Scripturarum seriem Divinarum, vel vetera tempora Retractemus, 'quis est qui abundat in Causa Fidei, inquam Fidei, Episcopos solere 'de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Imperatores de Episcopis judicare.* 'Would God your Majesty wou'd follow this ordinary, you should 'procure to your self much quietness of mind, and better please 'God, avoid many offences, and the Church shou'd be more peacea-'ble and quietly govern'd, much to the Comfort and quietness of 'your Realm. The second Petition I have to make to your Majesty 'is this, that when you deal in matters of Faith and Religion, or 'matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is the Spouse 'bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce so 'resolutely and peremptorily, QUASI EX AUTHORITATE, as 'you may do in Civil and Extern Matters, but always remember 'that in God's Cause, the Will of God, and not the will of any 'earthly Creature is to take place. It is the Antichristian voice of 'the Pope. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro Ratione Voluntas*'.

Here is a Modest Remonstrance for the Church's *Inherent Power of judging Ecclesiastical Matters.* The whole strain of this Letter of the Venerable *Grindal* is so full of Piety, Learning, Modesty and true Christian Courage, as justifies the Character which *Fuller* gives of it in these words, 'What cou'd be written (*says he*) with more 'spirit, and less animosity? more humility and less Dejection? I 'see a *lamb* in his own, can be a *Lion*, in God, and his Churches 'Cause.(*a*)

The 2*d* is, The great *Usher*'s Speech deliver'd in the Castle-chamber at *Dublin* Novr. 22. 1622. concerning the Oath of *Supremacy*, while he was Bishop of *Meath*. It is printed and bound up with several of the other works of that Eminent Divine, *viz.* An *Answer*

(*a*) ibid. p. 130.

Part 1.

swer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland &c. his *Discourse of the Religion profess'd by the Ancient Irish:* and some sermons. Among many Remarkable things in that Speech let the following part be carefully perus'd by the Reader, wherein he will find the *Intrinsic* Power of the *Church* not only strenuously asserted & clearly distinguish'd from that of the Civil Magistrate, but the Powers of both excellently well adjusted. His words (*b*) are these;

'We are to consider, that God for the better settling of Piety 'and honesty among men, and the repressing of Profaneness and 'other Vices, hath establish'd TWO DISTINCT Powers 'upon earth: The one of the KEYS, commmitted to the *Church*, 'the other of the SWORD, committed to the Civil *Magistrate*. 'That of the *Keys* is ordain'd to work upon the inner man, having 'immediate Relation to the (*c*) *Remitting* or *Retaining* of sins. That 'of the *Sword* is appointed to work upon the outward man; 'yielding Protection to the Obedient, and inflicting external Punishment upon the Rebellious and Disobedient. By the former the 'Spiritual Officers of the Church of Christ are enabled to (*d*) 'GOVERN *well*, to *speak* and *exhort* and *rebuke* with all *Authority*, to loose such as are penitent, to commit others into the 'Lord's Prison, until their Amendment, or to bind them over 'to the Judgment of the great Day, if they shall persist in their 'wilfulness and Obstinacy. By the other, Princes have an Imperious Power assign'd by God to them, for the Defence of such 'as do well, and executing (*f*) *Revenge* and *Wrath* upon such as 'do evil; whether (*g*) by *Death*, or *Banishment*, or *Confiscation of Goods*, or *Imprisonment* according to the quality of the Offence.

'When St. *Peter*, that had the Keys committed to him, made 'bold to draw the *Sword*; He was commanded to (*h*) put it up, as 'a weapon that he had no Authority to meddle withal. And on the 'other side, when *Uzziah* the King wou'd venture upon the Execution of the Priest's Office, 'twas said to him, (*i*) *It pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn Incense.* Let this therefore be our 'second Conclusion. That the Power of the Sword and of the Keys are TWO

(*b*) p. 3. &c. (*c*) John 20, 23. (*d*) 1 Tim. 5' 17. (*e*) Tit. 2. 15. (*f*) Rom. 13. 4. (*g*) Ezra. 7. 26. (*h*) Mat. 26. 52. (*i*) 2 Chron. 26. 18.

Part. I.

'TWO DISTINCT Ordinances of God: and that the Prince hath no more Authority to enter upon the Execution of ANY PART of the Prieſt's Function, than the Prieſt Hath to intrude Upon Any Part of The Office of The Prince.

'In the *third* place we are to obſerve, that the Power of the *Civil Sword*. (the *Supreme* Managing whereof belongeth to the King alone) is not to be reſtrain'd unto *Temporal* Cauſes only, but is by God's Ordinance to be extended likewiſe unto all Spiritual Eccleſiaſtical things and Cauſes. That as the Spiritual Rulers of the Church do exerciſe their kind ofGovernment, in bringing men unto Obedience, not of the Duties of the *firſt* Table alone (which concerneth Piety and the Religious Service, which man is bound to perform unto his Creator) but alſo of the *Second* (which reſpecteth Moral Honeſty, and the Offices that man doth owe unto man) ſo the Civil Magiſtrate is to uſe his Authority alſo in redreſſing the Abuſes committed againſt the *firſt* Table, as well as againſt the *ſecond*, that is to ſay, as well in puniſhing of an *Heretic*, or an *Idolater*, or a *Blaſphemer*, as of a *Thief*, or a *Murtherer*, or a *Traytor*; and in providing by all good means, that ſuch as live under his Government (*x*) may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all *Piety* and *Honeſty*.

'And howſoever by this means we make both *Prince and prieſt*, to be in their ſeveral places *Cuſtodes Utriusque Tabulæ*, Keepers of both God's Tables: Yet do we not hereby any way confound both of their Offices together. For tho' the *Matter* wherein their Government is exercis'd may be the ſame; yet is the *Form* and *Manner* of governing therein always different. The one reaching to the *outward* man only, the other to the Inward: The one binding or looſing the *Soul*, the other laying hold on the *Body* and the things belonging thereunto: The one having ſpecial Reference to the Judgment of the *World to come*, the other reſpecting the preſent retaining or looſing ſome of the Comforts of this life.

'But here 'twill be ſaid. The Words of the *Oath* being general; that the King is the *the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm and of all other his Highneſſes Dominions and Countries*: How may it appear, that the Power of the *Civil Sword* only is meant by that Government

x Tim. 2. 2.

Part I.

'ment, and that the Power of the *Keys* is not comprehended therein? 'I answer, First, That where a Civil Magistrate is affirm'd to be the 'Governor of his own Dominions and Countries, by common Intendment 'this must needs be understood of a *Civil Government*, and may in no 'reason be extended to *that which is meerly of another kind.* 2ly. I say, 'That where an Ambiguity is conceiv'd to be in any part of an *Oath*; 'it ought to be taken according to the understanding of him for 'whose Satisfaction the *Oath* was Ministred. Now in this Case it 'hath been sufficiently declar'd by public Authority, that no other 'thing is meant by the *Government* here mention'd; but that of the 'CIVIL SWORD ONLY.

'For in the Book of *Articles* agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and 'Bishops and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden *at London*, 'Anno 1562. thus we read, *Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty 'the chief Government*, &c. *We give not to our Princes the Ministring ei-'ther of God's Word or of the Sacraments*, &c. *But that only Prerogative 'which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scrip-'tures by God himself, that is, That they shou'd rule all Estates and De-'grees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or 'Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.*

'I never read a Presbyterian Writer, who made larger demands on behalf of the Church, then those mention'd by the Learn'd *Usher* in the above Speech; and who was not cordially satisfy'd to make the same Concessions with him to the Civil Magistrate; of which their Confessions & other Authentic Accounts of their Principles already quoted give a sufficient Proof. And yet we never find, That ever *Usher* was tax'd with Disloyalty for asserting the *Inherent Power* of the Church so expresly as he has done: But on the contrary, he was Honor'd with a Letter of Thanks from King *James* for that very Speech; a Copy of which Letter is Printed along with the Speech it self, and is as follows.

JAMES REX.

'RIght Reverend Father in God, and Right Trusty and Well-'beloved Councellor, We Greet you well. You have not de-'ceiv'd our Expectation, nor the gracious Opinion we ever con-

ceiv'd

Part I.

'ceiv'd both of your Abilities in Learning, and of your faithfulneſs to us and our Service. Whereof as we have receiv'd ſundry 'Teſtimonies both from our Precedent Deputies, as likewiſe 'from our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor 'the *Viſcount Falkland* our preſent Deputy of that Realm: ſo have 'we now of late in one Particular had a further Evidence of your 'Duty and Affection well expreſs'd by your late Carriage in our 'Caſtle-Chamber there, at the Cenſure of thoſe Diſobedient 'Magiſtrates, who refuſ'd to take the Oath of Supremacy. Where-'in your Zeal to the Maintenance of our juſt and Lawful Power, 'defended with ſo much Learning and Reaſon, deſerves our Princely 'and Gracious Thanks; which we do by this our Letter unto you 'And ſo bid you farewel. Given under our Signet at our Court at '*White-Hall* the 11*th* of *Janr.* 1622. In the 20 year of our Reign of '*Great Britain, France and Ireland.*

To the Right Reverend Father in GOD, and our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor the Biſhop of *Meath.*

If *Presbyterians* will go as far in aſſerting the Royal Supremacy in matters Eccleſiaſtical, as the Explication of that Supremacy deliver'd in the 37*th* Article of the Church of *England* carries it, then 'tis plain that their maintaining of the Inherent Power of Church-Diſcipline can't render 'em juſtly obnoxious to the Cenſure of being Diſloyal Subjects. For in that caſe, they muſt be ſuppoſ'd to go as far as the Eſtabliſh'd Church her ſelf has thought fit to ſet forth in her Articles, which are the public Declaration of her Belief. But it is certain, that no Presbyterian will deny the Power of the Civil Sword to the Magiſtrate, and that he is to uſe it, even in matters Eccleſiaſtical, which fully amounts to the ſenſe of that article concerning the Supremacy; as 'tis explain'd in the latter clauſe of it, with which Explication full ſatisfaction was given to public Authority, as *Uſher* obſerves.

And here I muſt beg leave to make one Obſervation *viz.* That when ever the Papiſts have objected to the Church of *England*, That ſhe lodg'd a Spiritual and proper Eccleſiaſtical Power in the Supreme Magiſtrate, and that this is a thing inconſiſtent with the Nature

Part I.

Nature and Power of the Christian Church, as a Society erected into a *Spiritual Corporation* by the Laws of *Christ*, the most Learn'd Patrons of the Regal Supremacy have been still oblig'd (unless they have declar'd themselves openly *Erastian*) to espouse those Principles, which necessarily and directly infer the Intrinsic Power of the Church in matters merely-Ecclesiastical, of which I will give several Instances.

In King *Henry* 8*th* his time, when the Supremacy was carry'd as high in words and Expressions, as ever it has been since, the Book Entitul'd, the *Institution for the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, was concluded in Convocation, and publish'd by Authority; out of which Book, and out of another, call'd, *de Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*, and other Authentic Pieces done by the most Zealous of that time and Nation against the *Pope*'s Supremacy, Bishop *Burnet* gives us an Abstract of the Arguments against it, and for the Regal Supremacy, and *for the Inherent Power* of the Church *too*. For the Regal Supremacy, they argu'd from the Practice of the Kings of the *Old Testament*, commanding *Priests* as well as others; which no Presbyterian denies to be a good Argument against exempting the Clergy from the Jurisdiction of the Secular Powers. From the *New Testament* they argue, from *Christ*'s Example in *paying Taxes, pretending to no Earthly Kingdom*, and *Commanding his Apostles to be subject as well as others to the Magistrates, tho' then Heathen:* which fixes the Supremacy upon a foot, which no Presbyterians deny.

From the Fathers they argu'd that the *Emperors* call'd Councils, *confirm'd their Canons*, and that their *Canons had not any Compulsive Authority, but what was deriv'd from the Civil Sanction.* All this is allow'd by Presbyterians, and yet the Intrinsic Power safe still. And I can't but take particular Notice of an Objection they name and answer concerning the Peculiar Functions of the Clergy, and how they *reconcile this* to the Regal Supremacy.

'For (*k*) the great Objection from those Offices that are peculiar 'to their Functions, It was answer'd, that these notwithstanding the

(*k*) *Burnet's* History of the Reformation Part 1. Book 2. p. 141.

Part 1. ‘ King might well be *Supreme Head*: for in the natural Body, there ‘ were many Vital Motions that *proceeded* not from the Head, but ‘ from the Heart, and the other Inward Parts and Vessels: and yet ‘ the Head was still the chief Seat and Root of life: So tho'. there ‘ be *peculiar Functions appropriated to Church-men*, yet the King is ‘ still Head, having *Authority over them, and a power to DIRECT* ‘ and *COERCE them in these.*

All they assert here of the Supremacy, is a *Directing* and *Coercing* Power in the Crown: which is nothing still but the Power of the Civil Sword, and a careful use of it for compelling Clergy-men, (if need be) to do their Duty, which Presbyterians assert in expres's Words, in Their Confessions and other Public Papers already Quoted.

And when they had produc'd these arguments for the Regal Supremacy, *Burnet* says of them, ‘ But (*l*) at the same time that they ‘ pleaded so much for the King's Supremacy, and power of making ‘ Laws for Restraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appear'd that ‘ they were far from vesting him with such an absolute Power, as ‘ the Popes had pretended to, for they thus designed the extent ‘ of the Kings Power. *To them specially and principally, it pertaineth* ‘ *to defend the Faith of Christ, and his Religion, to conserve and maintain* ‘ *the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true Preachers and Set-* ‘ *ters forth thereof; and to Abolish Abuses, Heresies, and Idolatries, and* ‘ *to punish with Corporal pains such as of Malice be occasion of the* ‘ *same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops and Priests* ‘ *do execute their Pastoral Office truly and faithfully, and specially in these* ‘ *Points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and committed* ‘ *to them.*

‘ Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the King's ‘ Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the ‘ Law of God, and acknowledg'd the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in ‘ the Discharge of the Pastoral Office, *committed to the Pastors* of the ‘ Church by *Christ* and his *Apostles*; and that the Supremacy then ‘ pretended to, was *no such* extravagant Power as some imagine.

In

(*l*) ibid: p. 142, 143.

In the year 1538. Eight Bishops give a full Account of their Sentiments about the Intrinsic Power of the Church, and the Regal Supremacy which they have left upon Record under their hands in these words. Part I

The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy.

An ORIGINAL. (*m*)

THE Words of St. *John* in his 20th Chap. *Sicut misit me Pater,* ‘ *& ego mitto vos*, &c. hath no respect to a King's or a Prince's Power, but only to shew how that the Ministers of the Word ‘ of God, chosen and sent for that Intent, are the Messengers of ‘ Christ, to Teach the Truth of his Gospel, and *to loose and bind sin*, ‘ &c. As *Christ* was the Messenger of his Father. The Words also ‘ of St. *Paul* in the 20*th* Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & universo gregi, in quo vos* Spiritus Sanctus *posuit Episcopos, regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent Pastors of the People, both to Teach them diligently, and also to be ‘ Circumspect that false Preachers shou'd not seduce the People, as ‘ followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of ‘ Scripture declare the Highness and Excellency of Christian *Princes* ‘ *Authority* and *Power*; the which of a Truth is most high, for he ‘ hath Power and Charge generally over all, as well *Bishops* and *Priests* ‘ as others. The Bishops and Priests have Charge of Souls within ‘ their own Cures, Power to Minister Sacraments, and to teach the ‘ Word of God; to the which Word of God Christian Princes

(*m*) *id. ibid.* Collection of Records Book 3. p. 177.

Part 1. 'knowledge themselves Subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the *Christian Princes Office* to see them do their Duty.

T. Cantuarien.	*Thomas Elien.*
Joannes London.	*Nicolaus Sarisburien.*
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.	*Hugo Wygorn.*
Jo. Batwellen.	*J. Roffen.*

Herein these Bishops fix the Power of the Pastors and Governors of the Christian Church, *to bind and loose Sin*, (which includes the Power of Church-Government and Discipline) upon a Commission from Christ, and deny that this Commission *hath any respect to the Power of Kings and Princes*; which is in Effect to say, That Princes have no Spiritual Power of Church-Government or Discipline; and then they declare for the King's Power over all Persons, Bishops as well as others: but when they tell us what this Power is, they say no more of it, but that in Case the Bishops *be negligent*, *'tis the Christian Prince's Office to see them do their Duty*, which Presbyterians heartily agree to.

In or about the same Year, 1538. there was a much fuller Paper concerning Orders and Ecclesiastical Functions Sign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-bishops and Eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, declaring that the *Power of the Keys*, and other Church-Functions is *formally distinct* from the Power of the Sword (*n*) a Part whereof I shall here Transcribe.

A DECLARATION made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests,

An ORIGINAL

'CHRIST (*o*) and his *Apostles* did institute and ordain in the New 'Testament, that *besides* the Civil Powers and Governance of Kings

(*n*) id. *ibid. Book.* 3. p. 365. (*o*) *id. ibid* Addenda p. 321. &c

Part I.

' Kings and Princes, which is call'd in Scripture, *Potestas Gladii*, the ' Power of the Sword, there should be *also continually* in the Church-Mi- ' litant, certain other Ministers or Officers, which should have *Spiri- ' tual Power, Authority and Commission under Christ*, to Preach and ' Teach the Word of God, unto his People, and to Dispence and ' Administer the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to ' confer and give the Grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the ' Blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, to *loose and ab- ' soil from Sin*, all Persons which be duly Penitent and sorry for the ' same; to *bind and Excommunicate* such as be Guilty in Manifest ' Crimes and sins, and will not Amend their Defaults; to Order and ' consecrate others in the same Room, Order and Office, whereunto ' they be call'd and admitted themselves, and finally to feed Christ's ' People like good Pastors, and Rectors, as the *Apostle* calleth them, ' with their wholsom Doctrine, and by their Continual exhortations ' and Monitions to reduce them from Sin and Iniquity, so much as ' in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, ' the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect Charity of ' their Neighbours.——

' *Item*, That *this Office, this Power and Authority*, was committed ' and given by *Christ* and his *Apostles* to certain Persons *only*, that is to ' say, *unto Priests and Bishops*, whom they did Elect, call and admit ' thereunto by their Prayers and Imposition of their hands.——

Thomas Cromwell.
T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Bathonienſ.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Bangor:
Nicolaus Sarum.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Hugo Wygorn.
Joannes Roffen.

Rich. Ciceſtr.
Richardus Wolman.
Joannes Bell.
Willielmus Clyffe.
Robertus Aldrige.
Gilfridus Downes.
Joannes Skip.
Cuthbertus Marſhall.
Marmaduke Waldeby.
Robertus Oking.
Nicolaus Heyth.
Rodalphus Bradford.

Richardus Smith.
Simon Matthew.
Joannes Prynn.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtre.
Willielmus Maye.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Joannes Redman.
Thomas Robertſon.
Thomas Baret.
Joannes Naſe.
Joannes Barbar.

(Some

(Some other hands there are that cannot be read)

Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Ecclesiastici, & Civilis Professores.

It appears plain from this Paper, That these Prelates and Divines were not for any other Supremacy in the Crown, than what is consistent with the Intrinsic Power of the Church in Ecclesiastical Discipline. For Besides, that they asser. a *Power and Authority in* Bishops to *excommunicate and absolve*, by vertue of a Commission from Christ, and distinct from Civil Magistracy, they expresly assert that this Power and Authority was committed to *certain persons only* viz. *Priests* and *Bishops*, and therefore they cou'd not think that the Magistrates Commission Entitled him to that Power and Authority, unless they wou'd make him a Priest or a Bishop by vertue of his Office as a Magistrate; A Thought too gross to be imputed to men of their sense and Learning. And it ought to be remark'd, That not only the Venerable *Cranmer*, the *Martyr*, But *Cromwell* sign'd this Paper; tho' the latter had an Extraordinary Office, & was call'd the King's *Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and it can't be supposed, That he wou'd have consented to the Inherent Power of the Church fully asserted in this Paper, if he had believed it to have been a Disloyal Principle.

Bishop *Burnet*, a Strenuous assertor of the Regal Supremacy in Matters Ecclesiastical, when he comes to explain it, makes it only a *Civil Power*; for in his answer to *Sanders*'s Book of the *English Schism* he states one of Sanders's Objections against the Reformed thus. 'He (p) says, King *Edward* was not only declar'd King of 'England, and *Ireland*, but made *Supreme Head of the Church*; and upon that runs out, to shew how uncapable a Child was of that Power.' To which he replies thus, 'This is set down in such Terms, 'as if there had been some special Act made for his being *Supreme* 'Head of the Church, distinct from his being proclaim'd King, where-'as there was no such thing; for the Supremacy being annex'd to 'the Crown, the one went with the other: And it being BUT 'A CIVIL POWER, might be as well exercised by the King's Gover-

(p) *Hist. of the Reform.* Part 2. *Appendix p.* 383.

' Governors, before he came to be of Age, as the other Rights of ' the Crown were '. Part I.

And if this Power of the Crown be only a Civil Power, that is, the Power of the civil Sword, 'tis plain that a Spiritual Power of Church-Government and Discipline is quite another thing, and may be Inherent in the Church, tho' the *other* remain entirely in the Civil Magistrate; who, has his right to it not by his Religion, but by his Office, as Magistrate; (as the same Rev'd. Author clears. in his Explication of the 37*th* Article, which I have quoted p 28,29 and therefore can't be invested with the Evangelical and Spiritual Power of Church-Government, committed by *Christ* to the Pastors and Governors of the Church; which Dr. *Burnet* is not willing to put into the hand of Laymen: For after he had finish'd his Excellent History of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Points of Doctrine and Worship: he makes this Reflection upon the Reformation, in point of Church Government.

' As (*q*) for the Canons and Rules of the Church-Government, ' they were not so soon prepar'd. There came out some in the ' Year 1571, and more in the year 1597, and a far larger Collection of ' them in the first Year of King *James*'s Reign. But this matter has ' *yet* wanted its *chief force*; for the Penitentiary Canons have not ' been set up, and the Government of the Church *is not yet brought* ' *into the the hands of Church-men.* So that in this point, the Refor- ' mation of the Church wants some part of its finishing, in the Go- ' vernment and Discipline of it.

Here indeed he speaks of the Churches Spiritual and Inherent Power of Government and Discipline, which he wou'd have plac'd in the hands of Church-men and of none others, subject to the Civil Supremacy of the Prince even in Matters Ecclesiastical; which Presbyterians reckon the true way of explaining the Distinction and Relation between the *Power* of the *Sword*, and the *Power* of the *Keys*.

The same Learn'd Author advances a Principle in his *Preface* to his second part of the *History* of the *Reformation*, which necessarily infers all the Inherent Church-Power, that ever Presbyterians pleaded for: For, while he is bewailing the Heats and Contentions that

(*q*) *id. ibid, p.* 407.

Part I. that arose early in *England* about the Power of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in the Matter of Church-Government and Discipline; he acquaints us with the Issue of the Debate; and speaking of Ecclesiastical Discipline he says, 'And all went into those Courts commonly call'd 'the *Spiritual Courts*; without making Distinction between those 'Causes of Testaments, Marriages and such other suits, that require 'some learning in the *Civil* and *Canon* Law, and the other Causes of 'the Censures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiri-'tual Nature, and ought indeed to be tryed ONLY by the Bishops 'and Clergy; for they are no small part of the Care of souls, 'which is incumbent on them: and by THEM ONLY Excom-'munications ought to be made, as being a Suspension from the 'Sacred Rights of Christians, of which NONE can be the COM-'PETENT JUDGES, *but those* to whom the Charge of Souls is 'Committed.

Dr. *Potter* Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford* hath written a Book, Entitul'd, *A Discourse of Church-Government, wherein the Rights of the Church, and the Supremacy of Christian Princes, are vindicated and adjusted.* In his 5*th* Chapter of that Book, he fully maintains the same Principles asserted by the Bishops and Clergy I have already mention'd, for the Churches Inherent Power, as appears from the following Passages, 'The (*r*) *Nature* and '*Design* of the *Powers*, which belong to the Church, will best ap-'pear by considering the Constitution of the Church, and the ends 'for which it was founded: Which having been formerly shown 'to be *Spiritual*, and such as wholly relate to the next World; it 'follows that all the *Powers*, which belong to the Church are of the 'same Nature; and consequently distinct from those of *Civil* Ma-'gistrates, which concern the affairs of this life, and are design'd 'for the present Welfare of Human Societies.———

'In (*s*) treating on the present argument; I shall endeavor to 'show. *First*, *THAT* our blessed *Lord* has entrusted the *Church*, 'and particularly the *Governors* of it with authority to *censure* Of-'fenders, and *exclude* them from its *Communion*. *Secondly*, *THAT* 'this authority was constantly exercised and held to be of Divine Right

(*r*) *Edit.* 2 p. 210 (*s*) *ibid. p.* 327.

'Right in the first ages of the Church. *Thirdly*, *THAT* it is most 'agreeable to Reason, & to the general sense and Practice of Man-'kind, that the Church shou'd exercise this Authority. Part I.

He enlarges upon those three Heads, and proves the Churches Inherent Power and Right in Ecclesiaical matters: and as he often asserts the *thing* it self, so he frequently mentions the very *Terms* INHERENT AUTHORITY, and INHERENT POWER (*t*) and ascribes them to the Bishops and Clergy of the Christian Church, as rightfully belonging to them by our *Savior's* Commission, and from the Consideration of the Churche s being a Spiritual Society.

This Paper wou'd swell to too great a bulk, shou'd I here insert the Quotations I might adduce from the Writings of the Revd. Dr. *Atterbury*, and several other Famous Modern Divines of the Church of *England*, who put in for as large a measure of Inherent Church-Power as ever the Presbyterians claim'd.

Upon the whole, I hope the reader will be satisfy'd from what has been offer'd upon this Head, that *Presbyterians* do acknowledge and chearfully yield to Magistrates the Intire Civil Jurisdiction in as ample a manner as any other faithful Subjects whatsoever. In Ecclesiastical affairs they allow them *all the Power* that's neceffary for preserving true religion, Unity, and Peace in the Church; for correcting and reforming all Abuses; and taking order that every thing in it be done according to the Word of God: and that they shou'd make use of the Power of the Sword by vertue of a *Political Civil* SUPREMACY in Ecclesiastical Matters, according to the Explication thereof in the 37*th* Article of the Church of *England*.

And seeing all the Inherent Church-Power they claim is Consistent with all the above Rights, Powers and Prerogatives belonging to Civil Authority, and is agreeable to the Judgment and Sentiments of the *purest Primitive* Churches in the *three first Centuries*; of the Christian *Emperors*, of the General Council of *Constantinople* where there were 150 Orthodox Bishops, and of other Bishops and Fathers in the 4*th Century*; and of many *Archbishops* and *Bishops* and other

(*t*) *p.* 316, 365

Part 1. Clergy of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and some of them amongst the first Reformers, Martyrs, and most Eminent Lights for Piety and Learning that have appear'd in them. It seems to me to be a plain and unanswerable Consequence, That either Presbyterians are *unjustly charg'd* with Disloyalty for their asserting an Inherent Church-Power in matters meerly Spiritual and Ecclesiastical; or, that all the Persons I have mention'd must be reputed Disloyal and Injurious to the Secular Powers, and the Magistrates unwise and unjust to themselves for their consenting to it.

And as all the Rights of Magistracy, even in Ecclesiastical Matters, are well secur'd by the Limitations and Restrictions put upon the Inherent Power, as 'tis asserted and explain'd by Presbyterians; so the right exercise of the Political Supremacy is render'd the more easy and practicable by a Principle of Presbyterians, which is this: Their Clergy have no vote in any Civil Court (from the *High Court* of *Parliament* to the *meanest* in the Kingdom) they do not allow themselves a Liberty of Intermeddling in those things; their principles do not permit 'em to share either in the Legislature, or the meanest Office in the Civil Magistracy: Whereby the State has the fullest and greatest Liberty imaginable to correct all their Disorders, & reform all their Abuses, Intrusions, Incroachments or any violation of Civil Rights, or even the abuses of their Ecclesiastical Functions. Whereas a Clergy who have a large share in the Civil Administration, are still the more capable of resisting those Acts of the Legislature and Government, which may become necessary for reforming the Church from these Corruptions, wherein frequently themselves may have too great an hand. This is known by sad experience in many *Popish* Countries, where the *Clergy* not only rule the Church, but have become so great by their *engrossing Secular Employments* and the greatest Posts at Court, that they govern the State, and *become too great* for the Magistrate to meddle with them, let their faults, and Church-Corruptions be what they will. And by this means, they have both an *Intrinsic* and *Extrinsic* Power in the Church, the Conjunction whereof in the hands of Ambitious men may indeed prove dangerous to the State, and generally introduces Corruption into the Church.

But there is not the least ground of uneasiness to the Civil Magistrate, on this Account, in the Case of Presbyterian Ministers: their Parity in the Inherent Spiritual Power, and their *Renouncing all Civil Posts*, and Employments makes it Impossible for them to be a *Dead Weight* upon the

Part. I.

the honest Measures of Any Government, or to awe the Magistrate into a truckling servile way of *abetting* instead of *Correcting* their Errors: Besides, that it enables 'em to discharge the more faithfully the Inherent Trust and Powers of their Spiritual Function, while they give themselves wholly to it. They reckon it ground of Mighty *Comfort* and *Peace* to 'em, That their principles exclude 'em from the Guilt of that Crime, which was so particularly Censur'd by the *greatest men* that have been in the Church in its *best Times*; whereof I shall give the Reader a short Account, in the Words and Opinion of the very Learn'd Historian (Dr. *Burnet*) who speaking of Bishop *Goodrick*'s being made Ld. Chancellor in 1551. says.

'When (*u*) the Reformation was first preach'd in *England*, *Tindal*, *Barns*, & *Latimer*, took an Occasion, from the great pomp & Luxury of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the Secular Imployments of the other Bishops and Clergy-men to represent them as a Sort of Men that had wholly neglected the Care of Souls, and those Spiritual Studies and Exercises that disposed Men to such Functions; and only carried the Names of Bishops and Church-Men, to be a Colour to serve their Ambition and Covetousness, And this had raised great Prejudices in the Minds of the people against those who were called their pastors, when they saw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at least Impertinent to their Callings, if not Inconsistent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick*'s being made *Lord Chancellor*, that was a Reformed Bishop, it was said by their Adversaries, these Men only condemn'd Secular Imployments in the Hands of Church-men, *because their Enemies had them*, but chang'd their mind as soon as any of *their own Party* came to be advanc'd to them. But as *Goodrick* was rais'd by the popish Interest in Opposition to the Duke of *Somerset*, and to *Cranmer*, that was his firm Friend; so it appear'd in the Beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: And that whether he joyn'd in the Reformation only in Compliance to the time, or was persuaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a Bishop, and was one of these who resolv'd to make as much Advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So

(*y*) *Hist. of the Reform.* Part 2. Book 1. p. 182. 183..

Part I.

'his Practice in this matter is neither a Precedent to justifie the like 'in others, nor can it cast a Scandal on those to whom he join'd 'himself. *Christ* being spoke to divide an inheritance between two 'Bretbren, said, *Who made me a Judge or a Divider?* St. *Paul* 'speaking of Church-men, says, *No Man that warreth intangleth him-'self with the affairs of this life:* Which was understood by St. *Cy-'prian* as a PERPETUAL RULE against the *Secular Employments* 'of the Clergy. There are THREE of the *Apostilical Canons* a-'gainst it: And *Cyprian* reckoning up the Sins of his time, that had 'provok'd God to send a Persecution on the Church, names this, 'that *many Bishops forsaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares.* In 'which he was so strict, that he thought the being Tutor to Or-'phans was a Distraction unsutable to their Character: So that one 'Priest leaving another Tutor to his Children, because by the *Ro-'man* Law he to whom this was left was oblig'd to undergo it, 'the Priests name who made that Testament was appointed to be 'struck out of the List of those Church-men who had died in the 'Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samosatenus* is 'represented as one of the first Eminent Church-men that involv'd 'himself much in secular Cares. Upon the Emperor's turning Chri-'stian, it was a natural effect of their Conversion for them to che-'rish the Bishops much, and many of the Bishops became so much 'in love with the Court and public Imployments, that *Canons were 'made against their going to Court*, unless they were call'd, and the '*Canalis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Bishop of *Rome*, so 'that none might go without his Warrant. Their *meddling in 'Secular matters* was also condemn'd in MANY Provincial Coun-'cils, but *most copiously and Amply* by the GENERAL COUN-'CIL at *Chalcedon.*

But I proceed to examine what our Author objects to Presbyterians, of their *exerting this Inherent Power to the Excommunication and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate.* Excommunication is proceeded in with as great Solemnity and Caution by the Presbyterians as by any People In the World, as may be seen in the *Scots* Assemblie's *Form of Process* in their Printed Acts, *Anno* 1707. Notorious Scandals, unrepented of and obstinately persisted in, are in the Judgment of *all* Reformed Churhes sufficient Ground for Excommunication. And the true question is, whether Magistracy does Entitle any Person to

Part I.

to the Priviledges of *Christian Communion*, notwithstanding of his being *as notoriously, Scandalously and Obstinately Profane and Wicked*, as you can suppose any Body to be? whether is it the duty of an honest & faithful Clergy-man to give the Sacrament to such a prince? Or may he not justly refuse it him, & yet be a good Loyal Subject? Let us hear what the Church of *England* says upon this Head. 2*d Book* of *Homilies*. Hom. of the *Right use of the Church*, part 2*d*. they say, 'And according to this Example of our Saviour *Christ*, in the *Primitive-Church*, which was 'most Holy and Godly, and in the which *due Discipline* with severity was us'd against the Wicked, open offenders were not once suffer'd to enter into the House of the Lord, nor admitted to Common Prayer and the use of the Holy Sacraments with other true Christians, untill they had done open Penance before the whole Church. 'And this was Practis'd not only upon mean Persons, but also upon 'the *Rich Noble and Mighty Persons*, *YEA UPON THEODOSIUS 'THAT PUISSANT and MIGHTY EMPEROR* whom for committng a Grievous and Wilful Murther St. *Ambrose* Bishop of '*Milan* reprov'd sharply, and did also *EXCOMMUNICATE THE 'SAID EMPEROR*, and brought him to open Pennance. And they that were so justly exempted and banish'd (as it 'were) from the House of the Lord, were taken (as they be indeed,) 'for Men divided and separated from Christ's Church, and in most 'dangerous Estate, yea as St. *Paul* saith; even given unto Satan the 'Devil for a Time.

Here is the History of the Excommunication of a *Puissant and Mighty Emperor*, and his being brought to *open Pennance* approv'd by the Church of *England*. Why a Son of the Church shou'd tax Presbyterians with a Principle which he says makes all Crown'd Heads their Vassals, when his own Church mentions that same Principle as just and Laudable, and yet does not believe any such Consequence to follow from it, is what I am not bound to account for. If he be a *Layman*, perhaps he has never read the *Homiliee*, and so his Ignorance extenuates his Crime; but then Methinks, he shou'd not be so *pretending*, to accuse the Principles of others, untill he first learn his own a little better: If he be a Clergyman, I'm at a greater loss what to say for him, because he hath subscrib'd the 39 Articles, the 35th whereof approves the Homilies as *containing a Godly and wholesom Doctrine and necessary for these times, and judgeth them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently and distinctly.*

As to the *Exclusion of the Civil Magistate*, if he means Exclusion from

Part 1. from his Civil Jurisdiction, 'tis what the Inherent Power has nothing to do with, it being purely Civil, and consequently what no Presbyterian Church-Judicatory lays claim to, but expressly renounceth 2*d*. Book of Discipline Chap. 7. 'Diligence shou'd be taken, chiefly by the Moderator, that *only Ecclesiastical things* be handled in the Assemblies, and that there be no meddling with any thing pertaining to the Civil Jurisdiction.

Our Author further objects (p. 5.) 'Nor is the Prince alone thus subject, but all the Laws of the Nation, which they shall judge any way relating to the *Kirk*, (and what Law can they not, and in a manner have they not reduc'd to that Head) are so wholly in the Power of the *Kirk*, that they shall null and make them void without any consent of the Legislature; and that by a power Inherent in the *Kirk*, Superior to and Independent of all Authority of the Civil Magistrate, even by a Commission from Christ, of whose Extent they are the sole and proper Judges. Now that this is the known Principle of the Presbyterian *Kirk*, by their Books of Discipline, and repeated Acts of their Assemblies, will be manifest to all, who will take the pains to peruse them.

Answ. It is no Dishonor to the Prince, That *he*, *as a Christian*, shou'd be subject to the Laws of Christ. Does not every Pious Magistrate look upon himself bound in Conscience to obey the Word of God preach'd to him, and to amend those faults for which he may (with all due Deference to his Character as a Magistrate) be admonish'd by Christs faithful Servants; who, seeing they have the *charge* of the *Magistrate's Soul* and must give an Account to God, they must dispense *all* the means of Grace and Salvation to him, of which the Right use of the Power of the Keys by Church-Censures (when needful) as well as by Doctrine is a part; which they can't omit in the Case of Christian Magistrates without manifest Unfaithfulness both to God and their Souls: For our *Savior's* Commission runs thus *Whatsoever* (*v*) *you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, whosoever sins you remit they are remitted to them; and whosoever Sins you retain they are retained* (*w*). Magistrates are not excepted here: And seeing the Church of *England* allows, That they may be

(*v*) Matt. 18. 16. (*w*) John 20. 23.

be Excommunicated as well as other men; it necessarily follows, that they are *in that respect* subject to those who are Entrusted with the Power of Ecclesiastical Discipline, for the good of their Souls; tho' *as they are invested* with Regal Dignity and the Supreme Civil-Power, they *are not* subject to the Churches Authority; nor can their Sovereign Power and Dignity be in the least affected, or they divested of it, by the Highest Acts of Church Power which touch them only as Christians and Members of the Church. And tho' the servants of Christ must do nothing by Partiality, yet they ought to use the *utmost Discretion and Prudence* in the use of their Spiritual Power in Censuring Scandalous Magistrates. And here I can't forbear the mentioning of a Resolution of the English *Puritans* in this case, which favors very much both of Piety and Loyalty; 'tis to be found in the Book Entitul'd, *English Puritanism, containing the main Opinions of the Rigider sort of those who are call'd Puritans in the Realm of England.* In the 5*th* Chap. *Concerning the Censures of the Church*, they hold ' That if the Party offending be their *Civil superior*, that ' then they are to use even throughout the whole Carriage of their ' Censure, *all* Civil Complements, Offices & Reverence *due* unto him; ' That they are not to presume to convent him before them, but are ' themselves to go in all Civil and humble Manner unto him, to stand ' bare before him, to bow unto him, to give him all Civil Titles ' belonging to him; and *if he be a King*, and *supreme Ruler*, they ' are to kneel down before him. And in the *humblest manner to* ' *Censure his faults*, so that he may see apparently, That they are *not* ' *carried* with the least spice of Malice against his Person, but only with ' *Zeal of the health and salvation of his Soul.* Part I.

The Emperor *Valentinian*, in his Speech to the Bishops assembled for the Election of a Bishop for the City of *Milan* (who at that very time chose *Ambrose* to that Office) signify'd his Christian Disposition chearfully to *submit himself* to any Godly Bishop that shou'd be Elected by them. And because Dr. *Burnet* gives us a piece of History Relating to it which I design'd to have inserted in the 30*th* page of this Book immediately before the last line of that page, and now finding that 'twas omitted in the transcribing of my Papers there, I shall set it down here.

And

Part 1.

'And (*x*) thus we see what let in the Confusions that were in 'some Elections. It was partly the Differences in Religion, and 'chiefly the Wealth and Dignity of Sees in the great Towns. An 'Instance of this appear'd at *Milan*; where, upon the death of *Auxentius* who was an *Arian*, the (*y*) *Emperor* call'd the Bishops together, *and desired THEM TO CHUSE such a Bishop as might, both by his life and doctrine, Instruct those whom he was to govern, and that he might see such a Person set up, to whom he that held the Empire, might chearfully SUBMIT HIMSELF, and receive his Reproofs as a healthful Medicine, since he himself was a man and had many failings.* The Synod upon this desired that he would name the Person. But he said *that was above* him to undertake and so he left it to them Upon which the Bishops *went to consult* about it;——————' Thus we see the Emperors *declin'd to meddle* in these Elections, and left them still free.

While our Author endeavors to prove That all the Laws of the *Nation &c. are so wholly in the Power of the Kirk, that they shall null and make them void &c by their Inherent Power*; he quotes and offers manifest violence to the sense of a Paragraph of the 2*d. Book of Discipline* Chap. 7. the words are. 'This Assembly hath Power to abrogate and 'abolish all Statutes and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters 'that are found Noysom or Unprofitable, and agree not with the 'time". To infer from hence (as he does) That all the *Laws of the Nation, which they shall judge any way relating to the Kirk* &c. *may be made void* &c. is a most false Consequence. Ecclesiastical Matters are *Spiritual Matters* relating to men's Conscience: But a Law may have Relation to the *Kirk*, when only some External Reward, or Civil Punishment is intended and Statuted in it, or in diverse other Respects may be *some way relating to the Kirk*, tho' it be not strictly concerning *Ecclesiastical* Matters. But to show the fallacy of his whole Reasoning upon this Head, let the Reader be pleas'd to peruse the Answer to *Lysimachus Nicanor* (*z*) 'Ye object (says he p. 18) an annulling of

(*x*) *Burnet's Hist. of the Rights of Princes.* p. 37, 38. (*y*) *Theod. l.* 4. c 6, 7. (*z*) The Book call'd *Lysimachus Nicanor* was publish'd in the Reign of King *Charles* 1. and is stuff'd with such Reflections as the Author of *the True blue* has in his Papers; and was refuted in a Judicious Answer of which the above Quotation is a part.

of the Acts of Parliament by the Decrees of our Assemblies, and the extending the Power of our Synod to many Secular Affairs. Part I.

——————What ye speak of our encroaching upon Parliaments is no ways true; only some evil Acts of your evidently corrupted Assemblies, whereto ye had obtain'd, by your familar Acts of fraud and force the Ratification of some Parliaments we did recognosce, *and that alone in their Ecclesiastic part*, with the good leave of the King's Commissioner: As for the Civil Sanction of Parliament, according to the ordinar Ecclesiastic Proceeding of our Church in *all by-gone times*, we did appoint Commissioners from our Assembly to supplicate the *Parliament for the Abolition thereof*, neither do we meddle at all in our Synods with Secular Affairs: Remember what your self in your Canons do pronounce to be the due and lawful subject of Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction, ye will find that our General Assemblies did never take in so much matter as ye appropriate to any of your *Official Courts*.

To justify this Answer, let the Reader consider that in the General *Assembly* met *August* 4*th* 1590. 'Their (*a*) Moderator having exhorted the Brethren to deal earnestly with the King, to rescind and annul dangerous Acts and Laws, made in Prejudice of the Discipline & Liberty of Christ's Kingdom; they did draw up & present to the King an humble Petition, one clause whereof was, 'That all Acts made contrary to the Liberty and Jurisdiction of the said *Kirk*, preceding the date hereof, *be* ABOLISHED.

The Assembly met *May* 21. 1591. Petitions the King, 'That (*b*) the Acts of Parliament made in the Year of God 1584. against the Discipline of the Kirk Liberty and Authority thereof be annulled, and the present Discipline, whereof the Kirk hath had the Practice, be ratify'd.

From these and other Instances that could be given (if necessary) its plain, That the Assembly by *STATUTES and ORDINANCES* in that place, did not in the least mean the *Statutes and Ordinances of the State*, but of the *Church* in her Assemblies; otherwise they needed not have Petition'd King and Parliament to abrogate them, but wou'd have done it themselves, if they had judg'd it had belong'd

(*a*) *Calderwood's Hist.* p. 255. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 267.

Part I. to their *Inherent Power* to do it: It was agreeable enough to the language of that Age to call the *Canons* of Councils and Synods by the name of *Statutes and Ordinances*: they are call'd *Ordinances*, in that same 7 Chap. of the 2d. *Book of Discipline*, ' It belongs (*say* ' *they*) to this kind of Assembly, to cause the *ORDINANCES* made ' by the Assemblies Provincial, National and General to be kept ' and put in Execution. That in that Age they were also term'd *Statutes*, appears by the following Instances. *Calderwood* in his *History* p: 94. giving an Account of a *Canon* of the Council of *Nice* concerning Ordination, says, " In the Council of *Nice*, for shewing of private ' Ordaining of Ministers, it was *STATUTED* &c. In the Assembly 1600. In two of their Acts, there is this phrase, *It is STATUTE and ORDAIN'D (c)*. And in the same Assembly it was represented in the King's presence, That *the Ministers urg'd Slanderous Persons &c to purge themselves, conform to the STATUTES of the KIRK (d)* And the Assembly 1602 *(e)* makes An Act concerning the Administration of Baptism, wherein they say, *It is STATUTE &c*, All which Instances prove, that 'tis no Violence offer'd to the Common signification of the Words in that age, to expound *Statutes and Ordinances* mention'd in the 2d. *Book of Discipline*, of such as were made by the *Church*; which compar'd with their *Constant Practice* of Petitioning the *State* for the *Abrogation* of such Laws as were a Grievance to them, demonstrates how unfair a Representation our *Author* has given of this Principle.

After *he* has by a *wide stretch* drawn in the Laws of the State into the meaning of that phrase *STATUTES and ORDINANCES*, and by the same Candor expounded *Ecclesiastical Affairs* to be what *any way relate to the Kirk*, all this won't serve him, but he must add a most Malicious and Uncharitable Insinuation in these words; *And what Law can they not, and in a manner have they not reduc'd to that Head.* He has not Instanc'd, nor can't instance one Law that ever was reduc'd by them to that Head, but what is plainly reducible to it; and if it be a Law of the State, he can't give an Instance, wherein they ever pretended to abrogate and annul *the least* Clause of it, but left it always to the *Legislature* that made it.

For

(c) *Ibid. p.* 44. (d) *Ibid p.* 442. (e) *Id. Ibid. p.* 468.

Part I.

For what Reason our *Author* has in his Quotation of this Passage out of the 2d. *Book of Discipline* Chap. 7. added these words, *without any Reclamation or Appellation to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical* (tho there are no such words there, but they are in the 12*th Chap.* and upon another Occasion) he himself best knows. If this be *fair dealing*, 'twill be in any man's Power at the same Rate to turn the *best sense* and the *greatest Truth* that can be contain'd in any Books, into the *meerest Nonsense*, and the *vilest Error*, that can be well imagin'd. You may only shuffle together a few Sentences, distorted from their proper places, without altering one word of them, and so the work is done.

He brings in this Clause in a place, which he expounds of an *Abrogation* of the Civil Laws of the Nation; the power whereof the Presbyterians never pretended to; but much more intolerable and insolent wou'd such a Pretension be, if it left no room for Appeal to any Civil Judge, who indeed is the *Proper* and *only Judge* in all such Cases. Whereas the Clause is put in such a place as evidently shows, That 'tis only in *Causes Ecclesiastical*, there lyes to Appeal to the Civil Judge. The words are (Chap. 12) 'And all men as well Magistrates, as Inferiors, to be subject to the Judgment of the same (*i. e. the National Assemblies*) in Causes Ecclesiastical, *without any Reclamation or Appellation to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical within the Realm.* And because a great part of his Reasoning, or rather Reflections are grounded upon this *last sentence*, I shall a little consider its true meaning, however it be misplac'd by him. The whole Nicety of this Matter lieth in the word *APPELLATION*: For tho' they do not allow of a *Formal Appeal*, yet they yield all that's necessary or can be desir'd by the Magistrate in order to his using his Authority of the *Civil Sword*, for correcting any Male-Administrations committed by them in the Exercise of the *Power of the Keys.*

The Assembly *Anno* 1585. (*f*) in their Petition to the King say 'Your Highness will grant us Liberty and Freedom to hold our Ordinar assemblies, and use such Discipline as we were in use of before these late Acts, for Government of the Ecclesiastical affairs; concerning which we shall be at *all times* ready to *give an Account* to God,

(*f*) *Cald. Hist.* p. 197.

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'*Your Majesty and Council*, if we do any thing beside our Duty, or to 'perturb the Common-wealth. And this is agreeable to the *2d Book of Discipline* Chap. 1. Wherein they say, 'The Civil Power 'shou'd *Command* the Spiritual to exercise and to do their Duty ac- 'cording to the word of God.

The late Revd. Mr. *Samuel Rutherfurd* Professor of Divinity at St. *Andrews*, and the late Revd Mr *George Gillespie* Minr. at *Edenburgh* (two Famous Scots Presbyterian Divines, Commissioners from the Church of *Scotland* to the *Westminster* Assembly) are allow'd by all such Presbyterians, as have *I* Convers'd with, to stand as strictly by *their Principles* about the *Inherent Power* of the *Keys*, and the Ecclesiastical Liberties of the Church in the Exercise thereof, as any of their Writers, and yet they make such Concessions as do fully answer all the Ends of Civil Authority in Ecclesiastical affairs.

Mr *Rutherfurd* in his Book Entitul'd, a *Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbytery in Scotland*, says 'The (*g*) King's Royal 'Power in adding his Sanction to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, 'and in punishing such as are decreed to be Heretics by the Church 'is *Regal*, and *not Ministerial* and *Servile*. See for this the Counc. 'Chalced. Act. 16. the *Imperial Laws*, *Cod. l.* 1. *Tit.* 8. *leg.* 2 *Heretic.* 'Vocab. and Decret. p. 2. *cauf.* 23. *q.* 8. c. 30. crossing *Bellar. de* 'pont. b. 1. c. 7. So do their own men go against *Bellarmine* in this as 'Sanderus de Clavib. David. l. 2, c. 13. *Carerius de poteft. fum. pont.* 'l. 2. c: 23. *Leo* Epist. 38. to *Martian* &c. Pulcheria, and *Leo* 'Epist. 7. to *Theodosius*. *Becanus* erreth here with *Bellarmine*, making 'the King as a servant oblig'd to add his Sanction Civil to Eccle- 'siastical Canons. *Becan. in opusc. exam. Conc. Anglic. c.* 7.

" 1. Because the use of the Sword at God's Commandement is a 'Kingly act commanded by God, and is service done to God, not to 'the Church.

'2. *Neither is the King so to execute the Churches Will, as he should* 'judge only of the fact, and of the assumption, yea, he is judge of the 'Law, and of the Major Proposition. For we see not in the word 'of God, where a Judge is a Judge to punish a fault, and is not to 'know judicially that it is a fault: a Judge as a Judge shou'd know such

(*g*) *vide* p. 302, 303, 304.

Part 1.

'such a thing to be *Heresy*, and not take it upon the Word of an 'Assembly of *Church-men*, Deut. 17. 18, 19. he is expressly to read 'and know the Law, and to know and remember the *Decree*, Prov. '31. 5. *And the Cause which he knoweth not he is to search out*, Job 29. 16. 'all which is meant of a knowledge not of private Discretion, which 'is requir'd in all private Christians, but (as I take the places) of a 'Knowledge *Judicial* and *Authoritative* which agreeth to a Judge 'as a Judge.

'If a Synod err, and decree that man to be an Heretic who is 'found in the Faith, the King is not oblig'd to err with the Synod, 'and to punish the Innocent, he is to decree Righteous Judgment, 'and so the *King is to judge of Heresy*, but after a *Regal and Civil way*, 'and with *Coactive* Power; as the Synod or Church-Assembly is 'to judge of Heresy after an Ecclesiastical way, and with a Spiritual 'Power. 2. The King punisheth Heresy as it troubleth the Com-'monwealth, and the Synod as it is Scandalous and Infectious in 'the Church.

'Yea, and the *Christian King* ruleth over men as men, and also 'as *Christian men*; he ruleth over them as men, with a Dominion 'over their bodies, lives and goods by his Civil Laws, he hath also 'Dominion as King over men, as Christians and Members of Christ's 'Kingdom and Church, not over their Consciences (for that is 'proper only to *the Father of Spirits*) but he hath a Coactive pow-'er over all men, even Pastors, as to *cause them to do their Christian 'duties*, he hath a Power to *compel Church-men in Assemblies* to de-'termine Truth, and to use the *K*eys Right, and to preach and 'use the Sacraments according as Christ hath Commanded in his 'Word, and to PUNISH THEM when they do otherwise. 'What then if the King discern that to be truth, and absolve the 'Man, whom the *Church-Assembly* doth condemn as Heretic, who 'shall judge betwixt them?

'I answer, the infallible Rule of judging for both is the Word 'of God, which speaketh home impartially to both, if they will 'hear, but certainly the King's Civil, Kingly Coactive Power to compel 'men to do their Duty, remaineth the HIGHEST AND MOST 'SUPREME POWER ON EARTH, *in genere Potestatis Po-'liticæ*, in the kind of Politic Power, and Pastors and all men may, 'by this Power, be compelled to do Right: as for the Abuse of the

Power,

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Power, it is no part of the Power; and in this kind the King hath a NEGATIVE politic and KINGLY SUFFRAGE *and voice in all Church Assemblies*; no Ecclesiastical Constitution hath the force of a Law without the Politic suffrage of the Civil Judge.

The late Revd. Mr. *George Gillespie* expresses his mind fully upon the same Subject in the following Words, 'It is far from our meaning (says he) (*h*) That the Christian Magistrate shou'd not meddle with matters of Religion, or things and Causes Ecclesiastical——certainly there is *much Power* and *Authority* which by the Word of God, and by the Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches, doth belong to the Christian Magistrate in Matters of Religion. If (*i*) the Magistrate be offended, at the Sentence given, or Censure inflicted by a Presbytery or aSynod, they ought to be ready in all Humility and respect to give him an Account and reason of such their Proceedings, and by all means to endeavor the satisfaction of the Magistrate his Conscience; or otherwise to be warn'd and Rectify'd, if themselves have erred. Tho' the Case be *meerly Spiritual and Ecclesiastical*, (*k*) The Christian Magistrate (by himself and immediately) may not only examine by the Judgment of Discretion the Sentence of the *Ecclesiastical Court*, but also when he seeth Cause (either upon the *Complaint of the Party*, or Scandal given to himself) interpose by Letters, Messages, Exhortations and sharp admonitions to the Presbytery or Synod, who in that Case are bound in *Conscience, with all Respect and Honor to the Magistrate, to give him a Reason of what they have done*, and to declare the Grounds of their proceedings, till by the Blessing of God upon this free and equal Dealing, they either give a Rational account to the Magistrate, or be themselves convinc'd of their Male-Administration of Discipline. Yea also as Church Officers (*l*) they are to be kept within the limits of their Calling, and compell'd (if need be) by the Magistrate to do these Duties which by the clear word of God and Receiv'd Principles of Christian Religion, or by the Receiv'd Ecclesiastical Constitutions of the Church, they ought to do. It is ask'd

(*h*) *Aaron's* Rod blossoming, *Book* 2. Cap. 3. p. 181. (*i*) *Ibid.* p. 183 (*k*) *Ibid.* Chap. 8. p. 253. (*l*) *Ibid.* Chap. 3. p. 176.

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'ask'd (*m*) what Remedy shall there be against the abuse of Church-Discipline by Church-Officers, *except there be appeals* from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Civil Magistrate——*Answer*, look what Remedy there is for abuses in the Preaching of the Word, and Administration of the Sacraments, the like Remedy there is for Abuses in Church-Discipline——Now when the Word is not truly preach'd, nor the Sacraments duly Administred by any Minister or Ministers, the Magistrate seeketh the Redress of these things (in a Constituted Church) by the Convocating of Synods, for Examining, Discovering, and Judging of such Errors & abuses as are found in Particular Churches. But if the Synod shou'd Connive at, or Comply with that same Error; yet the Magistrate taketh not upon him the Supreme and Authoritative Decision of a Controversy of Faith: But still endeavoreth to help all this by *other Ecclesiastical Remedies*; as *another* Synod, and yet *another*, till the evil be remov'd. The *like we say* concerning abuses in Church-Discipline: The Magistrate may COMMAND a Resuming and Re-examination of the case in another Synod.

'And *in Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu* (*n*) I mean if it shall ever happen That Presbyteries or Synods shall make Defection from the *Truth* to *Error*, from *Holiness* to *Prophaneness*, from *Moderation* to *Tyranny* and Persecution, Censuring the innocent and Absolving the Guilty,——And there being no hopes of redressing such Enormities in the Ordinary way by *Intrinsical Ecclesiastical Remedies*, that is; by well Constituted Synods or Assemblies of Orthodox, Holy, Moderate Presbyters: In such an *EXTRAORDINARY EXIGENCE*, the Christian Magistrate may and ought to *INTERPOSE* his Authority to do diverse things, which in an Ordinary Course of Government, he ought not to do: For in such a Case, *Magistracy* (without expecting the Proper Intrinsical Remedy of better Ecclesiastical Assemblies) may IMMEDIATELY, by *IT SELF*, and in the most Effectual manner, *suppress and restrain such Defection, Exorbitancy and Tyranny, and not suffer the Unjust, Heretical Tyrannical Sentences of Presbyteries or Synods to be put in Execution.*——When Church-Discipline

(*o*)

(*m*) *Ibid.* Chap. 8. *p.* 251, 252. (*n*) *Ibid. Cap.* 3. p. 176.

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From those Concessions (which are truly agreeable to Presbyterian Principles, so far as I can Judge of 'em) it appears, That the Magistrate may *receive Complaints* from the party injur'd by Ecclesiastical Courts, even *in Causes meerly Spiritual & Ecclesiastical*; and upon such Complaints has a Power to *enjoin Synods*, if he sees fit, to resume and Re-examine the Cause Complain'd of, he may call *one after another*, and command and even *Compell 'em by the Civil Sword to do justice*; and if this won't do, he may, immediately by himself protect the injur'd Party, and stop the Execution of a Tyrannical Sentence against him; and in Extraordinary Cases may Apply Extraordinary Remedies.

Now, I wou'd fain know, *what Right* of Magistracy to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs is not *as fully* secur'd, and may not be as amply and effectually exerted upon the foot of *these Presbyterian Concessions*, as it is and cou'd be upon a *Formal* Appeal laid before him. The only justifiable Ends of *an Appeal* to the Magistrate in such Cases are, the Redressing of Grievances, Reforming Abuses, Correcting the Male-Administrations, and Giving Check to the Tyranny and Corruptions of the Clergy; and all these may be obtain'd, where a good Magistrate does his Duty, according to the Presbyterian Scheme; & if he do not his Duty, no Appeal to him will answer the End, but will Confirm, instead of Reforming the above Corruptions.

But the true Reason why the Presbyterians do not in Causes *meerly Ecclesiastical* allow of an Appeal *properly so call'd* to the Civil Magistrate, is, because they think that all Appeals, that are properly such in their own Nature, do suppose the *Superior Power Appeal'd to*, to be of the same Nature & kind with the *Inferior power Appeal'd from*; and therefore seeing they believe the Power of the *Keys*, and the Power of the *Civil Sword* (which the most Famous Divines of the Church of *England* do likewise hold with them) to be *Different Powers* and not of the *same kind* and *Nature*, they think 'tis an Improper way of speaking, to call the Complaints of Subjects to their Magistrates

(o) *Ibid.* C. 8. *p.* 252.

trates against the Abuse of the *Spiritual Power*, by the name of FORMAL APPEAL; tho' they at the same time maintain such Principles, as do *fully answer* all the just Ends of such Appeals, both with respect to the Magistrates Authority, and the Liberty of the Subject. And they believe their Principles, to be upon the Matter the *very same* in *this Point* with all such of the Establish'd Clergy of *England* and *Ireland*, as look'd upon the Power of the *Keys* and the *Sword* to be Different. Neither can they perceive, how they who think Ecclesiastical Matters shou'd be judg'd *non in Palatio, sed in Synodo*, cou'd make larger Concessions than what they themselves do make. Nor do they find any Footsteps in Antiquity of any Larger Power, yielded by the *Primitive Christians* to their *Christian Emperors*, but what *they are* willing to grant. Nay I find *Formal Appeals* from the Ecclesiastical Assemblies to the Emperors and Civil Courts made by the *Donatists*, Condemn'd by *Augustine* (p.) Part I.

The Reader may be astonish'd at our Author's bold Assertion, That the *Inherent Power of the Kirk is Superior to and Independent upon all Authority of the Civil Magistrate*, after he has read the above Principles of Presbyterians, which so evidently refute that Calumny, and that they give out themselves to be *sole and proper Judges of the Extent of Christ's Commission*, when 'tis plain that they allow the Magistrate a Power to punish such as abuse Christ's Commission, and all this he pretends to prove to be the *Principle of the Presbyterian Kirk, from their Books of Discipline, and Repeated Acts of their Assemblies*, withal giving one single Instance of any of those *Repeated acts* out, tho' one shou'd think, it had been his business to have done it, if he cou'd. And whether his Fidelity in quoting, and good sense and Charity in expounding what he adduces from their Books of Discipline, be so very great, as to make men rely upon his *bare word* for the Rest, let the World Judge.

But let us observe his Last Effort against this *Inherent Power p. 6.* where he says, 'Nay, farther by their known Principles, their *Inherent Power* extends even to the making *War* or *Peace* and the Civil Magistrate is bound to consult them, and have their Consent or else both he and his whole army may be excommunicated: For the

(p) *Epist.* 48, *and* 162.

Part 1. ‘ truth of which, I refer you first to the answer of the General as-
‘ sembly to the Paper presented from the Honorable the Commit-
‘ tee of Estates, August 1, 1648.

That Paper of the Assembly (which he transcribes) doth of it self sufficiently vindicate the Inherent Power from his foul Aspersions, for they say, ‘ If their Lordships mean any POLITIC INTE-
‘ REST in such Undertakings, *we claim no such thing*, if the meaning
‘ be of a *Spiritual Interest* and so far as *concerneth the Point of Consci-*
‘ *ence* there can be no doubt thereof made by such as with *David*
‘ make the Testimonies of the Lord their Counsellors ”. Compare this with a Clause in it, which our Author has thought fit to leave out, tho' 'tis very material for setting the whole matter in a true ‘ light ‘ Hath not the Word of God *(say they)* prescribed to the
‘ Christian Magistrate the Rules of a lawful War, and doth it not
‘ belong to particular Ministers, much more to the assemblies
‘ of the Kirk, to declare the Mind of God from Scripture, for all
‘ Sorts of Duties and against all Sorts of Sins. *And* if the present
‘ War be a *Case of Conscience*, and alledg'd to be the most fit and *ne-*
‘ *cessary means* for the *Preservation of Religion*, who seeth not that
‘ the Kirk hath an undoubted Interest in Resolving and *Determining*
‘ *such a Case of Conscience* from the Word of God.

Any man who reads our author's Commentary upon this Paper, wou'd think he makes the *Assembly* to assume a Power of Declaring War, raising Troops, and Commanding Armies; and concluding Peace and Alliances with *Foreign States* &c, this is indeed a *Politic Interest* in War and Peace, which they utterly disclaim. But where the harm can be of their Pious Endeavors to resolve Cases of Consciences about the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of war, for encouraging the former, and preventing the Shedding of Innocent Blood by the latter, but more especially when consulted; is what I believe all People of Judgment will be at a loss to find out.

I shall be satisfy'd to hear what any Body can say for aggravating this Crime in the assembly, and how they'll attempt to prove they have taken to themselves, more Power in this matter than what Mr. *Hoadly* thinks well becomes all honest Clergymen, who in his Sermon before the *Lord Mayor* of *London*, *September.* 29. 1705. makes this Apology *(p.* 11.) for his taking upon him to determine in the Rights of Magistracy. ‘ *And* tho' some may perhaps be apt to call this

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'this by the Name of *Politicks*, and Censure it as Foreign to our 'Office and this place, (which they are sure to do then only when 'their own Notions are contradicted) yet I must declare that I 'cannot think it an unbecoming, or even an unnecessary Part of 'our care to *settle the measures of Christian Duty in all Cases.*

Primate *Usher* says (*Loco citato*) 'That the Spiritual Rulers do 'exercise their kind of Government in bringing men into Obedience, 'not of the Duties of the first Table only but also of the second. 'And that both Prince and Priest are in their several Places *Custodes* '*Utriusque Tabulæ.* 'Are not these as High Pretensions as ever the assembly made, who upon these Principles may Conclude that they may very lawfully expound the *6th* Command, *Thou shalt not kill*, and resolve Cases of Conscience that may arise from it, and yet may be as Innocent as St. *Ambrose*, who REPROVED *Theodosius* the Emperor for his wilful Murther, for which he's COMMENDED and APPROVED by the Church of *England*. The Conclusion of that Paper shows that the assembly pretended to no more Power in Peace and War, than in the Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants, *i. e. so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience to declare what God's Word says about 'em.* And the very beginning of that Paragraph quoted by our author shows, That the *State* entertain'd Conferences with the *Kirk* upon this Subject, which oblig'd 'em to declare their Opinion, and therefore it cou'd not be officious in 'em so to do. The Reader may perceive what this Fearful *Military Principle* of the Kirk amounts to, and about which our author makes such a Bustle. If the War in which the Magistrate engages be lawful they can very well bear with his not consulting them, or in having their consent to it: And therefore he falsly insinuates that the Magistrate must wait for it. 'Tis the *Unlawfulness of the War*, and *not* its being entred into *without their Consent*, which they are displeas'd with.

What follows p. 6. and 7. concerning the Assemblies opposing of *Duke Hamilton*'s *Engagement*, in 1648. doth not at all belong to the Principles, but to the Practices of the Kirk; and therefore I shall at present dismiss the Consideration of it until we come to the Reign of K. *Charles* 1. where several things shall be offer'd that will clear that matter sufficiently, and answer all his Cavils against that Practice.

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Thus I have vindicated the Principles of Presbyterians, from the Reproaches of this Author, and prov'd them to be natively PRODUCTIVE OF LOYALTY; and if they had not been truly such, it had been (at best) an Intolerable Weakness in Her Majesty & the British Parliament to have Establish'd them as a Fundamental of the Union. Her Majesty hath often declar'd, That she looks upon the Union of Great-Britain to be *one of the Greatest Glories in her Reign*; but if it be built upon such a Foundation as makes all *Crown'd Heads Vassals* to the Presbyterian Kirk, and consequently their Crowns but Petite Fifes of the Kirk's *Grand Ecclesiastical Empire*; 'twoud be rather the Reproach than the Glory of her Reign. And therefore I hope the Impartial Reader will consider, Whether our Author's Reflections, be not as injurious to her Majesty and Parliaments, as to Truth it self, and to Peace and unity amongst all her good Protestant Subjects.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

HAving thus vindicated the Loyalty of Presbyterian Principles, I proceed next to inquire into the Loyalty of their Practices. Our Author goes no farther back upon this Head than the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which, perhaps is owing to one of these two Causes, because either he thought there were no Presbyterians before that Reign, or that they were so loyal, as he cou'd not fasten any thing upon them, that might taint their Reputation, Whatever his Reasons might be (which I don't think material to search into) I must beg the Reader's favorable Acceptance of some *Memorable* pieces of *History*, which I shall here present him with; Relative to the Loyalty and Religion of Presbyterians, before the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, without which this Historical Essay wou'd be Imcomplete; and which are necessary by way of Introduction to the History of their Behavior under Q. *Elizabeth*.

I designedly avoid carrying of this History so far back, as the first settlement of Christianity in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; because that wou'd lead me into a Dispute, Foreign to my business, concerning the *Ancient Government* of the Church; but shall confine my self to the Reformation from Popery; and here I must observe, That tho' K. *Henry* 8*th* was the first King of *England*, who threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and under whose Reign the Reformation got any measure of Civil Sanction: Yet there was a Famous attempt made towards it in the 4*th* Century in the Reign of King *Edward* 3*d*,

Part 1.

3*d*, by that Eminent Servant of Christ *John Wickliffe*, and his Numerous Followers.

The great *Wickliffe*, was a Graduate of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and a Professor of Divinity there several years. He began to broach his Opinions against the Pope, and his Antichristian Doctrine about the year 1377, or at least diverse years before the death of King *Edward* 3*d*. who died June 21 *Anno* 1377. (*q*) He oppos'd the Pope's Supremacy and Tyranny, his Indulgences, the Corruptions of the Clergy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Abominable Corruptions of the Worship in the Church of *Rome*, and his Doctrine in these Points was the same with that profes'd by Reform'd Protestants at this day. But that which I am to make a Peculiar Remark upon in *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, is that the Main Doctrines that are the *Peculiar* Tenets of the Presbyterians, and in which they Dissent from the National Establish'd Churches of *England* and *Ireland* were Maintain'd by the Venerable *Wickliffe*.

Father *Fox* (as Q. *Elizabeth* call'd him) and *Fuller* have given us an Abstract of all the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, for which he was persecuted by the Papists of his Age; and in some of those, we shall find him declaring himself in favor of the Presbyterian Doctrine in the three Point viz. The *Identity of Bishops and Presbyters*, *Unlawfulness of Mystical Significant Ceremonies of human Invention in the Worship of God*, and *against Impos'd Forms of* Prayer. I find the Ingenious and Revd. Mr *Pierce* in his *Defensio Fratrum Dissentientium in Anglia*, had Collected these Opinions of *Wickliffe's*, out of these and some Authors, and digested 'em under their proper Heads, and I shall present the Reader with a Translation of *Pierce* upon this Head; and any Body that doubts of his Fidelity in quoting his Authors, he is desir'd to peruse *Fox* and *Fuller* and the Rest from whom he has got the Account he gives of those Principles, and from whom I intended to have drawn an abstract; had not that Worthy author done it to my hand. He proceeds thus, (*r*) *Of*

(*q*) *vide Baker's* Chronicle p. 133. (*r*) p. 3, 4. The Vouchers made use of by *Peirce* are *Fascic. Rerum Expet. & Fug. Tom.* 1, *p.* 269, 270. 274. 276. *Catal. Test.* Tom. 2. p. 810. *Articuli Jo. Wickliffe. in Conc. Constant.* Sess. 8. Art. 28. *Tho. Wald.* apud *Fuller* lib. 4. p. 132. To which I add *Fox's Martyrology*, in divers places from P. 555. to p. 605.

Part I.

Of the Degrees and Offices of Ministers.

" It seems to the Holy Doctors superfluous, in the Sacrament of ' Orders to assert more than two Degrees, viz. *Deacons or Levites, and Presbyters or Bishops*——— In *Paul*'s time, two Orders of ' Clergy-men were sufficient for the Church, viz. PRIEST and ' DEACON——It is Certain, That pride invented Other De- ' grees.

' It were useful for the Church, that there were neither Pope nor ' *Cæsarian Prelate*; and it were useful and decent---that the Church ' were purg'd from *their Traditions.*

' Confirmation of Youth, Ordination of Clergymen and Consecra- ' tion of places, are reserv'd for the Pope and Bishops to gratify ' their desire of Temporal Gain and Honor.

Of the Holy Scriptures the only Rule of Faith and Worship.

' Let the Believer insist upon Reason and Scriptural Faith, and ' not believe such Extravagant and Groundless Tables concerning ' the Power of Prelates.

' All *Human Traditions, not taught by the Law of the Gospel, are superfluous and sinful*——We must practise, learn and teach only ' *the Laws of Christ*——*'Tis not lawful for a Christian after* the Pub- ' lication of the Law of Christ, to frame LAWS FOREIGN to it ' for the *Government of the Church of Christ.*

Of Rites And Ceremonies.

' He plainly rejected Human Rites, and Shadows and Traditi- ' ons.

Chri-

Part. I.

'Chrism and the other Ceremonies of that kind, ought not to be us'd in Baptism.

'If the Ceremonies of the Old Law, because of their being burnthensom, and for their Multitude, were to be abolish'd by the Law of Grace; *how much more ought such Groundless Inventions and Traditions of men*, to be laid aside under the Gospel——Circumcision and the Ceremonies of the Old Law are not to be observ'd by Believers; and far less shou'd they observe the present Ceremonies, that have *neither Authority from the Old Law, nor from the* New.

Of Vigils and Forms of Prayer.

'To RESTRICT men to certain PRESCRIB'D FORMS of *Prayer, is contrary to the Liberty granted them by God*——There is no Obligation to observe Vigils and Canonical Hours.

'It were profitable for the Church, that *'twere restor'd to its former Liberty*; and by this mean, the Solemnities of super added Massages, and the Prayers that are invented with the Canonical Hours, wou'd cease.

Words can hardly be Contriv'd that more Compendiously & significantly express the Sentiments of Presbyterians in the debated Points concerning Church Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, than those wherein *Wicklieff's* Sentiments upon the same Heads are deliver'd to us; and as to the first, beside what *Peirce* has observ'd let the Reader consider, that among the Opinions Collected from his Writings and Sermons, this was one viz. *That the Pope of Rome hath no more in the Power of the Keys, than hath any other within the Degree of Priesthood* (s) And if he gave as much Power to any Priest as to the Bishop of *Rome*, he cou'd hardly think that any other Bishop was invested with more Power than a Priest.

Tho' *Wickliffs* was of Presbyterian Principles, he had many Followers and it pleas'd God, for a Testimony to his own Truth against

(s) Fox. Martyrol. p. 563.

gainſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, to give Eminent Succeſs to the Unwearied Labors of that Renowned Confeſſor; he was ſummon'd to appear before a Synod at *London Anno* 1376. call'd by *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to anſwer for his Heretical Opinions, as they call'd them. But he was ſupported againſt them by *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter* and ſon to King *Edward* 3. and by the Lord *Piercy* Lord Marſhal of *England*, who both attended him, when he appear'd before the ſaid Synod; the latter introduc'd him to it, and the former ſpake openly in his behalf, and took the Archbiſhop to taſk very keenly. The Patronage of ſuch great Men, with the Univerſal Opinion that all Men had of his great Parts and Profound Learning, together with his Eminent Piety and Unwearied Painfulneſs both in his Divinity Lectures in the *Colledge* (wherein he continu'd ſeven years after his Opinions came abroad) and his preaching frequently thro' Different Parts of the Kingdom, were the Means (by God's Bleſſing) of Propagating his Honeſt Principles among great Multitudes; inſomuch that in a little time there were many who appear'd Eminently in Defence of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine; of which take this ſhort Account in the Words of Father *Fox*, who in his Preface, to his Martyrology, ſays, Part 1.

'To deſcend now ſome what lower in drawing out the Deſcent 'of the Church, What a Multitude here cometh of faithful Witneſſes in the time of *John Wickliffe*, as *Ocliffe*, *Wickliffe*, *Anno* 1379. '*Wil. Thorp. White*, *Purvey*, *Fatſhal*, *Pain*, *Gower*, *Chaucer*: *Gaſcoyn*, '*Wil. Swinderby*, *Walter Brute*, *Roger Dexter*, *Wil. Sautry*, *about the* 'year 1400. *John Badby*, Anno 1410. *Nicholas Tailor*, *Richard Wagſtaffe*, '*Michael Scrivener*, *William Smith*, *John Hendry*, *William Parchmenar*, '*Roger Goldſmith*, with an Anchreſſe called *Mathilde* in the City of '*Liceſter*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *John Beverly* 'Preacher, *John Huſſe*, *Jerome* of Prague, a ſchoolmaſter with a number 'of Faithful *Bohemians*, *Thaborites*, not to be told; with whom I might 'alſo adjoin *Laurentius Valla*, & *Joannes Picus*, the Learn'd Earl of 'Mirandula. But what do I ſtand upon the recital of Names, which '*almoſt are infinite*?

And the ſame Author ſubjoins immediately an account of the Progreſs of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, and brings it down to the *16th* Century. His Words are theſe, 'Wherefore, if any be ſo far beguil'd 'in his Opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* (as it now 'ſtandeth) to be of ſuch Antiquity, & that the ſame was never impugn'd be

Part 1.

'the time of *Luther* and *Zwinglius* now of late, let them read these Histories: Or if he think the said History not to be of sufficient Credit to alter his Persuasion, let him peruse the *Acts* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, pass'd in this Realm of Ancient time, and therein Consider and Confer the Course of Times; where he may find & read, *Anno* 5. *Regis Richardi* 2. in the Year of our Lord, 1380. of a great number (which there be call'd Evil Persons) *going about from Town to Town in Freeze Gowns, preaching unto the People*, &c. Which Preachers altho' the Words of the Statute do term there to be Dissembling persons, preaching divers Sermons containing Heresies and Notorious Errors, *to the Emblemishment of Christian Faith, and of holy Church*, &c. as the Words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding every true Christian reader may conceive of those Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, than now they hear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Corrupt Heresies of his Church.

'Furthermore, he shall find likewise in *Statut. anno.* 2. *Hen.* 4. *Cap.* 15. in the year of our Lord 1402. another like Company of good Preachers and faithful Defenders of true Doctrine against blind Heresy and Error. Whom, albeit the Words of the Statute there, thro' Corruption of that time, do falsly term to be false and *perverse Preachers, under dissembled holiness teaching in those days openly and privily new Doctrines and Heretical Opinions, contrary to the Faith & Determination of holy Church*, &c. yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth Histories, and conferreth the Order and Descent of times, shall understand these to be no false Teachers, but *faithful Witnesses* of the *Truth*, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the Determination of *holy-Church*, but rather shall find *that Church* to be *unholy* which they preach'd against; teaching rather it self Heretical Opinions, contrary both to Antiquity and verity of Christ's true Catholic Church.

'Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful Favorers & Followers of God's holy Word, we find in the year 1422. specified in a letter sent from *Henry Chicheslie* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to Pope *Martin* the *5th*, in the fifth year of his Popedom, where mention is made of so *many here in England infected* (as he said) *with the Heresies* of *Wickliffe* and Huss, *that without force of an Army they cou'd not be supress'd*, &c. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardi-

nals

Part 1.

'nals to the Archbiſhop, to cauſe a tenth to be gather'd off all Spi-
'ritual and Religious men and the mony to be laid in the Chamber
'Apoſtolic, and if that be not ſufficient, the Reſidue to be made
'up of Chalices, Candleſticks, and other Implements of the Church,
'&c.

'What ſhall need then any more witneſs to prove this matter,
'when you ſee ſo many years ago whole Armies and Multitudes
'thus ſtanding againſt the Pope? Who tho' they be term'd here
'for Heretics and Schiſmatics, yet in that which they call Here-
'ſy ſerv'd they the Living Lord within the Ark of his true Spiri-
'tual and Viſible Church.

And as *Wickliffe* and his Tenets were lik'd by great Numbers, ſo there were many men of great Learning, who embrac'd them both in *England* and elſewhere. *John Huſſe* (his diſciple) was ſo ſucceſsful in maintaining them, as he got the Approbation of the Univerſity of *Prague*, who wou'd not condemn the 45 Articles of *Wickliffe*, Cenſur'd by the Council of *Conſtance*. And I ſhou'd be highly injurious to ſuch a Venerable Body, as the Univerſity of *Oxford*, if I did not here inſert their Teſtimonial and Approbation of *Wickliffe*, which runs thus:

The (t) *Public Teſtimony given out by the Univerſity of* Oxford *touching the Commendation of the great Learning and Good Life of* JOHN WICKLIFFE.

'Unto all and ſingular the Children of our holy Mother the Church,
'to whom this preſent letter ſhall come, the *Vice-Chancellor* of the
'Univerſity of *Oxford*, with the *whole Congregation of the Maſters*, wiſh
'perpetual health in the Lord. Forſomuch as it is not commonly ſeen,
'That the Acts and Monuments of Valiant Men, nor the Praiſe and
'Merits of good men ſhou'd be paſs'd over and hidden with Perpe-
'tual Silence, but that true Report and Fame ſhou'd continually
'ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtrange and far diſtant Places, both for
'the Witneſs of the ſame, and example of others; Forſomuch alſo as
'the Provident Diſcretion of man's Nature being recompens'd with
'Cruelty, hath devis'd and ordain'd this Buckler and Defence a-
'gainſt ſuch as do blaſpheme and ſlander other mens doings, that

(t) *Fox's* Martyr. p. 585.

Part 1.

'whensoever witness by word of Mouth, cannot be present, the 'pen by Writing may supply the same.

'Hereupon it followeth, that the Special good Will and care 'which we bare unto *John Wickliffe*, sometime child of this our Uni-'versity, and *Professor* of *Divinity*, moving and stirring our Minds, '(as his manners and Conditions required no less) with *one mind*, *Voice* and *Testimony* we do witness, *all his Conditions and doings throughout his whole life* to have been *most sincere* and *Commendable*; 'Whose honest manners and Conditions, *Profoundness of Learning*, 'and most Redolent Renown and Fame, we desire the more earnest-'ly to be notify'd & known into all the faithful, for that we under-'stand the Maturity and Ripeness of his Conversation; his diligent 'labors and travels to tend to the praise of God, the help and safe-'guard of others, and the *profit* of the *Church*.

'Wherefore we signify unto you by these Prefents, that his Con-'versation (even from his Youth upwards unto the time of his Death) 'was so praise worthy and honest, that never at any time was there 'there any note or spot of suspition noys'd of him. But in his ANSWERING, READING, PREACHING and DETER-'MINING, he behav'd himself Laudably, and as a stout and Va-'liant Champion of the Faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scrip-'tures, all such, who by their wilful Beggary, blasphem'd and Slan-'der'd Christs Religion. Neither was this said Doctor convict 'of any Heresy, neither burn'd of our Prelates after his Burial. God 'forbid that our Prelates shou'd have condemn'd a man of such ho-'nesty, for an Heretic; Who, amongst all the rest of the Univer-'sity, had written in Logic, Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and 'the Speculative Art WITHOUT PEER. The knowledge of 'which all and singular things we do desire to testify and deliver 'forth; to the intent that the *Fame* and *Renown* of this said Doctor 'May be the more evident and had in Reputation, amongst 'them into whose hands those present Letters Testimonial shall 'come.

In Witness whereof, we have caus'd these our Letters Testimonial to be seall'd with our Common Seal. Dated at *Oxford* in our Congregation House, the 5*th* day of

October,

Part 1.

October, in the year of our Lord, 1406.

It seems that Learn'd University (in these days) thought the Doctrines concerning the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter, Free Prayer without a Liturgy, & Worship without Human Ceremonies to be *Innocent Opinions*. For all these were taught and preach'd amongst 'em by the Revd. *Wickliffe*, and yet they Certify in most ample Terms, concerning his *Preaching and Determining* as *Laudable* without Exception.

But he had not only the Countenance of men of all Stations, except the Pope and his Creatures; but was remarkably countenanc'd by God, who by surprizing Dispensations of Providence, preserv'd his Life and evidenc'd his Displeasure against his Enemies. For *Richard* the 2*d*, who encourag'd the Persecutors of *Wickliffe* and his Followers (not like his Grand-father *Edward* 3*d*. who was his friend) was Dethron'd, and died in Disgrace.

In the See of *Rome*, from whence Bloody Bulls, and Excommunications had issu'd against his Followers, there appear'd a Terrible Schism, begun by *Urban* the 6*th* & [redacted] *Clement* 7*th*. who both set up for the Popedom at once; one of them being in *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*. The Contention in that See lasted forty years; whereby Divine Providence did both give the more favorable Opportunity for the World's Embracing *Wickliffe*'s orthodox Doctrine, and testify'd Wrath from Heaven against that Spiritual *Babylon*, that had united in Opposition to it; by dividing their Language amongst themselves like *Babel*. Archbishop *Sudbury* (his great Enemy) came to a *Tragical End*, being beheaded by a Rabble. And in 1382. The Sovereign Lord spoke *Terrible things in Righteousness*, by an Earthquake all over *England*; which happen'd in the very Instant when the Convocation met for condemning *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine and Books of which take the Account in *Fox's* Words.

'Here (*u*) is not to be pass'd over the great Miracle of God's Di-'vine Admonition or Warning; for when as the Archbishop and Suf-'fragans, with the other *Doctors* of Divinity, and lawyers 'with a great Company of babling Friars, and Religious Persons, 'were gather'd together to consult as touching *John Wickliffe*'s Book 'and that whole Sect; When as I say they were gather'd together at

(*u*) *ibid.* p. 570.

Part I.

' at the *Gray Friers* in *London*, to begin their busines, upon *St.* ' *Dunstan*'s day after dinner, about two of the Clock, the *very hour* ' *and Instant that they shou'd go forward with their busines*, a Wonder- ' ful and TERRIBLE EARTHQUAKE fell throughout all *Eng-* ' *land:* Whereupon divers of the *Suffragans*, being fear'd by the ' strange and Wonderful Demonstration, doubting what it shou'd ' mean, thought it good to leave off from their Determinate Purpose. ' But the *Archbishop* (as chief Captain of that Army, more *rash* and ' bold than *wise*) interpreting the chance which had happen'd clean ' contrary, to another meaning or Purpose, did confirm and strength- ' en their Hearts and Minds, which were almost daunted with fear, ' stoutly to proceed and go forward in their Attempted Enterprise. ' Who then discoursing *Wickliffe*'s Articles, not according unto the ' Sacred Canons of the Holy Scripture, but unto *their own* Private ' *Affections* and *Traditions*; pronounc'd and gave sentence, that some ' of them were simply and plainly Heretical, other some half Erro- ' neous, other Irreligious, some Seditious, and not Consonant to the ' Church of *Rome*.

Thus had *Wickliffe* and his *Presbyterian* Followers the Honor of being the Restorers of Religion and Learning in *England*; in an Age wherein Antichristian Errors, and Blindness had got the deepest Rooting in the Minds of a Deluded People. And alongst with Religion, they brought Loyalty again into Request: for it was one of the Articles against *Wickliffe*, That he *maintain'd the Jurisdiction of the Crown and Secular Powers over the Clergy, and asserted a Power in the Magistrate to take away the Temporalities and Endowments of the Clergy, when they offend and Corrupt Religion, and do not answer the Ends of their Spiritual Function; and to reform Abuses in the Church, and Compel, (by his Civil Power) Spiritual Persons to do their duty.* *Wickliffe*'s *Seventeenth Article* is full upon this Head, and was defended by his Followers in the second Disputation in the University of *Prague* with admirable Learning and Loyalty. *Fox* gives us the whole Disputation, and introduceth it with this Title.

' The (*v*) Second Disputation in the University of *Prague* upon the seventeenth Article of *John Wickliffe*, most fruit- ful

(*v*) Vol. 1. p. 595.

Part I.

' ful to be read; proving by four and Twenty Reasons
' out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords Tem-
' poral have *lawful Authority and Jurisdiction* over the *Spiri-*
' *tuality* and *Churchmen*; both in taking from them, and Cor-
' recting their abuses according to their doings and deserts.

I have not met with *any thing* in Modern Authors which says more for justifying the *English* Reformation, in taking away the *Abbey-Lands* from these who then possess'd them than the Reader will find in that *Disputation*; and that advanceth *more Loyal* Principles to the Crown, than are to be found there.

And the Loyalty of their Principles (the same with the Presbyterians of *this* and the *former* age) did produce in them a Dutiful and Loyal Behavior to their Prince; tho' they had the misfortune to be represented by their bloody Enemies, the Papists, as *Disloyal* and *Seditious*: a noted Instance whereof we have in *Harpsfield's Historia Wicklyffiana* by *Alaunus Copus*, who falsly accuseth them of being accessary to the Rebellion of *Wat Tiler* and *Jack Straw* and their Accomplices, headed by *John Ball* an Excommunicated Priest, against K. *Richard* 2. *Fuller* speaking of this Rebellion says, ' These ' (w)all were *pure Levellers* (inflam'd by the abus'd Eloquence of one ' *John Ball*, an Excommunicated Priest,) who, maintaining, that no ' Gentry was *Jure Divino*, and all equal by Nature,

' *When* Adam *delv'd and* Eve *span*,
' *Who was then the Gentleman?*

' endeavor'd the abolishing of all Civil & Spiritual Degrees, & distinctions. ' Yea, they desir'd to level mens Parts, as well as their Purses; and ' none shou'd be *either* wealthier, or wiser *than* his Fellows; project ' the General Destruction of all, that wore a pen-and ink-horn ' about them, or could write or read. To effect this Design, they ' *Pretended the People's Liberty*, and the Princes Honor: and find- ' ing it difficult to destroy the *King* but *by* the King, they advanc'd ' the *name* to pluck down the *Thing* signify'd thereby; crying up, ' that *all was for King Richard.* They seem'd to be much for *Re-*

for-

(w) *Fuller's* Hist. Book 4. p. 138, 139.

Part 1.

'*formation*, which Cloak they wore, to warm themselves therewith, 'when naked and first setting up; but afterwards cast it off in the 'heat of their Success, as not only useless, but burdensome unto 'them.

'But (*x*) *Alanus Copus* (for, he it is, whose Ecclesiastical History 'of *England*, goes under the name of *Harpsfield*,) heavily chargeth 'all this rebellion on the Account of *Wicliffe*'s Doctrine. Whose 'Scholars (saith he) to *promote their Masters opinions, stirred up this 'deadly, and damnable Sedition, and sounded the first Trumpet thereunto.* 'Adding moreover, that *Wicliffe's* Tenet, that, *Dominion is found-'ed in grace:* and *that a King guilty of Mortal Sin, is no longer Lord of any 'thing*, was *Cos hujus Seditionis, The Whet-stone of this Sedition.* But, 'to what Lyer the Whet-stone doth properly belong, will presently appear.

That the World may see, that *those Presbyterians* in *Richard* 2*d*'s Reign were *falsely accus'd* of Rebellion and Disloyalty, as their *Successors have been in following Reigns*; and that Sober, Moderate Episcopal Protestants have thought, that the Interest of the Gospel and the Cause of Truth oblig'd them to defend the Innocence of those Worthies, who made so *brave* a *stand*, for the Purity of Religion and the Rights of Monarchy and the People, against Antichristian Tyranny and Darkness; I must not omit the Just Vindication of them, which *Fuller* gives us in these Words.

'It is no News for the best of God's Children, to be slander'd in 'this kind. *Jeremy* was traduced, *Thou fallest away to the Caldeans.* 'St *Paul* was accused, *We have found this man a Pestilent fellow, a 'Mover of Sedition.* Yea, our Savior himself was charg'd that *He 'made himself a King, and was a Traytor to Cæsar.* But as these were 'foul, and false Aspersions. So will this appear if We Con-'sider,

'1. When *John Ball* was executed at St *Albans*, and *Jack Straw* at 'London, not the least Complyance with *Wickliffe*, or his Doctrine, is 'either charg'd on them, or Confess'd by them.

'2. No wild Beast will prey on his own kind. Now it is certainly 'known, that *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* was the Principal Patron,

(*x*) p. 141.

Part 1.

'Patron, and Supporter of *Wickliffe*, whose life they sought to destroy, and whose Pallace in the *Strand* they pillag'd.

'3. *Wickliffe* himself came within the Compass of their Destructive Principles, designing the Death of all, who wore a pen and ink. And, that *Wickliffe* had both pen and ink, *Cope* himself doth know, and the Court of *Rome*, with shame and sorrow will confess.

'4. *Wickliffe* liv'd some years after, and died peaceably possess'd of the Living of *Lutterworth* in *Leicester-shire*. Surely, had he been reputed the inflamer of this Rebellion, the Wisdom of the King, and Councel, wou'd have taken another Order with him.

'5. Amongst the Articles laid to the Charge of *Wickliffe*, and his Followers, in this King's Reign, examin'd at *Oxford*, and elsewhere, not a Title of this Rebellion is presst upon them. Which their Malicious adversaries wou'd not have omitted, if in any hope to make good that accusation against them.

'6. Whereas it is charg'd on *Wickliffe*, that he held, that, *Dominion was founded in Grace*, which occasion'd this Rebellion; we know this that *Huss* his scholar, tho' he did hold, that a King, being in Mortal Sin, was only call'd a King *æquivoca Dominatione*; yet the same *Huss* confesseth (to use his own Words) *Ipsum Deum approbare hujusmodi Regem, quoad esse Principem exterius*, *That God himself allows such a King to be a Prince in all outward matters.* So that, leaving him to Divine Justice, he never dreamt of any Resistance, or Rebellion to be made against him.

'7. The Modern Protestants (heirs, say the Papists to *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine) so far abominate these rebels their Levelling, and Ignorant Principles, that they are known, both to maintain Distances of People, and to have been the restorers of lost, yea the revivers of Dead Learning, and Languages: How had the *Mathematicks* measur'd their own grave? *Greek* turn'd *Barbarism*; *Hebrew* (as it readeth) gone backward, never to return again, had not Protestant Criticks, with vast Pains and expence, preserved them?

'8. It is more suspicious, that this Rebellion came out of the *Franciscan Covent*; because some of these, belike were the Rebels *Whiteboys*; and (as is afore mention'd) to be spar'd in a general Destruction.

Part 1. The Roman Antichrist rais'd so violent a Storm of Persecution against those Innocent People; that, tho' there remain'd some, even down to the time of K. *Henry* 8. who remembred *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine with honor, yet its chief Patrons and Defenders were rooted out, and the Reformation suppress'd; until K. *Henry* 8. threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and then they began to appear again. But during *that* King's Reign, the Reformation was lame, and so many Popish Corruptions both in Doctrine and Worship retain'd, that many were then persecuted, even for the Plain Truths of the Protestant Religion.

But if we descend to the *better times* of his son, the good King *Edward* the *6th*, the ENGLISH JOSIAH; no sooner were the Substantials of the Reformed Religion profess'd, but the Seeds of Non-Conformity began to appear; of which *Fuller* gives this short account, 'For (*y*) now *Non-Conformity* in the days of King *Edward* 'was conceiv'd, which afterwards in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* 'was *nurs'd*, and *weaned*; which under King *James* grew up a *young* '*youth*, *or tall Stripling*; but towards the End of King *Charles* his 'Reign, shot up to the *full strength*, and stature of a man; able, 'not only to cope with, but Conquer the Hierarchy its adver-'sary.

'Two Opposite Parties plainly discovered themselves, dri-'ving on different Interests, under their Respective Patrons.

Founders of Conformity.	*Founders of Non-Conformity.*
'1. Such as remained here 'all the Reign of King '*Henry the 8th*, and *wea-*'*ther'd* out the Tempest 'of his Tyranny at open 'Sea partly by a *Politic* '*Compliance*, and partly 'by a *Cautious Concealment* 'of themselves.	'1. Such as fled hence be-'yond the seas, chiefly in-'to *Germany*, where liv-'ing in the States, and Ci-'ties of Popular Reforma-'tion, they suck'd in both 'the air, and Discipline 'of the Place they lived 'in.

2. These

Part 1.

‘ 2. Thefe in the days of King *Edward the 6th*, were poſſeſſed of the beſt Preferments in the land.

‘ 3. And retained *many Ceremonies* practis'd in the *Romiſh Church*, conceiving them to be Ancient, and decent in themſelves.

‘ 4. The Authority of *Cranmer* and Activity of *Ridley* headed this Party; the former being the higheſt, the latter the hotteſt in Defence of Conformity.

‘ 2. Theſe returning late into *England*, were at a loſs for means, and maintenance, only ſupported with the Reputation of being *Confeſſors*, rendring their Patience to the *praiſe*, and their *Perſons* to the *Pity* of all *Conſcientious* People.

‘ 3. And Renounc'd all Ceremonies practis'd by the Papiſts, conceiving, that ſuch *ought not only to be clipt with the Sheers, but to be ſhav'd with a Razor*; yea, all the Stumps thereof to be pluckt out.

‘ 4. *John Rogers* Lecturer in St. *Pauls*, and Vicar of S. *Sepulchres*, with *John Hooper*, afterwards Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, were Ring-leaders of this Party.

The ſame Author gives a brief Account of the main Arguments on both ſides that were then deliver'd by the Contending Parties for maintaining their ſeveral Opinions; which I ſhall here inſert, not with any Deſign, to touch the Merits of the Cauſe or dip into the Controverſy between 'em; but only to give an Hiſtorical Account of the Progreſs of Non-Conformity.

Pro.

‘ 1. The Ornaments were *indifferent* of themſelves, and

Con.

‘ 1. The beſt thing that could be ſaid of them was, that

Part 1.

‘ of Antient use in the ‘ Church (*a*)

‘ 2. Being enjoyn'd by lawful Authority, they *became necessary*, not to Salvation, but to Church-Unity; and it was scandalous to decline them.

‘ 3. It would *bring the Papist* over to our Church; beholding all things by them used, not totally abolished by a Spirit of Contradiction, but some decent Correspondencies still moderately continued.

‘ 4. It would *cast a stur* on the Credit of *such Bishops* who formerly had used those Ornaments, as more Remiss in Religion, than such as refused them.

‘ 5. Those who have *Stubborn Wills* pretend too often to *tender Consciences*; nor ought a Private Person to be indulged, with the Disturbance of the public Uniformity of the Church.

‘ they were useless, being ‘ *otherwise Ridiculous*, and ‘ *Superstitious*.

‘ 2. *Curs'd be he that Removes the Bound-marks.* Grant them indifferent in themselves, and left so by Divine Wisdom, it was ‘ *Presumption in man to stamp necessity upon them.*

‘ 3. Too much of the Serpent ‘ nothing of the Dove herein, to *offend those within*, to ‘ invite those without to the Church, *driving Protestants* thence to *draw Papists* thither.

‘ 4. The Credits of *some* good ‘ men were not to be preserved, by *destroying the Consciences* of *others*.

‘ 5. *Hooper* put himself upon the Trial of the *Searcher of Hearts*, that no Obstinacy but meer Conscience made him refuse those Ornaments.

In

(*a*) *Ibid* p. 404.

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'In a Word all those Arguments, which later Age have more 'amply *enlarged*, more clearly *explained*, more cunningly *improved*, more 'enforced, were then and there *first solidly* propounded, and solemn- 'ly set down on both sides. Posterity in this Matter having disco- 'ver'd no new *Mine*, but only Refined, what formerly was found 'out in this Controversy.

The same Author informs us, that *there was a Potent Party in this* King's *Reign disaffected to the Liturgy, which now began to be very Considerable in England* (b).

These *English* Puritans in *this* King's Reign behav'd 'emselves with that *Dutiful* and *Loyal Affection* to His Majesty that we don't find *any thing* of Disloyalty laid to their Charge. The King and Government show'd great Moderation to them; He wrote to the Archbishop in favor of *Hooper*, and indulg'd his Scruples about the Vestments; as may be seen in *Fuller* (c), who gives us the Copy of his Letter, in these Words;

'Right Reverend Father, and Right Trusty, and Welbeloved, 'We greet you well. Whereas we by the Advice of our Coun- 'cil, have called and chosen Our Right Well-beloved, and Well- 'Worthy Mr. *John Hooper*, Professor of Divinity, to be our Bishop 'of *Gloucester*, as well for his *great Learning*, *Deep Judgment* 'and *long Study*, *both in the Scriptures and other Profound Lear-* 'ning; as also for his good Discretion, ready Utterance and 'honest Life for that kind of Vocation, &c. From Consecrating of 'whom We understand you do stay, because he would have you o- 'mit, and *let pass certain Rites and Ceremonies offensive to his Conscience*, 'whereby you think you should fall in *Præmunire* of Laws: We 'have thought good by Advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge 'you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties, & Forfeitures you should 'run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. 'And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant, and Dis- 'charge therefore.

Given under our Signet, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the fourth year of our Reign.

Martin

(b) *Id. ibid.* p. 426. (c) p. 403.

Part 1.

Martin Bucer and *Peter Martyr* were encourag'd, and entertain'd in *England*, tho' they were of the same Judgment with the *English* Puritans. And the famous *John A Lasco* a *Polonian* with a Congregation of *Germans* of the *Helvetian Confession*, had great Marks of Regal Favour placed upon them. They were Refugees in *England*, being banish'd from their own Country for their Zealous Profession of the Protestant Religion. *John Alasco* one of the Ministers, and *Superintendent* of that Congregation, was a keen Non-Conformist; as may be seen by his Books: for he wrote against the Habits, and against kneeling at the Sacrament; and was for the Table-Gesture. He and the other Ministers of that Congregation practis'd their own Discipline, *which was truly Presbyterian*: And the said Ministers and Congregation were erected into a Corporation, by Letters Patents, with *full Liberty to Dissent* from the Establish'd Church, in *Government*, *Discipline* and *Worship*: And because this matter can't be set in a true light without the Recital of some Part (at least) of the said Letters; I shall present the Reader with a Translation of the Preamble and Conclusion thereof, and set it down in the Original Latine, at the bottom of the page.

'*Edward* (*d*) the *6th* &c. we being specially induc'd from great and 'Weighty Considerations; and particularly having at heart how 'much it becomes *Christian Princes* to be highly animated with a 'studious care and love of the Gospel of God and the *Apostolical* 'Religion begun, instituted and deliver'd by Christ himself; without

(*d*) *vide Burnet's* Hist. of the Reformation, Collect. Record. Book 1. p. 202. 'Edwardus Sextus &c. Cum magnæ quædam & graves Considerationes nos ad 'presens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam Cogitantes illud, quanto Studio & 'Charitate Christianos Principes in Sacrosanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem 'Apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam & traditam, animatos & pro- 'pensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubie Politia & civile Regnum nec consiste- 're diu, neq; nomen suum tueri poteft, nisi Principes, cæteriq; præpotentes vi- 'ri, quos Deus ad Regnorum Gubernacula federe voluit, id in primis operam dent 'ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, casta sinceraq, Religio diffundatur, & Ecclesia in 'vere Christianis & Apostolicis Opinionibus & Ritibus instituta, atq, adulta per 'sanctos ac carni & mundo Mortuos Ministros conservetur; pro eo quod 'Christiani Principis Officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de regno 'suo bene splendideq; administrando Cogitationes, etiam Religioni & Religionis 'Causa Calamitate tractis & afflictis exulibus consulere. Sciatis, quod non solum præmissa

Part 1.

‘ out which Policy and Civil-Government can neither ſtand long, ‘ nor maintain its Name, unleſs Princes and others in Power whom ‘ God hath appointed for the Government of Kingdoms, do firſt of all ‘ take care, that *pure* and *uncorrupted Religion be diffuſ'd thro' the whole Body of the Commonwealth* and that a *Church inſtructed in truly Chriſtian and APOSTOLICAL OPINIONS and RITES*, and grown up ‘ under holy Miniſters deny'd to the fleſh and the World, be preſerv'd: for as much as we look upon it to be the Duty of a Chriſtian Prince, amongſt his other weighty thoughts concerning the ‘ good & ſplendid Adminiſtration of his Government, to conſult the ‘ intereſt of Religion, and of thoſe who are baniſh'd, and miſerably ‘ afflicted with Calamity for the Cauſe of Religion. KNOW Ye, ‘ that we not only *conſidering the Premiſſes*, and Deſiring to preſerve ‘ in its former Liberty the Church that has been reſcu'd by us from ‘ the Tyranny of the Papacy; but alſo Commiſerating the caſe of ‘ the baniſh'd and of Strangers &c. becauſe we have judg'd it unworthy of a Chriſtian and the Magnificence of a Prince, whoſe ‘ Liberality in ſuch a Caſe ought not to be ſhut up or reſtrained, to ‘ ſuffer Strangers to want the neceſſaries of life in our Kingdom, who ‘ have been caſt out of their own Country for the Goſpel of Chriſt, ‘ and have fled to our Kingdom for Refuge ”. And then a Narrative is given of the *Germans* and other ſtrangers that were come and daily coming to *England* on the Account of the Proteſtant Religion; and of their wanting a certain place *there* for their Worſhip, and the managing the buſineſs of Religion and *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* according to the Cuſtom and *Rites of their own Country*; Wherefore he grants them one Church in London; ‘ To (*e*) this Intent and purpoſe

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‘ præmiſſa Contemplantes & Eccleſiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam ‘ in priſtina libertate conſervare cupientes: verum etiam exulum & Peregrinorum ‘ Conditionem miſerantes,——quia hoſpires & exteros homines propter ‘ Chriſti Evangelium ex Patria ſua profligatos & ejectos, & in Regnum noſtrum ‘ profugos, præſidiis ad vitam degendam neceſſariis in Regno noſtro egere, ‘ non dignum eſſe neq; Chriſtiano homine, neq; Principis Munificentia duximus ‘ cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum ſtatu reſtricta, claulave eſſe debet. (*e*) ‘ Ea Intentione & propoſito, ut a Miniſtris Eccleſiæ Germanorum aliorumq; Peregrinorum Sacroſancti Evangelii incorrupta Interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei & Apoſtolicam Obſervationem Adminiſtratio fiat.——

'pose, (*says he*) that by the Ministers of the Church of the *Germans* 'and other Strangers there may be an *Uncorrupted interpretation of the* '*Holy Gospel*, and that by them the *Sacraments may be administred ac-* 'cording to the *Word of God*, and *Apostolical Observation* '. And this Church being to have one Superintendent and four Ministers, of them he adds 'That the said Superintendent and four Ministers 'may be in Reality and name *one Body Corporate* and *Politic*, we do 'by these presents *incorporate them* by the name of the *Superintendent* 'and Ministers of the Church of the *Germans* and other Strangers, 'founded by *Edward 6th* in the City of *London*: and we do by these 'presents Erect, Ordain, Make and Constitute them by the said 'Name a Body Corporate and Politic, in Reality and to the full, and 'that they shall have a Succession.

And in the Conclusion of the Patent, we have these Words '(*g*) 'We command and straitly charge the Mayor, Sheriffs, and 'Aldermen of our City of *London* and their Successors, and all o- 'thers, arch-Bishops, Bishops, Justices, Officers, and our other Mi- 'nisters whatsoever, that they permit the said Superintendent & 'Ministers freely aud quietly to enjoy, use and exercise their OWN 'PROPER RITES and CEREMONIES, and their own 'PROPER PECULIAR, ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE; not- 'withstanding that they do not agree with the Rites and Ceremoni- 'es used in our Kingdom, without let, Molestation, or Disturb- 'ance of them or any of them, any Statute, act, proclamation, In- 'junction, Restriction or use to the contrary heretofore had, done, 'publish'd or promulgated to the contrary notwithstanding.

It clearly follows on the Tenor of these Letters Patents, That that Glorious Prince, and his Council who advis'd him to them, were fully convinc'd that his Subjects might be Non-Conformists, and yet Loyal

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(*f*) Et quod idem Superintendens & ministri in re & nomine sint & erunt u- 'num Corpus Corporatum & Politicum, de se per Nomen Superintendentis & 'Ministrorum Ecclesiæ *Germanorum* & aliorum *Peregrinorum* ex fundatione Re- 'gis *Edwardi* Sexti in Civitate *Londinensi* per præsentes incorporamus ac Corpus 'Corporatum & Politicum per idem Nomen realiter & adplenum Creamus, Erigimus 'Ordinamus, facimus & Constituimus per præsentes: et quod Successionem ha- 'beant. (*g*) Mandamus & firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vice-Comi-

Part 1.

Loyal: otherwise he wou'd not have erected such a Body Politic; wherein Non-Conformity was *openly profess'd*, and that not only in *Matters of Worship*, but *Discipline* too; and yet *allowed and protected by him.* And the Preamble of the Patent is very observable. For his grant is founded upon two Considerations, *viz.* 1. From the Obligation that he lay under as a Christian Prince, to regard *pure & uncorrupted Religion*, to *diffuse it thro' the whole common wealth*, & to preserve a Church *instructed in truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites.* & 2ly, The sufferings of those *Germans* and other strangers for Religion and the Truth. Whereupon and *on these Accounts* he grants them the Privileges mention'd in the Letters Patents. This is a plain Testimony of his belief that the *German* Presbyterian Congregation was such a Church as was Instructed in the truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites, & that they had pure & Uncorrupted Religion amongst them; tho' their Rites & Ceremonies & Ecclesiastical Discipline differ'd from those of the Church of *England*: For if he had believ'd the contrary, the Patent wou'd have been inconsistent with it self and grounded upon a Consideration that was false as to them, and consequently impertinent. Besides, he speaks of his Design thus, *That there might be an incorrupted Interpretation of the Gospel, and an Administration of the Sacraments according to the Word of God and Apostolical Observation*; which shews that he believ'd both their Doctrine and Worship to be pure and Apostolical, and that they had faithful Ministers. And therefore it must be own'd that King *Edward 6th*, instead of finding fault with them as Disloyal or Seditious, gives an Ample and Honorable Testimony in favour of

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[c] tibus & Aldermanis Civitatis nostræ Londinensis (*between the last mentioned Words of this Patent and what follows, John a Lasco, in his Transcript of it, inserts these Words*
[c] Episcopo Londonensi) & Successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis,
[c] Episcopis, Justiciariis, Officiariis & Ministris nostris quibuscunq;, quod per-
[c] mittant præfatis, Superintendenti & Ministris, & sua, suos libere & quiete frui,
[c] gaudere, uti, & exercere Ritus & Cæremonias suas proprias, & Disciplinam Eccle-
[c] siasticam propriam & peculiarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum Ritibus
[c] & Cæremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis, absq; impeditione, Perturbatione aut In-
[c] quietatione eorum vel eorum alicujus, aliquo Statuto, actu, Proclamatione,
[c] Injunctione, Restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis,
[c] seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstantibus.

(b

Part I.

their Orthodoxy, Church-Constitution; and the Gospel Purity of their Worship.

The Design of King *Edward 6th*, in giving such great Encouragement to these *German* Divines, is a Demonstration of his preferring their Principles and Worship before these of the Church of *England* it self; which will appear, by considering what this Design was, and what Plan they had laid down for the Accomplishment of it. This is fully and plainly represented to us by *a Lasco* in his Book, *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia*, printed *Anno* 1555, which he dedicates to *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, to whom he represents his own Opinion about *Mystical Ceremonies* in the worship of God; which he thinks ought not to be us'd, except they have *Scriptural Institution* and Authority to support 'em: And afterwards, takes occasion to commend the PLAN of K. *Edward* the *6th*, for introducing Gospel Simplicity and Apostolical Purity into the Public worship of the Church of *England*; which he describes thus:

'When (*b*) I was call'd by that King. (*i. e. Edward* the *6th*) and 'when some Laws of the Country stood in the Way, that 'twas 'not possible, That the Rites of Public Divine Worship us'd under 'Popery shou'd be *immediately purg'd* out; (tho' it was what the 'King himself desir'd) and while I was earnestly standing up for the 'Churches of the Foreigners; at length 'twas his Pleasure, that the Public Rites in the *English* Churches shou'd be *Reform'd by certain Degrees*, 'as far as it could possibly be got done for the Laws of the Kingdom: But that Strangers (who were not so strictly oblig'd by the 'Laws of the Country in this Matter) shou'd have Churches granted

(*b*) *Apud Voet. Polit. Ecclesiast. lib.* 2. *Cap.* 6. *Part* 1. *p.* 421.

'Cum ego quoque per Regem illum vocatus essem: et leges quædam Patriæ obstarent, quominus publici potissimum Cultus Divini Ritus sub Papismo usurpati (pro eo ac Rex ipse cupiebat) repurgari protenus possunt. Ego vero pro Peregrinorum Ecclesiis sedulo instarem, ita demum placuit, ut Ritus publici in Anglicis Ecclesiis, per gradus quosdam (quantum per leges patrias omnino liceret) repurgarentur: Peregrinis vero hominibus (qui Patriis hac alioqui in parte legibus non usque adeo tenerentur) Ecclesiæ concederentur in quibus omnia libere, & nulla Rituum Patriorum habita Ratione (juxta Doctrinam duntaxat atque Observationem Apostolicam) instituerentur, ita enim fore, ut *Anglicæ* quoque Ecclesiæ ad Puritatem Apostolicam Amplectendam unanimi omnium regni Ordinum con-

Part 1.

ted them, wherein they might freely *perform all things according to Apostolical Doctrine and Observation* only, without having ANY REGARD *to the Rites of the Country*; that by *this means* 'twou'd come to pass, that the *English Churches* wou'd be excited to EMBRACE APOSTOLICAL PURITY, *with the Unanimous Consent of all the* STATES OF THE KINGDOM.

'The King himself (from his great Piety) was both the CHIEF AUTHOR and *Defender of this Project*. For, tho' 'twas *almost universally acceptable in the King's Council*, and tho' the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself promoted the thing with all his might: yet there were some who took it ill: and wou'd have shown more Reluctancy to it, had not the *King given 'em a Repulse both by his Authority and the Reasons he gave for this Design*. The Churches of Strangers being accordingly allow'd, upon Condition or rather with a Liberty, that all things in them shou'd be order'd according to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles, the Care of them (by the Authority of King and Council) was committed to me: and I was commanded to *chuse* such *Collegues* for my self as I shou'd judge fittest for that service: that their Names might be inserted in the King's *Patent*.

In the end of the same Book in his *Appendix*. p, 649. he resumes the same history, and says, '(*i*) What we did neither proceeded from any Contempt of other Churches (by whom we ingenuously and willingly acknowledge we have been profited in the knowledge of Divine things) nor from any itch after Novelty; but our Design was to remove as far as possible all Antichristian Novelties; And to make the *neareſt Approaches to the Antient Purity of the* Primitive *Apostolical Church*; at the same time leaving other Churches (in this Matter)

consensu excitarentur. Ejus vero Consilii Rex ipsemet (pro sua pietate) præcipuus non autor tantum, sed etiam Propugnator fuit. Etsi enim id in Senatu Regio omnibus propemodum placeret, ipseque *Cantuariensis* Archiepiscopus rem omnibus modis promoveret; non deerant tamen qui id molestè ferrent adeoque & reluctaturi fuerint huic instituto Regio, nisi Rex ipse, non tantum Authoritate sua restitisset: sed productis etiam instituti hujus rationibus conatus eorum repressisset. Concessis itaque Peregrinorum Ecclesiis, & quidem ea lege seu libertate potius, ut in illis omnia juxta Doctrinam atque Observationem Apostolicam instituerentur; cura illarum mihi (Regia & Senatus Authoritate)

Part I.

'to their own Liberty, without any Prejudices. The faithfulness of 'the Ministry with which we are entrusted for those ends, requir'd 'this at our hands; Seeing the Care of our Church was committed 'to us *chiefly with this View*, that in the Ministrations therein, we 'shou'd *rather follow the Rule of God's Word* and the *Practice of the A-'postles*, than *any Rites of other Churches*; and were admonish'd by the 'King himself and his Chief Nobility, to make a right and faithful 'use of so great a liberty of our Ministry as was permitted us; not 'to please men, but for the Glory of God alone, by *promoting Re-'formation in the Worship of God:* And that we shou'd take care, that 'our Adversaries (who wou'd be many) shou'd not find any thing 'in us, that might afford them a just ground of accusing us.

The Credit of this piece of History is supported by most Convincing Circumstances. For 1*st*, *John a Lasco* had it from the king's own mouth and those of his chief Nobility; he does not tell a Story of matters that happen'd out of his own time, and that were remote from his own knowledge: in such things men may be impos'd upon by Credulity in themselves, and Misinformation from others; but in this case there was no fear of either.

2*dly*, He hath from the King and Council (in the Patent) the Character of being, *homo propter Integritatem & Innocentiam vitæ & morum, et singularem Eruditionem valde Celebris. i. e. A man very famous for the In-*

'ritate) committebatur. Jubebarque mihi Collegas asciscere quos ei ministerio 'aptissimos esse indicarem: ut illorum nomina Regio Diplomati insererentur '(i) Nos neque contemptu ullo aliarum Ecclesiarum (per quas nos alioqui in divi-'norum Cognitione profeciss, ingenue & libenter agnoscimus neque item ullo 'novandi quidquam studio egisse quidquidhujus egimus; sedpotius id conatos 'esse, ut sublatis omnibus anti Christianis Novationibus (quod ejus fieri posset) 'ad priscam illam primævæ Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ puritatem quam proxime accede-'remus, permissa interim aliis Ecclesiis, sua (hac in parte) libertate, & sine 'præjudiciis ullis. Ad hæc fidem ipsam concrediti nobis Ministerii id postulasse: 'cum hac potissimum ratione curæ nobis nostræ Ecclesiæ committeretur, ut in 'illius Ministerio, non tam equidem aliarum Ecclesiarum ritus ullos, quam 'Verbi Divini Regulam potius atque Apostolicam Observationem sequeremur. 'Demique cum & a Rege ipso, & a præcipuis suis Proceribus subinde moneremur, 'ut permissa nobis tanta libertate in nostro ministerio, recte, & fideliter, non in 'hominum gratiam ullam, sed ad Dei solius Gloriam (per Cultus ipsius Re-'purgationem) uteremur. Et caveremus, ne quid in nobis a nostris Adversa-'riis (quos equidem multos haberemus) accusari merito posset. aliis

Integrity & Innocence of his Life and Converſation, and for Singular Learning. Now, if he had all poſſible Opportunities of knowing the Truth of what he relates, Judgment to apprehend it, and Honeſty and Integrity to give it faithfully without a Wilful Deviation from the Truth; his Hiſtory challengeth all the Eſteem and Credit, that can be due to an human Teſtimony: which will yet further appear, if we conſider, Part 1.

3*dly*, That he did not delay the Publication of this Narrative, until the Story became Stale, and the Means of Convicting him of falſehood (had there been any in it) were loſt: But he publiſheth this Concert between the king, the Council and him, within 4 or at moſt 5 years, after the affair was tranſacted: by which means, all his Enemies had the faireſt Opportunity imaginable of diſcovering the error of what he aſſerted, had they been able to do it.

4*thly*, There are ſeveral Expreſſions in the King's Letters Patents, which confirm *A Laſco*'s Narrative; for the King propoſeth to have *pure and Uncorrupted Religion diffus'd thro' the whole Body of the Commonwealth*, and to have a *Church inſtructed in truly Chriſtian and Apoſtolical Opinions and Rites*; this was his very View in the Preamble of the Patent, and agrees very well with the PLAN OF REFORMATION laid down by that Excellent Prince, as *A Laſco* explains it; and what farther confirms it is,

5*thly*, That the king in Purſuance of his Reſolution communicated to *A Laſco*, falls to work and makes *Gradual* attempts towards a *farther reformation* of the Church both in *Diſcipline* and *Worſhip*: For the *latter*, there comes out a ſecond Edition of the Liturgy; many Popiſh Corruptions contain'd in the firſt were left out of this; *A* Commiſſion was preſently ſet on foot to 32 Commiſſioners to prepare a *Scheme of Church Diſcipline*; whereof 8 were nominated to prepare the Draught for the reſt, which they did: and *John a Laſco* was nam'd as one of the 32. (*k*) The work was perfected and call'd *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*; But the king died before it obtained the Civil Sanction, and the Work died with him. However, 'tis evident that it went *much farther* towards a Reformation in *Diſcipline* than any thing, that has been enacted ſince in the Church of

(*k*) *vide Burnet's* Hiſt. of the Reformation *Part* 2. *Book* 1. p. 197.

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of *England*. And it makes it plain, that the king had a mind to *go on by degrees* in Reforming abuses, as *John a Lasco* assures us: & that he was one of the Persons appointed by the king, to assist in the work, is a farther Circumstance to support the Credit of what he relates. In a word, here are all the Concurring Circumstances, that can be expected and desir'd in a faithful Historian.

The Matter of this Historical Narration of *John A Lasco* is so plain, as it needs no Commentary to show how *favorable an Opinion* King *Edward 6th*, and his *chief Ministers and Council* had of the Non-Conformists. The Patent to *A Lasco* and the *German* Congregation was not a *favor design'd only for Foreigners*; 'twas a Project to *Prepare the Nation* for RECEIVING NON-CONFORMITY IT SELF, and for having it *diffus'd as the* UNCORRUPTED APOSTOLICAL RELIGION, *thro' the whole Body of the Common-wealth*. It is none of my business in this Book, to enquire whether King *Edward .6.* did Right or wrong in laying this Scheme for perfecting the Reformation of the Church of *England*: For that wou'd directly engage me in the Controversy about Church-Government, Ceremonies and Liturgies. But so far its subservient to my present purpose, as to be a Demonstrative Evidence of *his sense of the Loyalty of Presbyterians*: And that his Ministry and Council concurr'd in Opinion with him, is a *farther Proof* of the dutiful and Loyal Behavior of that People.

God having punish'd an Unworthy People with the Death of that *Religious* and *Excellent* Prince, the *Wonder of his Age*; Popery became again the Establish'd Religion in *England* under his Sister and Successor Q. *Mary*, by whom Protestants of all Persuasions were severely persecuted. During her Reign the *English* Exiles at *Francford* set up a Congregation, wherein they *exactly practis'd* both the *Presbyterian Discipline* and *Worship*.

Upon the Death of Q. *Mary* (which was as great a Blessing to the Nation, as the Death of K. *Edward 6th* was a Curse and an heavy Affliction) Q. *Elizabeth*'s happy Accession to the Crown open'd a Door for the Return of these Exiles; and the Protestant Religion was Re-establish'd. Protestant *Non-Conformity* made a Considerable Progress during her Reign; and I hope to make it appear that the *Puritans* in her time, tho' they had the Misfortune to be treated with great Severity by her, were her Faithful and Loyal Subjects.

And

Part I

And here I will examine what our Author has said to the Contrary.

He begins his *Account* of their Behavior with this *Mighty Apparatus* p. 7. ‘ I will now proceed to show how far their Actions have been Conformable to their Principles in all Turns of Government, and will as much as possible, confine my self to the very Words and Sentiments of most of the Queen's Royal Predecessors in Relation to them, whereby you may judge what sense they had of their *Untainted* Loyalty to them in their Respective Reigns.

Seeing our Author has distinguish'd between the Principles and Practices of *Presbyterians*, & accordingly treats 'em, it might have been expected that they shou'd not be confounded and intermixt in this latter Part of his Essay, as sometimes they are; but especially, seeing he brings in Evidences to prove 'em; and therefore let the Reader observe, That no Man's Testimony whatsoever is sufficient Evidence for condemning any Principle in Religion upon: for doing whereof Divine Testimony and Sound Reason is the only sufficient Ground.

Indeed in Matters of Fact, good and Unexceptionable Witnesses are to be admitted. But if the *Presbyterians* shou'd alledge, that some of the Queen's Royal Predecessors and their Prime Favorites by whom they were influenc'd were *Persecutors of the Dissenters*, to the public *Prejudice* of *Religion* and *Liberty*; they say no more than what the *best States-men*, *greatest Patriots*, Most *Impartial Historians*, & the *Ablest Divines* of the *Moderate Conformists* have acknowledg'd. And therefore let the Reader judge, whether such Testimonies be Conclusive. I am sorry that our *Author* shou'd have so little Regard to the Memory of some of those Princes, as to raise a *Disturbance* to their *Royal Ashes*, and oblige men inevitably in their own Defence to mention some of those *Dark Shades*, with which their Pictures are drawn in the Public Records of History. This is a Task I shou'd altogether decline, were it not, that those Mistakes of the Court have been already laid open by those whose Zeal for the Church of *England* is past all Question; and that such Historical Discoveries have the Royal Countenance of a very great and Impartial Judge, namely the late Queen *Mary* of Glorious Memory, who ‘ When Reflections were once made before ‘ her, of the Sharpness of some Historians, who had left heavy Imputations on the Memory of some Princes: She answer'd, *That if*

those

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' *those Princes were truly such as the Historians Represented them, they*
' *had well deserv'd that Treatment: And others who tread their steps*
' *must look for the same; for Truth wou'd be told at last. And that with*
' *the more Acrimony of Stile, for being so long Restrain'd. It was a Gentle*
' *Suffering to be exp s'd to the World in their true Colours, much below*
' *what others had suff r'd at their Hands* (l).

I'm sure no man is chargeable with the Sin of *speaking evil of Dignities*, meerly for giving a just account of the Male-Administrations of Princes, when the Cause of Innocence and Truth requires it: with this Caution, I shall consider his Proof. ' To begin (says he p. 7.)
' with Queen Elizabeth We find in her Speech to the Parliament
' *Anno Regni Decimo septimo*, she says, That the Puritans *are Dangerous*
' *to Kingly Rule, every man according to his own Censure making doom of*
' *the Validity or Pravity of his Prince's Government, with a Common Vail*
' *and Cover of Gods Word.*

If we examine the Reasons which induc'd Queen *Elizabeth* to have this Opinion of the *Puritans*, we may collect them from the following Passages, taken from three Historians, who are all above the least suspicion of Partiality in their Favors. The first is Bp *Burnet*, who in the *Preface to the 2d. Volume of his Histroy of the Reformation*, says,
' There were many Learn'd and Pious Divines in the beginning of
' Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, who being driven beyond sea had observ'd
' the New Models set up in *Geneva*, and other places, for the Cen-
' suring of Scandalous Persons, of mixed Judicatories of the Ministers
' and Laity; and these reflecting on the great Looseness of Life
' which had been universally Complain'd of in *King Edward*'s time,
' thought such a *Platform* might be an Effectual way for keeping out
' a return of the like Disorders. There were also some few Rites
' reserv'd in this Church, that had been either used in the Primitive
' Church, or tho' brought in of later time, yet seemed of excellent
' use to beget reverence in Holy Performances, ——— Yet these
' *Divines Excepted to those* as Complyances with *Popery*, ———
' *Those of the Division* finding they could not carry their main Design,
' rais'd all the Clamors they cou'd against the Churchmen; and put in

(l) *Burnets* Essay on the Memory of Queen *Mary* p. 24.

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' in Bills into the Parliament against the *abuses* of *Pluralities*, *Non-Residences*, and the Excesses of the *Spiritual Courts*. But the Queen being POSSESS'D with this, *that the Parliaments medling in those matters tended to the lessening of* HER AUTHORITY, of which she was ' EXTREMELY SENSIBLE, got all those *Bills* to be thrown out: ' If the Abuses that gave such Occasion to the Male-contented to ' Complain, had been effectually redress'd, that *Party* must have had ' little to work on; *But these things furnish'd them with new Com-* ' *plaints still.*

After he has been stating *the fifth* Prejudice against the *Reformation*, he brings in the Latter Part of the Objection thus; ' There are besides ' this a great many other abuses, brought in in the worst times and ' now purg'd out of some of the Churches of the *Roman* Communion, ' which yet continue and are too much in use among us, such as *Plu-* ' *ralities*, *Non-residences*, and *other things of that nature*: so that it may ' be said, that some of the *manifest Corruptions* of Popery, where they ' are recommended by the Advantages that accompany them, *are not* ' *throughly purged out*; notwithstanding all the noise we have made ' about Reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less ' Consequence.

' This whole Objection, when all acknowledg'd, as *the greatest Part* ' *of it can't be deny'd*, amounts indeed to this; that our Reformation ' is NOT YET ARRIV'D at that full Perfection, that *is to be de-* ' *sir'd*. The want of public Pennance, and Penitentiary Canons is ' indeed a very great Defect: Our Church does not deny it, but ' acknowledges it in the *Preface* to the Office of *Commination*. It ' was one of the greatest Glories of the Primitive Church, that they ' were so govern'd, that none of their number cou'd sin openly ' without public Censure and a long Separation from the holy Com-' munion; which they judg'd was defil'd by a Promiscuous Admit-' ting of all persons to it.

——— " It will appear in the following Work, that a *Plat-* ' *form was made of an* ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE, tho' the ' Bishops had no hope of reducing it to Practice, till the King shou'd ' come to be of Age, and pass a Law for the Authorizing of it: but ' he dying before this was effected, it *was not prosecuted* with that ' Zeal that the thing required in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time.

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In his History of the Reformation (*m*) he says, 'The Queen had 'been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and 'a love to the Reformation: But yet as her first Impressions in her 'Father's Reign were in favor of *such Old Rites as he had still retain'd*; 'so in *her own Nature* she lov'd *State* and some *Magnificence*, in Reli- 'gion, as well as in *every thing* else. She thought in her Brother's 'Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and 'had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points, therefore she 'intended to have some things explain'd in more general Terms, that 'so all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclin'd *to 'keep up Images* in Churches: And to have the manner of Christ's 'Presence in the Sacrament left in some General Words, that those 'who believ'd the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from 'the Church by too nice an Explanation of it.

The same Author in his Letters (*n*) says, , By the Letters (*he means of 'our Reformres to Bullinger*) of which I read the Originals, it appears 'that the Bishops preserved the Ancient Habits *rather in Complyance* 'with the *Queen's Inclinations* than out of any likeing they had to them; so 'far were they from liking them, that they plainly *expres's'd their Dislike 'of them. Jewel* in a Letter Feb. 8. 1566. wishes that the Vestments 'together with *all the other Remnants of Popery*, might be thrown both 'out of their Churches, and out of the Minds of the People, & laments 'the *Queen's Fixedness* to them; so that she wou'd suffer no Change to 'be made. And *January* 1566. *Sands* writes to the same Purpose, '*Contenditur de Vestibus Papisticis utendis*; *dabit Deus his quoque finem* 'Horn, July 16. 1565. writes of the Act concerning Habits with 'GREAT REGRATE, and expresses some hopes that it might be 'Repeal'd next Session of Parliament, *if the Popish Party did not hinder 'it*, and he seems to stand in doubt, whether he shou'd conform 'himself to it or not, upon which he desires *Bullinger's* Advice. And 'in many Letters wrote on the Subject it is asserted, That both *Cran- 'mer* and *Ridley* intended to procure *an Act for abolishing the Habits* '&c. *Grindal* August 27. 1566. writes that all the Bishops who 'had been beyond Sea, had at their Return dealt with the Queen to let 'the matter of the Habits fall: but she was SO PRE-POSSESS'D, that

(*m*) Part 2. Book 3. p. 376. (*n*) p. 46. &c.

'that tho' they had all endeavor'd to divert her from profecuting Part 1.
'the matter, ſhe continu'd STILL INFLEXIBLE. This had
'made them to reſolve to ſubmit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit
'Opportunity to reverſe them.

The ſame Learn'd Author, in his Sermon before the Houſe of Commons *January*, 1688 on *Pſ.* 144. *ver.* 15. gives us a Piece of Hiſtory, which will give farther light in this matter, "*Here* ſuf-
'fer me to tell you (*ſays he*) that in the beginning of Queen *Eliza-*
'*beth's* Reign, our Adverſaries (*the Papiſts*) ſaw no hopes of Re-
'triveing their Affairs, which had been ſpoiled by Q. *Mary's* Per-
'ſecution, but by ſetting on foot *Diviſions among Proteſtants*, upon
'very inconſiderable matters. I my ſelf have ſeen the Letters
'of the *Chief Biſhops of that time*, from which it appears that the
'QUEEN'S STIFNESS *in maintaining ſome Ceremonies* flowed not
'from their Counſels, but from the practices of *ſome diſguiſed Papiſts.*
'And I have had in my hands the Original Journel of the Lower
'Houſe of Convocation in the 5*th* year of that Glorious Reign, in
'which the matter of the Ceremonies was firſt argu'd, and when it
'came to the Vote, it was carried by the greater Number of the
'Voices of the Members that were preſent TO LAY DOWN
'ALL THESE SUBJECTS OF CONTEST: But the Proxies
'turn'd it to the ſeverer ſide.

The ſecond is Dr. *Heylin*, who ſpeaking of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſays, with reſpect to the book of Common-prayer eſtabliſh'd by her 'There
'was great care taken for expunging ſuch Paſſages in it, as might
'give *any ſcandal or Offence to the Popiſh Party*, or be urg'd by them
'in excuſe for their not coming to the Church——In the Litany
'firſt made and publiſh'd by King *Henry* 8*th*, and afterwards conti-
'nu'd in the two Liturgies of K. *Edward* 6. there was a *Prayer to*
'*be deliver'd from the Tyranny and all the deteſtable Enormities of the*
'*Biſhop of Rome*, which was thought fit to be expung'd, as giving
'matter of Scandal and Diſaffection to all that Party, or that other-
'wiſe wiſh'd well to that Religion——————*And to*
'*come up cloſer to the Church of Rome*, it was ordered by the Queen's
'*Injunctions* that the Sacramental Bread (which the book required on-
'ly to be made of the fineſt flowr) ſhou'd be made *round in the faſhion*
'*of the Wafers uſed in the time of Queen Mary.* She alſo order'd that
'the *Lord's Table* ſhould be placed where the Altar ſtood,—— And

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'all the Old Festivals observ'd with their several Eves, by which Complyances and the expunging the Passages before remembred; 'the *Book* was made *so passable among the Papists*, that for ten years 'they generally repair'd to their Parish Churches, without doubt or 'scruple.

The same Author giving an Account of many things retain'd in the Church by Queen *Elizabeth*, hath this Passage, 'The Gentlemen 'and Children in their Surplices, and their Priests in Copes as often 'as they attended the Divine Service of the *Holy Altar*. The Altar 'furnish'd with rich Plate, TWO FAIR GILT CANDLE-'STICKS *with Tapers* on them, and a *Massy Crucifix* of Silver in 'the midst thereof; which last remained there for some years, till 'it was broke in Pieces by *Pach*, the fool (no wiser man daring to 'undertake such a Desperate Service) at the Solicitation of Sir *Fran-'cis Knolles* the Queen's near kinsman by the *Caries*, and one who 'openly appear'd in favor of the Schism at *Frankford*. The *Ancient 'Ceremonies Accustomably* observ'd by the Knights of the Garter, in 'their Adoration towards the Altar, *abolish'd* by King *Edward 6th*, 'reviv'd by Queen *Mary*, were by *this Queen* retain'd as formerly 'in her Father's time.

The Third is *Cambden*, who giving an Account of the Advance-ment of *Whitgift* from the See of *Worcester* to that of *Canterbury*, Represents Q. *Elizabeth*'s Instructions to him in these Words, 'Him(*o*) 'The Queen (who, as in Civil Matters, so also in the Laws Ecclesiasti-'cal was of Opinion that no loose Remissness was to be used,) gave in 'Charge, that he should take special Care to restore the *Disci-'pline* of the Church of *England*, and the Uniformity in the Service 'of God establish'd by Authority of Parliament; which thro' *the 'Connivance of the Prelates*, the Obstinacy of the *Puritans*, and the '*Power of some Noblemen*, was run out of square;" *Whitgift*, in Pur-suance of these Instructions urg'd upon the Ministers a Subscription to *three* Articles, the *second* whereof was in these Words, *That the Book of Common-Prayer and another Book of Ordaining Bishops and Priests contained nothing in them, contrary to Gods Word, but might lawfully be used*;

(*o*) Cambdens Hist. of Q. Elizabeth Book 3. p. 288.

used; and that they should use that, and no other Form, either of Prayer, or Administration of the Sacraments. Upon which that Author makes this Reflection, 'By Occasion hereof *incredible* it is what CONTRO-'VERSIES and DISPUTATIONS arose——

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From these Passages 'tis easy to determine, what were the Causes of Queen *Elizabeth*'s bad Opinion of the *Puritans*. They thought the Reformation in her time was *realy* DEFECTIVE, and you see Dr. *Burnet* freely *confesseth* the same: Nay they thought that in some Points things were made worse by her, and some things reform'd by her Brother King *Edward*, reduced to the *Old Popish Customs* again, which the above Historians Confirm. That good King was for a *Plan* of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, which she would not suffer nor establish; and for want whereof many *Abuses* were retained & encreas'd in the Church, and all this was regrated by the Puritans, and was what they still sought to be reform'd. *And* you see the most Learn'd and Pious Bishops in her time Joyn'd with the Puritans, lamenting the Queen's FIXEDNESS, and that she was so PREPOSSESS'D and INFLEXIBLE. She was so great a lover of State and Magnificence in Religion and in every thing else, that she could not bear to be contradicted in any thing, which her Natural Temper was fond of; and she was so *Extremely jealous* of her *own Authority*, that she would not suffer the Parliament to reform the Abuses of the Spiritual Courts, *Non-Residence*, Pluralities. &c.

Now, I would gladly know whether Q. *Elizabeth* was not *too jealous* of her *own Authority*, and too fearful of its being diminish'd, when she carried it so high, as to hinder the Necessary Reformation of *Palpable Abuses* in the Church? Wherein could that diminish her Authority in the least? and if she was mistaken in this Point, why might not her opinion of *Puritans being Enemies to Kingly Rule* be grounded upon the like mistake? Were they any further Enemies to Kingly Government, than by pressing for a farther Reformation of the Church? *And* were not all those Worthy Prelates and other *Great Ones* who joyned with them, as much Enemies to *Kingly Government* as they; that is, in Truth no Enemies to it at all.

Her stopping the Reformation of Abuses in the Church gave just ground for continual Complaints and Petitions; and yet she still found fault with those Complaints, as levell'd against her *Authority*;

whereas

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whereas they were only level'd against those Corruptions, which had too much Countenance from her, against the Inclinations and declar'd Opinion of all the Moderate Clergy.

That Glorious Princess was very hearty and Zealous in promoting every step of the Reformation that was agreeable to her own Inclinations; for which her Memory will be transmitted to late Posterity with the Universal applause of all good Protestants: but in some other Points, 'tis plain that our Reformers had a Mind to have gone much farther, but for want of her Concurrence their Endeavors were frustrated; which was so great a Misfortune to *England*, that (most probably) it has been the Cause of all the Unhappy Divisions and Animosities among *English* Protestants from *that* time to *this*. For until that *Fatal Charge* given by the *Queen* to *Whitgift*, *anno* 1583; The Prelates generally and the other Clergy, had so good an Understanding amongst themselves, that they *bore with one another*; and the Terms of Conformity were not rigorously urg'd. What Parts of the Common-Prayer were against the Consciences of Men, and were likely to divide the Church, and cause a Separation, were let alone; and the Ceremonies left indifferent, and no pressing of Ministers to Subscriptions and declarations with respect to those Points; and this is what *Cambden* calls the Connivance of *Prelates*, which so much disturb'd the Queen. Now is it to be imagin'd, but that Clergy who by their Mutual Moderation continu'd incorporated into one Church and Communion for so many years, wou'd have fallen upon such a *healing Scheme*, as wou'd have prevented all the unhappy Differences which have since follow'd, if the Queen had heartily concurr'd with 'em. But instead of that, *Whitgift* by her Orders, carry'd matters so high, that Multitudes of *Faithful*, *Learn'd* & *Laborious Ministers* were silenc'd and Grievously persecuted for Non-subscription to his New Articles, press'd *without Authority* either of *Parliament* or *Convocation*; while in many places a scandalous Unquality'd Ministry who Conform'd to his *Articles* were kept in their Peaceable Possession. And hereupon Multitudes of Families were ruin'd by Imprisonment, and Banishment and other Severities.

The persecuting Rigor and Violence of *Whitgift*, and the *Loyal* and *Peaceable* Behavior of those *Puritans* so cruelly harass'd by him, is attested by the greatest Statesmen of that Age, and particularly by the

the Celebrated Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who in one of his Letters upon that Subject to the Archbishop *Sepr.* 17. 1584 says, 'I (p) see 'such Worldliness in many who were *otherwise* affected before they 'came to *Cathedral* Churches, that I fear the *Places alter the men*, and 'herein I condemn not all: but few there be that do better being '*Bishops*, than being Preachers they did.————by your Order, 'poor simple men, have rather been *sought for by Inquisition to be found* 'Offenders, than upon their facts condemn'd. In another letter to *Whitgift* dated july 5*th* 1584. The same Noble Lord says, '(q) 'It May please your Grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I 'do, but I am more troubled my self, not only with *many* private 'Petitions of *sundry Ministers* recommended for persons of Credit, '&for *peaceable* persons in their Ministry, &yet by Complaints to your 'Grace, &other your Collegues in Commission *greatly troubled*: but also 'daily now charg'd by COUNSELLORS, and PUBLIC PERSONS 'to neglect my Duty, in not staying of those your Grace's Proceed-'ings, so *vehement* and so *General* against Ministers, and Preachers, 'as the *Papists are thereby greatly encourag'd* and *all evil Dispos'd* Persons 'amongst the *Subjects animated*, and thereby the *Queen's Majesty's* 'SAFETY ENDANGER'D;————But now, My good 'Lord, by chance I have come to the sight of an Instrument of 24 'Articles of great length & Curiosity, *form'd in a Romish Style*, to examine 'all manner of Ministers in this time without Distinction of Persons, 'which Articles are Entitul'd *apud Lambeth Maij.* 1584 to be executed '*ex officio mero* &c. And upon this Occasion I have seen them. I did 'recommend unto your Grace's Favor two Ministers Curates of '*Cambridge* Shire, to be favorably heard, and your Grace wrote to 'me that they were Contentious, Seditious, and Persons Vagrant, 'maintaining this Controversy, wherewith I charg'd them sharply, 'and they both deny'd those Charges, and requir'd to be try'd and 'so to receive Punishment: I answer'd, That your Grace wou'd so 'charge them, &then I shou'd see afterwards what they should deserve, '& advised them to resort to your Graee, comforting them that they 'should find favorable Proceedings, &so I hope upon my former Commenda-

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(p) *vide* the Harmony between the Old and *Present* Non-conformists Principles p. 50.
(q) *Vide Fuller's* Church History Book 9. p. 154 &c.

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'mendations the rather. What may be said to them I know not, 'nor whether they have been so faulty as your Grace hath been in-'form'd do I know; neither do I mean to treat for favor to such 'men, for pardon I may speak upon their Amendment. But now 'they coming to me, I offer how your Grace proceeded with them. 'They say, they are commanded to be examin'd by the Register at *London*, and I ask'd them whereof. They said of a great Number 'of Articles; but they could have no Copies of them, I answer'd 'that they might answer to the Truth; they said that they were so 'many in number, and so diverse, as they were afraid to answer 'them, for *fear* of *Captious Interpretation.* Upon this I sent for the 'Register, who brought me the Articles, which I have read, and 'find so *curiously penn'd*, so full of Branches, and Circumstances, that 'I think the INQUISITIONS *of* SPAIN *use not so many Questions 'to comprehend, and to intrap their Preys.* I know your Canonists can 'Defend these with all their Particles: But surely under your 'Grace's Correction, this *Juridical and Canonical Sistner of poor Minis-'ters*, is not to edify and reform. And in Charity I think they ought 'not to answer to all these nice Points, except they were very Noto-'rious Offenders in Papistry or Heresy. Now good my Lord, bear with 'my scribling: I write with Testimony of a good Conscience. I desire 'the Peace of the Church I desire Concord, and Unity in the Ex-'ercise of our Religion. I fear no Sensual and Wilful Recusant. 'But I conclude, that according to my simple Judgment, this kind 'of proceeding is *too much favoring the Romish Inquisition*, and is 'rather a Device to seek for Offenders, than to reform any.

'——I have *willed them not to answer these Articles*, except their 'Consciences may suffer them.——

If COUNSELLORS and PUBLIC PERSONS thought *Whit gift*'s Vehement Proceedings against *Puritans to be encouraging to Papists*, and *all evil* Dispos'd *Subjects*, and DANGEROUS *to her* MAJESTY'S SAFETY, then 'twas not possible that they shou'd reckon *Puritans themselves* dangerous to her Majesty's safety, or that they were, *in the least evil-Dispos'd Subjects*; and therefore they were accounted by them *Loyal* and *peaceable* in the Exercise of their Ministry, which Character of 'em prevails so far upon the Lord Treasurer's Belief, as he *wills him not to answer Whitgift*'s *Romish* Inquisition, promoted by such *whose Places alter'd the men.*

Nay

Nay the PRIVY-COUNCIL themselves laid such weight upon the many Complaints made to them upon this doleful Subject, that they wrote a grave letter of Admonition to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* dated *September* 20. 1584. in favor of the Non-Conformists, as follows. Part I.

'After (*r*) our hearty Commendations to both your Lordships; 'altho' we have heard of late times *sundry Complaints* out of divers 'Countries of this Realm, of some Proceedings against a *great num-* 'ber of Ecclesiastical Persons, some *Parsons* of Churches, some *Vicars*, 'some *Curates*, but ALL PREACHERS, whereby some were *de-* 'priv'd of their Livings, some *suspended* from their *Ministry*, & *Preach-* 'ing; yet we have forborn to enter into any particular Examina- 'tion of such Complaints, thinking that howsoever inferior Officers 'as *Chancellors*, *Commissaries*, Arch-*Deacons* and such like, whose Offices 'are of more value and profit by such like kind of Proceedings, might 'in such sort proceed against the Ministers of the Church: Yet your 'Lordship the Archbishop of that Province of *Canterbury* have, besides 'your General Authority, some particular Interest in the present 'Jurisdiction of sundry Bishopricks vacant. And you also the Bishop 'of *London* both for your own Authority in your Dioceses, and as 'head Commissioner Ecclesiastical, would have a Pastoral *care* over the 'particular Officers; to *stay and temper them in their hasty Proceedings* 'against the *Ministers*, and especially against such as do *earnestly pro-* 'fess and *instruct* the People against the *Dangerous Sects of Papistry*. 'But yet of late, hearing of the lamentable Estate of the Church in 'the County of *Essex*, that is, of a GREAT NUMBER *of* ZEA- 'LOUS *and* LEARN'D PREACHERS there suspended from 'their *Cures*, the Vacancy of the place for the most part *without* 'any *Ministry of preaching*, Prayers and Sacraments; And in some 'places, of certain appointed to those void Rooms, being persons 'neither *of Learning nor of good name*; and in other Places of that 'Country, a great Number of Parsons occupying the Cures being 'notoriously *unfit*, most *for lack of Learning*, many charg'd or charge- 'able with great and *Erroneous faults* and *Drunkenness*, *Filthiness* of life,

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 151, &c.

'*Gamsters* at Cards, *haunting of Ale-houses*, and such like; against whom 'we hear not of *any Proceedings* but that *they* are QUIETLY 'SUFFER'D, to the slander of the Church, to the offence of good 'people, yea to the famishing of them for lack of good teaching; 'and thereby dangerous to the *subverting of many*, *weaklings from their* '*Duties to God*, and the QUEEN'S MAJESTY, by secret Jesuits 'and Counterfeit Papists. And having thus in a general sort heard 'out of many Parts of the like of this lamentable Estate of the 'Church, yet to the Intent we should not be deceived with the 'Generality of reports, we sought to be inform'd of some Particulars, 'namely of some parts of *Essex*, and having receiv'd the *same Credibly* '*in Writing*, we have thought it our Duties to her Majesty and the 'Realm for the Remedy hereof, without intermedling our selves with 'your Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, to make Report unto your Lord-'ships as persons that ought *most specially to have regard thereto*, as we 'hope you will; and therefore have sent you herewith in Writing 'a Catalogue of the Names of persons of sundry Natures, and Con-'ditions, that is, *one sort being reported to be Learned, Zealous and good* '*Preachers deprived and suspended*, and so the Cures not served with 'meet persons. The other Sort a Number of persons having Cures, 'being in sundry sorts far unmeet for any Offices in the Church, 'for their many Defects and Imperfections, and so as it seems by the 'Reports have been and are *suffered to continue* WITHOUT RE-'PREHENSION or any Other PROCEEDINGS against them; and 'thereby a great number of Christian People untaught; a Matter 'very lamentable in this time. In a *third sort*, a number having 'double livings with Cure, and so not resident upon their Cures, 'But yet enjoying the benefit of their Benefices without any Personal '*Attendance* upon their Cures. Against *all* these Sorts of *Lewd*, and '*evil*, and *Unprofitable Corrupt Members*, we hear of NO INQUISI-'TION, nor of any kind of Proceeding to the Reformation of those 'horrible Offences in the Church, but yet of *great diligence*, yea, 'and *Extremity us'd against those that are* KNOWN DILIGENT 'PREACHERS. Now therefore we, for the Discharge of our 'Duties, being by our Vocations under her Majesty bound to be 'careful that the Universal Realm may be well govern'd, to the ho-'nor and Glory of God, and to the Discharge of her Majesty being

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'the Principal Governor, over all her Subjects under Almighty 'God, do most earnestly desire your Lordships, to take some Charitable Consideration of these Causes, that the People of the Realm 'may not be deprived of their *Pastors being* DILIGENT, LEARNED 'and ZEALOUS, tho' in *some Points Ceremonial*, they may seem 'doubtful *only in Conscience*, and not of *Wilfulness*. Nor that their 'Cures be suffer'd to be vacant without good Pastors, nor that such 'as be placed in the Rooms of Cures be insufficient for learning, or 'unmeet for their Conversation. And tho' the Notes which we 'send you be only of Persons belonging to *Essex*, yet we pray you 'to look into the rest of the Country in many other Dioceses, for we 'have, and do hear daily of the like in *generality in many other places*, 'but we have not sought to have the Particulars so manifestly de'liver'd of other places as of *Essex*, or rather, to say the Truth, of 'one Corner of the Country. And we shall be most glad to hear 'of your cares to be taken for Remedy of these Enormities, so as 'we be not troubled hereafter, or hear of the like Complaints to 'continue; and so we bid your good Lordships right heartily fare'well.

Your Lordships Loving Friends

C. Howard,	*Will. Burleigh,*
I. Croft.	*George Shrewsbury,*
Chr. Hatton,	*A. Warwick.*
Fra. Walsingham.	*R. Leicester.*

Does any man believe that her Majesty's Privy Council, cou'd have pleaded in this manner for the *Puritans*, if they had thought them Disloyal and Seditious? If they did, I'm sure they must be chargeable with great Unfaithfulness to the Queen, and the true Interest of the Nation.

If *Cambden* had seen all the Debates that have been raised upon the same ground, he wou'd have had much more reason to say, as he did, *it is Incredible what Disputations & Controversies* &c. Non-Conformity till that time made but a small Figure in *England*, because the Moderation of several Bishops was such, as the Puritans were conniv'd at in their Omission of the Rites, Forms and Practices which they

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most scrupled at: And therefore the number of those who separated from the Communion of the Church was, before that time, but inconsiderable. But the fatal Cause above mention'd (*viz. Whitgift's* Rigor) did then Effectually break the Peace of the Church, by excluding from her Communion many sound Protestants of Unblemish-ed Characters: And, at the same time, gave a Demonstration of the Justice of that Observation made by the Learn'd *Stilling Fleet* (*f*); 'Without all Controversy the *main inlet* of all the *Distractions*, *Con-* 'fusions and *Divisions* in the Christian World, hath been adding 'other Conditions of Church Communion than *Christ* hath made.

Upon the whole, if Queen *Elizabeth's* stiffness in these Points, rivet-ed in her by her *extreme Jealousy* of her own Authority, and her Natural Inclination (from her *Education* and *Temper*) to the Magnificence of some of the *Popish Ceremonies*, *Modes and Habits*, did PRE-POSSESS her Judgment & make her INFLEXIBLE, even to the desires of the *most Glorious* of our Reformers in *these very* Points, which to this day are some of the *Grounds* of *Non-Conformity:* The Consequence plainly is this, that her Judgment of *Puritans* was not impartial, being *Byass'd* and *Prepossess'd*; and therefore ought not to be receiv'd to their Prejudice. If *every Puritan according to his own Censure, made doom of the Validity or Pravity of his Prince's Government*, I think he did no more than what the Rights of Mankind and Subjects allow every Individual to do, who ought in the *Judgment of Discretion* to exa-mine every Command of his Superior w herein he's concerned, whe-ther it may be obeyed lawfully and with a good Conscience: To deny this, is to make as many *Popes* as there are Princes in the World, by yielding them all an *Implicit Obedience*. And Q. *Elizabeth's* charg-ing this upon the Puritans, is a farther Argument of her extreme Jealousy of her Authority, and of her Prepossess'd Judgment.

Our Author, to give us a farther Account of the sense of Q. *Elizabeth*, quotes two Passages; the one from a Speech of Serjeant *Puckering* to the House of Commons, whereof he was Speaker: And the other from the letter of Sir *Francis Walsingham* to *Monsieur Critoy*, the French King's Secretary. But seeing he quotes them only as

(*f*) *vide Irenicum* Pref. p. 9.

as *speaking the sense* of Queen *Elizabeth* about Puritans, I might dismiss them both with what has been said, as a sufficient Answer: For if that Queen's own Judgment was Prepossess'd in this Point, surely all those who *speak her sense* must, on the same score, be laid aside in this Debate. Yet, I shall neglect nothing that has the least shadow of Argument in what's quoted out of either of these two Gentlemen. Serjeant *Puckering* begins thus (p. 7.) 'You are Commanded by her 'Majesty that no ear be given to the Wearisom Solicitations of those 'that commonly call themselves *Puritans*, wherewith all the late Par-'liaments have been exceedingly importun'd.' All subjects have a *Liberty of Petitioning* for the Redress of Grievances, and to hear such Petitions and frame wholesom Laws upon 'em, has been still thought the great business of Parliaments and the *great Means* of preserving the Liberty of the Subject; and therefore that the Queen shou'd Command her Parliaments to *give no ear* to the Complaints of Subjects, is a Stile and manner of speaking, which Parliaments have no great reason to be fond of. Both Houses of Parliament being *Essential* Branches of the Legislature, are *for themselves* Judges of what ought or ought not to pass into a Law; And therefore have still endeavor'd to preserve to themselves the freedom of *Speech* & *Voting* according to their *own* Judgments, and not by any *Prepossession* from another Spring. Neither did they account the Solicitations of Puritans *wearisom*; but, on the Contrary, *Reasonable*; as appears from the Petition of the House of Commons to the Houle of Lords *anno* 1587. in their favor, *Fuller* gives us the greater Part of the Petition it self, with an Account of the Debates upon it in the House of Lords, and of the Artifices and Management of *Whitgift* and his party with the Queen to obstruct it. And because all these things give Considerable insight into the History of the *Puritans* and their Behavior at that time, and the Causes not only of their being Discountenanc'd, but of a Stop put to the Reformation of Palpable Abuses, I must not overlook it. Part 1.

Take *Fuller*'s Account of the whole in the following Words 'But '(*t*) now a *Session* of *Parliament* was held at *Westminster*, wherein 'the *House* of *Commons* presented to the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*

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(*t*) Church Hist. b. 9. p. 189 &c.

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'a *Petition.* Complaining how many *Parishes* especially in the North 'of *England* and *Wales*, were destitute of *Preachers*, and no care 'taken to supply them. Sixteen were the Particulars, whereof, the 'six first were against insufficient *Ministers*; very earnestly pressing 'their taking the same into their serious Consideration, for speedy 'Redress of the Grievances therein contained.

7. 'That no Oath or Subscription might be tendered to any at their en-'terance into the Ministry, but such as is expressly prescrib'd by the 'Statutes of this Realm, except the Oath against corrupt En-'tring.

8. 'That they may not be troubled for OMISSION of SOME RITES 'or PORTIONS prescribed in the Book of Common-Pray-'er.

9. 'That they may not be call'd and urg'd to answer before the Officials 'and Commissaries, but before the Bishops themselves.

10. 'That such as had been suspended or deprived for NO OTHER 'offence, but only for NOT SUBCRIBING, might be restored, 'and that the Bishops would forbear their Excommunication, ex 'officio mero, of GODLY and LEARN'D PREACHERS 'not detected for open offence of life or apparent Error in Doc-'trine.

11. 'That they might not be call'd before the High-Commission, or out 'of The Dioceses where they lived, except for some notable Of-'fence.

12. 'That it might be permitted to them in every Arch-Deaconry, to 'have some Common Exercises and Conferences amongst them-'selves, to be limited and prescribed by the Ordinaries.

13. 'That the high Censure of Excommunication, may not be denounced 'or executed for small matters.

14. 'Nor by Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, but by the Bishops 'themselves with assistance of grave Persons.

15, 16. 'That Non-Residency may be quite removed out of the Church, 'or at least that according to the Queen's Injunctions (Artic. '44.) No Non-Resident having already a Licence or faculty 'may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach 'and Catechize, as is required in her Majesties Injunctions.

'Of all these Particulars the House fell most fiercely on the Debate 'of *Pluralities* and (the Effect thereof) *Non-Residents.*

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2. ' *Arch-Bishop Whitgift* pleaded, that Licences for *Non-Residency*, ' *were at the present but seldom granted. And yet in way of Recovering* ' *health by changing of Air, of Study for a time in the University, of* ' *Mortal Enmity born by some in the Parish, of Prosecution of Law, or* ' *of being Employed in Public Affairs, they cannot be wholly abrogated,* ' *That there were in* England *four thousand five hundred Benefices with* ' *Cure*, not above ten & most of them under eight pounds in the first ' fruits-Book, which cannot be furnish'd with able Pastors, as the ' Petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their Livings. More- ' over he affirm'd, that whatever was pretended to the contrary, ' *England* at that time flourish'd with able Ministers more than ever ' before, yea had more than all *Christendom* besides.

3. ' The *Lord Gray* rejoyn'd to this Assertion *of more Learned Mi-* ' *nisters in the Church of* England *than ever heretofore, nay than in all* ' *the Reformed Churches in Christendom*, this; *that it was not to be* ' *attributed to the Bishops or their Actions, but to God, who now opened* ' *the hearts of many to see into the Truth, and that the Schools were better* ' *observed.*

4. ' The Lord Treasurer *Burghley* seeming to moderate betwixt ' them, after a long and Learn'd Oration, concluded, *That he was not* ' *so scrupulous, as absolutely to like of the Bill against Pluralities without any* ' *Exception: for he did favor both Learning, and wished a Competent Re-* ' *ward to it. And therefore could like, and allow a Learned man to* ' *have two Benefices, so they were both in one parish, that is to say, in one* ' *Diocess, and not one in the Diocess of* Winchester, *and another in the* ' North, *where the several Diocesans wou'd have no regard of them,* ' *whereas being both in one* Diocess, *the Bishop wou'd look unto them.*

5. ' *Here it was signified, that her Majesty was acquainted with the* ' *matter, and that she was very forward to Redress the faults, and there-* ' *fore required the Bishops, not to hinder her good and gracious pur-* ' *pose, for that her Majesty would confer with them.*

6. ' The Lord *Gray* again said, *he greatly wondred at her Majesty, that* ' *she would make choice to Confer with those, who were all Enemies to Re-* ' *formation; for that it meerly touch'd their Free-holds, and therefore he* ' *thought it good, the House shou'd make choice of some to be joined with* ' *them; also he wished the Bishops might be served as they were in K. Hen-*

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'ry the 8th days, when as in the Case of Præmunire they were all thrust out of doors.

7. 'The Lord Treasurer said, that the Bishops, if they were wise, 'wou'd themselves be humble Suiters to her Majesty, to have some of the 'Temporal Lords joyn'd with them.

8. 'The Lord Chamberlain utterly disliked the Lord Gray's Motion, 'alledging that it was not to be liked of, that the Lords shou'd appoint her 'Majesty any to confer withal, but that it shou'd be left to her own Elec-'tion.

9. 'Matters Flying thus high, the *Archbishop*, with the rest of 'the *Clergy*, conceived it the safest way to apply themselves by Pe-'tition to the *Queen*, which they presented as followeth.

To the Queens Most Excellent Majesty.

'THE Woful and Distressed State whereunto we are like to fall, force-'eth us with Grief of heart in most humble manner, to crave your 'Majesties most Sovereign Protection. For the Pretence being made the 'Maintenance and increase of a learned Ministry, when it is throughly 'weighed, decayeth learning, spoileth their livings, taketh away the SET 'FORM of PRAYER in the Church, and is the means to bring in Con-'fusion and Barbarism. How dangerous Innovations are in a setled E-'state, whosoever hath Judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet 'such great Inconveniences may ensue, as will make a state lamentable & 'miserable. Our Neighbours Miseries might make us fearful, but that 'we know who rules the same. All the Reformed Churches in Europe, 'cannot compare with England in the Number of Learn'd Ministers. 'These Benefits of your Majesty's most Sacred and Careful Government 'with hearty joy we feel, and humbly acknowledge; senseless are they 'that repine at it, and careless who lightly regard it. The respect hereof 'made the Prophet to say, Dii estis. All the faithful and Discreet Clergy 'say, O DEA CERTE! Nothing is Impossible with God. Requests

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without grounded Reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore not as Directors; but as humble Remembrancers beseech your Highness favorable beholding of our present state: And what it will be in time to come, if the Bill against Pluralities shou'd take any place.

Had I a mind to enlarge upon this Narrative of *Fuller*'s, I think I could make it appear, 1. That the Persecution of Puritan Ministers was judg'd by the Representatives of the Nation, to be a *Prejudice to the Protestant Religion*, otherwise they wou'd not have pleaded, not only for a *Toleration*, but a *Comprehension* of 'em. 2*ly*, That the *Puritans* were suspended and deprived *then* for NO OTHER Offence, than for NOT SUBSCRIBING to *Whitgift*'s Articles, and consequently neither for *Insufficiency*, *Heterodoxy*, *Negligence*, nor DISLOYALTY (as appears by the 10*th* branch of the Commons Petition): And that they are honor'd with the Character of *Godly* and *Learned Ministers*: And 3*dly*, That a most unwarrantable Method was taken against 'em by the Arch-Bishop and their fierce *Adversaries*: For, to run 'em down, he and some of the Bishops shut up her Majesties ears, and made 'em deaf to the *just desires* of her Parliament *in their favor*; and hindred her from reforming the scandalous Practice of Non-Residency and Pluralities; the Continuance whereof continu'd and encreas'd Divisions in the Church. I have set down at large, their Petition to the Queen, that the Reader may see, I intended not to conceal any thing of the strength of their pretended Reasoning. And I must do the Justice to a great Divine of the Church of *England*, as to insert here his faithful and Impartial Censure of that abuse: The Reformation whereof was then obstructed, to the scandal of Religion: and let the *Reader* judge, whether *Whitgift*'s *Arguments* or his be the strongest.

The Learn'd Divine I mean is Bishop *Burnet*, who in his *Preface* to the second Part of the *History of the Reformation*, delivers himself thus, 'If men had a just notion of this Holy Function, and 'a right sense of it before they were initiated into it, those *scandalous Abuses of Plurality* of Benefices with Cure, (except where 'they are so poor and Contiguous, that both can scarce maintain 'one Incumbent, and one man can discharge the duty of both very well) *Non-residencies*, and the hiring out that Sacred Trust to

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'*Pitiful mercenaries* at the cheapest Rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so *crying* a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are Abuses that even the Church of *Rome*, after all her Impudence is asham'd of, and are at this day generally discountenanc'd all *France* over. Queen *Mary* here in *England* in the time of Popery, set her self effectually to root them out.

And that they should be still found among *Protestants*, and in so Reformed a Church, is a *scandal* that may justly make us blush. All the honest Prelates at the Council of *Trent* endeavor'd to get *Residence* declar'd to be of Divine Right, and so not to be dispenc'd with upon any Consideration whatsoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most Common Impressions, which all men have about Matters of Religion, than that *Benefices* are given for the Office to which they are annex'd: And if in Matters of mens Estates, or of their Health, it wou'd be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the Care of some Inferior or raw Practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so Important a Concernment, as the care of souls must be confess'd to be, to mean Hands? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such Disorders, have much to answer for both to God, for the neglect of those souls for which they are to give an Account, and to the World, for the *Reproach* they have brought on *this Church* and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill Practices; nor could the Divisions of this Age ever have risen to such a height, if the people had not been possess'd with ill Impressions of some of the Clergy, for those *Inexcusable Faults* that are so Conspicuous in too many that are call'd Shepherds: *Who cloath themselves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not strengthened the Diseas'd, nor Healed the Sick*, nor bound up that which is Broken; *nor brought again that which was Driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force & Cruelty.* And if we wou'd look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made *us base and Contemptible among the People*, we shou'd find great reason to reflect on those Words of *Jeremy*. *The Pastors are become brutish and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their Flocks shall be scattered.*

But

But to return to *Puckering*; let us examine the remaining Part of his Evidence against the Puritans, of whom he asserts That 'Whilst 'they labor to advance a New Eldership, they do nothing but dis- 'turb the good People of the Church and Commonwealth. For which he brings no Proof but his own Word. Here he reflects on their *Principles*, and therefore, (as I observ'd before) his Evidence without a Reason to support it, is none at all: He shou'd either have shown that their Eldership were of themselves a *Disturbance* to the Church and Commonwealth, or by their Indiscreet Management were so; but, seeing he does neither, I say no more but deny his Assertion. Part I.

'*As* the present Case stands (says he) it may be question'd whe- 'ther the *Jesuites* do offer more danger &c. or be more speedily to 'be suppress'd.' Let all Sound Protestants compare the Principles and Practices of *Jesuits* with those of the *Puritans*, and judge what Temper those People are of who make it a Question which of 'em are most speedily to be suppress'd, and whether our *Author* has done any service to the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth*, by making *Puckering*'s Speech to be her sense in this matter. But let us hear Mr. *Speaker*'s Reason of this grand doubt. For albeit (says he) the *Jesuites* 'do empoyson the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects &c. Yet they do 'the same but closely and only in Privy Corners; but these men do 'publish in their Printed Books, and teach in all their Conventi- 'cles Opinions, not only dangerous to the well Settled Estate of 'this Realm, but also much Derogatory to her Sacred Majesty, 'as well by denying her Highness's Prerogative and Supremacy, as 'by offering peril to her Majesty's Safety in both Kingdoms.

This Strain of Reasoning *determines* the Question in favor of the *Jesuits* as being less dangerous than Puritans. There being no particular *Opinion* of the Puritans mention'd, 'tis sufficient answer to this Calumny, to deny they hold any such *Opinions* as are there alledg'd. *And* that Gentleman shows how *little Acquaintance* he has had with the Principles of the Puritans, who did all unanimously assert the Queen's Prerogative and Supremacy; as appears by their opinions quoted in the preceeding Chapter p. 24. out of the book Entituled *English Puritanism*. And the same is farther Evident from a Book Entituled a *Protestation of the King's Supremacy*, written in their name in the Reign of King *James* 1*st*; and from their Readiness to subscribe the first of *Whitgift*'s *Articles* concerning that very Point, as appears

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by their *own Authentic Petition* sign'd by their hands to the Privy Council, and printed from the *Original* in the *History of Conformity*, p. 16. Wherein they say, 'It is well known to all your Lordships, 'that an Absolute Subscription throughout the whole Province of *Can-* 'terbury to three Articles. The *first* concerning her Majesty's *Su-* 'preme Authority. The *Second*, to the Book of Common-Prayer 'with that of Consecrating Bishops and Ordaining Priests and Dea- 'cons. The *third* concerning the Book of Articles; *As to the first* 'we offer our selves to a full Subscription as always heretofore we have done' &c.

That their Opinions or Practises either *offer'd Peril to her Majesty's Safety in both* (or either) *Kingdoms*, is of a Piece with the rest of his Banter, he not being able to give one single Instance of it. As for their *Printed Books* they are not inferior to any in that Age, for their Usefulness, Learning, Orthodoxy and Piety; as appears from the great *Fox* and *Cartwright*'s Writings, and the Eminent Professors in both Universities, and many other Celebrated Divines then called *Puritans*, whose Opinions have nothing in 'em to give the least handle for that Uncharitable Reflection.

Cartwright serv'd the Protestant Interest by his Learn'd Pen, in one of the most Accomplish'd Pieces which that Age produc'd, against the *Rhemish Translation of the New Testament*. *Fuller* gives us such an Account of that Performance, as not only advanceth the just Praises of its Revd. Author, but also lets us in to the Secret Spring of Opposition that was made in that Age by the High-Church-Party to the most Innocent yea Laudable Attempts of the Puritan Divines. He expresses himself thus.

'Secretary (*u*) *Walsingham*, by his Letters solicited Mr. *Thomas* 'Cartwright to undertake the refuting of this *Rhemish* Translation: 'And the better to enable him for the Work, sent him an hundred 'pounds out of his own Purse. A bountiful gift for one who was 'tho' a great *Statesman* a man of *small Estate*, contracting honourable 'Poverty on himself by his Expence on the Public, as dying not 'so engag'd to his private Creditors, as the whole Church, and State 'was endebted to his Endeavors. *Walsingham* his Letters to *Cart-* 'wright were seconded by another from the *Doctors*, and *Heads of* *Houses*,

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 175

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'*Houſes* (and Dr. *Fulke* amongſt the reſt) at *Cambridge*, beſides the importunity of the Miniſters of *London* and *Suffolk* ſoliciting him to the ſame purpoſe. Hereupon *Cartwright* buckled himſelf to the Employment, and was very forward in The puriuance thereof.

'No ſooner had *Whitgift* gotten Notice, what *Cartwright* was a writting, but preſently he prohibited his farther proceeding therein. It ſeems *Walſingham* was Secretary of *State* not of *Religion*, wherein the *Archbiſhop* overpower'd him. Many commended his care, not to entruſt the Defence of the Doctrine of *England*, to a Pen ſo diſaffected to the Diſcipline thereof. Others blamed his jealouſy to deprive the Church of ſo Learn'd pains of him, whoſe judgment would ſo ſolidly, and affections ſo zealouſly confute the Public Adverſary. Diſtaſtful Paſſages (ſhooting at *Rome*, but glancing at *Canterbury*) if any ſuch were found in his Book, might be expung'd whilſt it was pity ſo good fruit ſhould be blaſted in the bud, for ſome bad leaves about it. Disheartned hereat, *Cartwright* deſiſted, but for ſome years after, encourag'd by a Honorable Lord, reſumed the Work; but prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*. Many years lay this Worthy Work neglected and the Copy thereof mouſe-eaten in part, whence the Printer excuſed ſome defects therein in his Edition; which tho' late, yet at laſt came forth *anno* 1618. *A* Book which notwithſtanding the foreſaid Defects, is ſo *compleat* that the *Rhemiſts* durſt never return the *leaſt Anſwer* thereunto.

We may ſee that the *Puritans* were employing their Studies againſt the Papiſts and not againſt the Queen's Authority or Safety. But ſuppoſing (for Arguments ſake, tho' it be falſe in it ſelf) that the Puritans had advanc'd ſome Opinions, which were not ſo much for the Queen's ſafety, as they ſhou'd have been; yet all who have the leaſt Acquaintance with the Opinions of Jeſuits, Muſt own that their Opinions are by great *Odds* more dangerous to a Proteſtant Queen than the very worſt Principles that ever were alledg'd upon the Puritans. The Jeſuits hold, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be depriv'd of their Crowns, They free the People from their Allegiance, and aſſert that its Meritorious to deſtroy ſuch Heretics &c; which Doctrines Puritans ever abhorr'd. Neither does it mend the matter, That the Jeſuits do this *cloſely and in a Cover*: they are the more dangerous, and the *Antidot*

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against such poyson the more difficult to be apply'd; whereas if this were done openly, the Remedy is obvious. From which it appears how Irrational as well as uncharitable his Speech is; which he concludes thus, 'by the separation of themselves from the Unity of 'their Fellow-Subjects, and they do but Joyn and concur with the 'Jesuits in opening the Door and preparing the way for the *Spanish* 'Invasion &c.

They never separated till they were driven away by *Whitgift*'s Articles which they cou'd not in Conscience subscribe, and therefore they were not chargeable with any bad Consequence that might flow from it: 'tis not to be doubted but Divisions among Protestants give great advantage to the Common Enemy; but the Debate is who are the Causes of such Divisions? For which I refer to *Stillingfleet*'s opinion already quoted p. 108. *Thomas Long* is here adduc'd by our Author to confirm this Suggestion of *Puckering*, who says, That when the King of *Spain* sent his Armado upon the Coasts, The *Protestant Dissenters* 'instead of Arming in Defence of the Queen and themselves 'did with greater Importunity and Confidence assault the Queen with 'Petitions and Libels, taking Advantage of the times, as if they 'were more ready to assist the *Spaniards*, rather than her Majesty, 'in case their Unreasonable Requests were not granted, of which 'see more in *Cambdenes* Annals *anno* 1588." I can't find in *Cambden* the least Insinuation of the Puritans being in the *Spanish* Interest: 'Tis true Cambden shows his great Dislike of the Principles of the *Puritans* about Church-Discipline and their Opposition to Prelacy, he's pleas'd to call 'em Schismatics, and he charges 'em with *Contumacious Impudency* and *Contumelious Malapertness*, Upbraids 'em with writing Books that he thinks *Scandalous against the Church-Government & Prelates:* he names the Books viz. *Martin-Marre-Prelate*, *Minerals*, *Deotrephes*, *A Demonstration of Discipline*. He Objects their holding *Synods* and *Classes*, and *forming Presbyteries:* For which *Cartwright*, *Snape*, *King*, *Proudlow*, *Payne*, and some other Ministers were call'd in question and that some *over-zealous people*, *Conspir'd to deliver 'em out of the Magistrates hands*. All this we have in his History of Q. *Elizabeth*, *Book* 3. *p.* 421. But after all these hard words, he breaks off his story thus, 'But how extravagant the Petulant Impudence of these Ministers 'was &c. I leave to the Ecclesiastical Historian to whom it properly

ly belongeth ' and so he says no more of it : if *Cambden*, who had so bad an opinion of the *Puritans* and us'd such harsh Expressions against 'em, cou'd have justly impeach'd 'em of any Disloyalty, he wou'd not have omitted it : And therefore his Testimony does not in the least confirm the *Assertion* for which 'twas referred to by Mr. *Long*; As to the Matter of the Testimony it self, it shall be set in a true light when I come to examine Sir *Francis Walsingham*'s Letter. In the mean time let the Reader be pleas'd to consider that *Cambden*'s Account has nothing in it but a Collection of bitter Words and Precarious assertions. Part I.

I don't think Mr *Long* has shown so much Veracity in that book quoted by our Author as to procure sufficient Credit to his own Testimony. The whole book is a Collection of the most Scurrilous Reflections, that have ever appear'd in Print against Dissenters, aggravated with all the *Stuff* Malice cou'd *invent*, and fill'd with the most *fulsome Court Flattery* that can be imagin'd : of which take this one instance p, 235. ' There hath not been (saith he) a *Succession* ' of four such Princes lineally descended, for *Eminency in Religion*, ' *Peaceableness and Clemency* in any *Age*, or *Nation*, since our Savior's ' time as amongst us'. King *Charles* 2*d* was the last of these four ; the very naming of whom as a Prince of Eminent Piety is sufficient to expose this *Author*'s Assertion to Ridicule. He inveighs furiously against the *Bill of Exclusion*, and rakes into all the Sham-Plots of *Fanaticks*; rails at Parliaments for voting 'em any favor ; and flys to the highest Pin of Passive Obedience : from whence the Reader may observe ; what sort of Vouchers our Author has convers'd with in his *strict Enquiry*; and it were easy to show (if it were worth while) that he has borrow'd Matter, method, and sometimes Expression from this dear friend of his *Thomas Long*.

That the Puritans did then ask *Unreasonable Requests* or *give in Libels to the Queen*, is deny'd ; and why it should be Unseasonable in the time of danger from a Common Enemy, to desire the hearty Union of all good Protestants & to petition for proper Expedients towards it, I can't see. And this was all the Puritans did ; who were still ready to defend the Queen by their Arms, at any time when she thought fit to employ 'em.

And by the Observation our Author has made, as the foundation

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of his Discourse p. 5. *viz.* ' That there ever was a perfect harmony ' both in Principles and Practice, among all the Dissenters of *England*, ' *Scotland*, and *Ireland* '. The *English* Puritans are *effectually vindicated* from this Malicious Aspersion, by that Solemn Band entred into by all the *Scots Presbyterians*, and faithfully prosecuted against the *Spanish Invasion*; among other things they swear in these words ' To ' (*v*) conveen and assemble our selves publickly with our friends *in* ' *Arms*——at such times and places as we shall be required——to ' joyn with the *whole forces* of our *friends* and *favorers* against *what-* ' *soever Foreign or Intestine Powers*——that shall arrive or rise *within* ' *this Island* or any part thereof——to expose and hazard our ' Lives, Lands and Goods——in Defence of the said true and ' Christian Religion, and his Mayjesty's Person and Estate against ' whatsoever Jesuits——'.

I come next to answer the Testimony of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, whom our Author very justly adduceth in this place, as *speaking the sense* of Queen *Elizabeth*: for any one who knows his Character will readily grant, that he did not speak his *own sense*. *Fuller* says of him (*w*) ' Amongst all the Favorers of the Presbyterians, surely Honest- ' ty and Wisdom never met more in anythan in Sir *Francis Walsingham*'. Let the Reader observe the person to whom Sir *Francis* wrote this Letter, viz. *Monsieur Critoy*, the *French* King's Secretary; and that he lay under the greatest Temptations possible to put the best face he cou'd upon the Conduct of the Queen his Mistress. He had been overpower'd by *Whitgift*'s Party, who kept a Jealous Eye over him: And when he is representing the Queen's Actions and the Maxims of her Government to a Foreign Court, and to a person of so public a Character, and himself being in an Eminent Post at home; he must have said the most Plausible things that cou'd be thought on, for justifying the Queen's *wholesome Severities* (as some call 'em) against the *Puritans*. Let the World judge whether the Testimony of Sr. *Francis* under *these Temptations* and in *these Circumstances*, be to be laid in Ballance with the Testimony of *himself*, speaking in *behalf of the Puritans*, and pleading for the *Prevention* of these Severities

(*v*) *Vide Calderwood*'s Hist. p. 223. (*w*) P. 9. p. 161.

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rities against them, which he endeavors *afterwards* to excuse. In the *one he* acted as a faithful Counsellor to her Majesty, setting forth the true Interest of Religion, of the Crown, and of the Kingdom, and struggled against the strong Current of a Prevalent Party at Court: In the *other*, the Rules of Decency, in not laying open the Weakness of the Government to a Foreign Court, and his own standing right in the Queen's favor, might prevail on him to say all that he has said. And when it is all well consider'd, we will not find so much in it against the Puritans, as at first View there appears to be.

Her Majesty's Proceedings both against *Papists* and *Puritans* were grounded (as he informs us) upon two Principles, 'The (x) one, 'That Consciences are *not to be forced*, but to be won and reduc'd 'by *force* of *Truth* with the aid of time, and use of all good Means of 'Instruction, and Persuasion. The other, That Causes of Consci-'ences when they *exceed their bounds* and grow to be *Matter* of 'Faction lose their Nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought distinc-'tly to punish their Practises and Contempt, though coloured with the 'Pretence of Conscience and Religion.

Now unless Sr. *Francis* prove that these *two Principles* were observ'd in her Proceedings against the *Puritans*, his Testimony can *militate nothing* against 'em. A Particular Examination of what he offers, will give us an Opportunity of judging how far the Managements of the Queen with respect to her Puritan Subjects, were agreeable to these two Maxims which He makes to be the *Ground-Work* of the whole. 'For the other Party says he which have been of-'fensive to the State, tho' in another degree, which named themselves *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritans* this hath been the 'Proceeding towards them: A great While, when they inveighed 'against such Abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities Non-Residence* and 'the like, their *zeal was not condemn'd* only their *Violence* was some-'time censur'd.

Answer, It is here acknowledg'd, that they were *right in the main*, in opposing Pluralities, Non-Residence and the like: and that *these*

(x) *Burnets* Hist. of the Reformation. Part 2. Book 3. p. 418.

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are Abuses in the Church: And yet Sr *Francis* very well knew, that the Reformation of 'em was stopt by the *Queen* and the *High-Party*, as evidently appears from the *Historians* I have mention'd on that Head. As to *their Violence*, they us'd *no force*, they rais'd *no Rebellion*, nor shew'd the *least Disloyalty* against their Prince. And if any of 'em were *too vehement* and warm in their Expressions, this was not to be charg'd upon the whole Body of *Puritans*; and in such Cases, Censures are to be mitigated, where men are *driven* into some little Excesses by their Meeting with an *Unreasonable* Opposition to what is just and laudable.

Again he says, 'When they refus'd the Use of some Ceremonies 'and Rites, as superstitious, they were tolerated with *much Connivan-* 'cy and Gentleness; yea, when they call'd in question the *Super-* 'iority of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracy* into the Church, 'yet their Propositions were here consider'd, and by *contrary Writings* 'debated and discuss'd.

Answ. Here is indeed the Spirit of true Christian Moderation, which breathed in many of the best Episcopal Divines, in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign: And this lasted till *Whitgift*'s Advancement to the See of *Canterbury*. O happy *England*, if that had continu'd and had never been stifled by the fiery heat of an Imposing Spirit, by which the Nation has been so frequently thrown into miserable Convulsions!

But he goes on and says, 'Yet all this while, it was perceiv'd 'that their Course was dangerous and very popular: as because 'Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths, that 'they sought to purge the Church from the *Reliques of Papistry*; a 'thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one ex-'treme to the other.

Answ. Sr. *Francis*'s Assertion here must be weigh'd and judg'd by the Validity or Invalidity of the Reason he gives for it; for its founded upon this Supposition, that the *Puritans were leading the People from the Extreme* of Popery, *into some Opposite Extreme*; Which they deny'd; for the Purity of worship and Discipline which they aim'd at, was not (in their Opinion) *any Extreme* at all. The Merit of the Cause here lies in the Debate about Church-Government and Worship, with which the Cause of Loyalty is not concern'd.

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He adds, ' They open'd to the People a way to Government, by ' their Conſiſtory and Presbytery ; a thing, tho' in Conſequence ' no leſs prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than ' to the *Sovereignty* of *Princes* ; yet in firſt ſhew very popu- ' lar.

Anſ. This being an Aſſertion not of fact, but againſt a Principle ; human Teſtimony is not ſufficient to prove it. And that Presbyterian Government is not prejudicial to the Sovereignty of Princes, I have ful'y prov'd in the preceding Chapter, Neither is it prejudicial to the Liberties of private men. For there is no Form of Church-Government whatſoever, Wherein greater Proviſion is made againſt the *Uſurpation* and *Tyranny* of the *Clergy*, and for having the People duly Repreſented, and *their Liberties preſerv'd.* And for the farther Illuſtration of this, I refer my Reader to the Paſſage quoted in the following Chapter, out of the Book Entitul'd, An *Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland 1703. and to the Remark, which I there make upon it.

He adds, ' Nevertheleſs this, except it were in *ſome few* that en- ' tred into *extreme Contempt*, was born with ; becauſe they pretended ' in dutiful manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to the Pro- ' viden e of God, and the Authority of the Magiſtrate.

This ſhows there were *but few* that entred into extreme contempt, and ſo can't affect the Body of theſe Puritans, who never Juſtify'd any *wilful Contempt*, tho' they cou'd not condemn a *Conſcentious Diſſent.* It is Certain, the *Brownists* were a dangerous Sect, who carry'd matters very high, and deny'd the Church of *England* to be a Church, and were indeed guilty of *Extreme Contempt* ; but the Sober Puritans both from the Pulpit and Preſs refuted the Dangerous Errors of theſe Wild Sectaries ; and yet their Adverſaries took an handle from the Extravagancies of that Mad Sect, to deal ſeverely with the whole Puritans, as if they had been anſwerable for the folly of the Deluded *Brownists* ; in the ſame manner, as the *Presbyterians* were charg'd in the Reign of King *Charles* 1*ſt.* with the abominable Principles and Practices of the Sectarian Party ; of which more in its proper place.

What Sr. *Francis* hath hitherto ſaid, proves That the Puritans were look'd upon as (at leaſt) a Tolerable People, and inſinuates that, as the Reaſon of the mild Treatment they met with from the State

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for some time. But when he comes to wind up his Argument, and to give a Colourable Gloss to the severity of the Queen's Proceedings against 'em, he then picks up a few Heads, and links 'em together in short and general Expressions; well knowing, that they could not bear an Enlargement, without spoiling the Queen's cause he was then defending: For had he told the particular Stories, upon which his General Observations are founded, every one must have presently seen, that they were not sufficient to vindicate the Severity of the latter part of that Reign against the Puritans.

He proceeds thus, 'But now of late years, when there issu'd from 'them a Colony of those, that affirm'd the *Consent* of the *Magistrate* 'was not to be *attended*, when under a Pretence of a Confession, to 'avoid Slander and imputations, they Combin'd themselves by *Classe* & 'Subscriptions, and when they began to make many Subjects in doubt 'to take an Oath &c. When they began to vaunt of their strength, 'and Numbers of their *Partisans*, and to use the Comminations that 'their Cause wou'd prevail, tho' with Uproar and Violence then it 'appear'd *no more Zeal, no more Conscience*, but more *Faction and Divi-sion*. 'And therefore tho' the State were compell'd to hold 'somewhat an harder hand than before, yet it was with as 'great Moderation, as the peace of the Church and State wou'd 'permit.

I shall particularly inquire into the facts, which gave any Colour for what is offer'd in the above Words; and make it appear, that they are either innocent; or, so far as they are bad, not chargeable upon the Puritans as a Body; but on some few of their Number only. And consequently no Proof of their being *factions* and *Disturbers* of the State, nor of the Equity of the bad Treatment they met with.

First, 'tis said that they affirm'd, *That the Consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended*: This is short and Obscure. That the Consent of the Magistrate is not to be attended in all Cases, is a Truth acknowledg'd by all Sound Divines; otherwise the Primitive Christians, and even *Christ* himself and his *Apostles* had been in the wrong, to assert and adhere to the Christian Religion, without the Consent of the Civil Magistrate; and 'tis certain, wherever God by his *Positive Command* enjoyns us to perform any Duty, that Duty ought to be

be perform'd, *whether* the Magistrate *Consent* to it or *not*: for no human Law can Repeal the Divine Statutes, and in every such Case we must *obey God rather than man.* Part 1.

Now the Case of the Puritans which gave Occasion for this Remark was this. They believ'd in their Consciences, that 'twas the Will and Command of God to them to proceed to a farther Degree of Reformation than the Public Laws had enjoyn'd. In this Case they Petition'd the Queen and Parliament, and Convocation; beside their Addresses to Particular Bishops, and other Persons of *Note* both in *Church* and *State*. But by the Means I have already hinted, their Endeavors were frustrated; and therefore after all this *fruitless waiting*, 'twas their Opinion that, seeing they cou'd not procure such Laws, as might reform the Church of *England* in General, from those things they judg'd to be abuses, that 'twoud be a Sin in 'em to contradict the Light of their own Conscience, by delaying the Exercise of that Discipline and Worship which they thought most agreeable to the Word of God, tho' the Magistrate won'd not add the Civil Sanction. Now suppose that they had been mistaken in their Opinion about the *Presbyterian Model* of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and that Episcopal Government were the best; that does not infer any Disloyalty in 'em, or that what they did was from Faction, and not from Conscience. And if we once believe, that their Consciences truly dictated to 'em the Points wherein they differ'd from the Establish'd Church, they cou'd not (without manifest Contempt of the Authority of God) forbear to put their Principles in Practice. Indeed if any of them had affirm'd, That they might take away the Church-Livings of the Conformable Clergy, and possess themselves of 'em and of their Churches, without the Consent of the Magistrate; this had been a plain Usurpation upon the Rights of Civil Authority. But this is what they never pleaded for. And for the Reader's farther Satisfaction in this Point, I must refer him to the 3d Chap. of the 3d. Part of this Discourse, where that matter is largely debated.

2*ly* Its Objected, that under *Pretence of a Confession to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combin'd themselves by* Classes and Subscriptions. This can't have a Relation to any thing, but the Meetings of the Puritan Ministers, for the Exercise of Discipline, according to their Con-

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Conſciences. And the ſame anſwer given to the former Accuſation may be applied to this. But here I ſhall lay before the Reader a brief account of the progreſs of the Diſciplinarian Party in *England*, for ſo thoſe were termed that set up their *Claſſes* or *Presbyteries* and *Synods*; that we may have not only an Hiſtorical Idea of the *Engliſh* Presbyterians in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, but ſee that their presbyteries and Synods *did nothing that was prejudicial to the Crown*, tho' they were againſt *Engliſh* Prelacy.

That the Reader may at once have both the Hiſtory and my Vouchers, I ſhall give it him in *Fuller*'s own Words; joining together ſuch pieces of his Hiſtory, according to the Order of time, as will beſt enlighten the Subject.

'The (*y*) Non-Conformiſts, tho' over-power'd for the preſent in Parliament (viz. *anno* 1572) yet found ſuch favor therein; that after the Diſſolution thereof they preſumed to Erect a *Presbytery* at *Wandsworth* in *Surrey*. Eleven Elders were choſen therein, and their Offices and General Rules (by them to be obſerved) agreed upon and deſcribed; as appears by a Bill indorſed with the hand of Mr *Field* the Lecturer (as I take it) of that Place, but living in *London*. Mr *Smith* of *Micham*, and Mr *Crane* of *Roughampton* (neighbouring Villages) are mention'd for their Approbation of all Paſſiges therein. This was the *firſt-born* of all *Presbyteries* in *England*, and *ſecundum usum Wandesworth* as much honor'd by ſome, as *secundum usum Sarum* by others.

'It may ſeem a Wonder that the Presbyterian Diſcipline, ſhould ripen ſooner in this Country Village than in *London* it ſelf: where, as yet, they were not arrived at ſo formal a Conſtitution, tho we may obſerve two ſorts of Miniſters: firſt, Mr. *Field*, Mr *Wilcox* Mr *Standen*, Mr *Jackſon*, Mr *Bonham*, Mr *Seintloe*, Mr *Crane*, Mr *Edmonds*; Afterwards, Mr *Charke*, Mr *Travers*, Mr *Barber*, Mr *Gardner*, Mr *Cheſton*, Mr *Crooke*, and Mr *Egerton*. The former of theſe were Principally againſt Miniſters Attire, and the Common-Prayer Book. The Latter endeavor'd the *Modelling* of a *New* Diſcipline, and it was not long before both Streams uniting, together

(*y*) *vide Fuller's* Church Hiſtory b. 9. p. 103.

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'gether, *Non Conformity* began to bear a Large and great Channel 'in the City of *London*.

In the year 1590. The Venerable *Cartwright* was call'd before the High-Commission, to answer upon his Oath to 31 Articles, which are very Artfully penn'd; & because diversof 'em relate to theSynods and Presbyteries that had been us'd, for some years preceding that, by the *English Presbyterians*, and give some Account of their Constitution and Business, I shall insert here what relates to that Subject.

'On (z) the firstof *September* (*anno* 1588) Mr. *Cartwright* Batchelor 'in Divinity, was brought before her Majesty's Commissioners, 'there to take his Oath, and give in his Positive Answer to the fol-'lowing Articles.

Such of these Articles as concern the History of the Presbyterian Disciplinarian Party, are these.

9. 'Item (a), That since his said Return, in sundry private Con-'ferences, with such Ministers and others, as at sundry times by 'Word, and Letter, have ask'd his Advice or Opinion, he hath 'shewed Mislike of the Laws, and Government Ecclesiastical, and 'of divers parts of the Liturgy of this Church; and thereby per-'suaded, and prevailed also with many in sundry Points, to break 'the Orders and Form of the Book of Common-Prayer who ob-'serv'd them before, and also to oppose themselves to the Govern-'ment of this Church, as himself well knoweth, or verily believ-'eth.

13. 'Item, That preaching at the Baptizing of one of *Job Throg-*'*morton*'s Children, he spoke much of the Unfaithfulness, and in 'Derogation of the Government, Polity, Laws, and Liturgy Ec-'clesiastical of this Realm; and to the Justification of a Government 'by *Elderships in every Congregation*, and by *Conference and Synods*, '&c. abroad, as Divine Institutions commanded by Christ; and 'the only lawful Church-Government, seeking to prove and Esta-'blish such Elderships out of that Word in one of the *Psalms* where '*Thrones* are mention'd.

25.

(z) *Id. ibid.* p. 197. (a) *Id. ibid.* p. 199.

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'' 25. *Item* (*b*) That for, and in the behalf of the Church of *England* he penn'd or procur'd to be penn'd, all or some part 'of a little book entitul'd in one part *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra Verbo Dei Descripta*; and in the other Part, *Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum usu &c.* And, after it was peruf'd by others, whom he 'first acquainted therewith, he recommended the same to the Censures 'and Judgments of moe Brethren (being *Learn'd Preachers*) and 'some others, assembled together by his Means, for that and other 'like Purposes: which, after Deliberation, and some Alterations, 'was by them or most of them allow'd, as the only lawful Church-'Government, and fit to be put in Practice; and the ways and Means 'for the practising thereof in this Realm, were also then, or not long 'after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

26. '*Item*, That for the better, and more due practise of it within the Space of these *seven*, *six*, *five*, *four*, *three*, *two*, or *one* year 'last past, the said *Thomas Cartwright* and sundry others, (as aforesaid according to former Appointment, and Determinations by 'them made) have met in assemblies, term'd *Synods*, more General '(as at *London*, at Terms, and Parliament Times; in *Oxford* at 'the Act, in *Cambridge* at the Times of Commencement, at *Sturbridge* 'fair) and also *more particular*, and *Provincial Synods*, and at *Classis* 'or Conferences of certain Selected Ministers in one or moe Places 'of sundry, Several Shires, as *Warwick*, *Northampton*, *Rutland* *Oxford*, *Leicester*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and others.

27, '*Item* That at such Synods, and Conferences it hath been concluded, that all the Ministers which should be receiv'd to be either 'of the said General Synods, or of any more particular and *Provincial*, or of a Classis, or Conference, should *subscribe to the said* *Discipline*, that they did allow it, would promote it, practise it, 'and be govern'd by it. And according to the Form of a Schedule 'hereunto annex'd, or such like; both he the said *Thomas Cartwright* 'and many others, at sundry, or some General Assemblies, as at 'Provincial, and at several Conferences have within the said time, 'subscrib'd the same, or some part thereof.

28.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 201.

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28, ' *Item*, That at such Synods and all other Assemblies, a ' *Moderator* of that Meeting, was first by him and them Chosen, ' according to the Prescription of the said Book. And at some of ' such Meetings and Assemblies amongst other things, it was Resolv'd ' and Concluded; that such Particular *Conferences in several Shires* ' shou'd be *erected*; how many Persons and with what Letters from ' every of them shou'd be sent to the *General Assembly*; and that one ' of them, at their coming home to their Conference, shou'd make ' known the Determinations of the General Assembly, to be by every ' of them follow'd, and put in Practice; which Course in sundry ' Places of this Realm hath (within the time aforesaid) been accord- ' ingly follow'd and perform'd.

30 ' *Item* (*c*) That he with others Assembled in such a General ' Assembly, or Synod at *Cambridge*, did conclude and decree (as in ' another Schedule annex'd or in some part thereof is contain'd) which ' Decrees were made known afterwards at *Warwick* to sundry Classes ' there by his means assembled, and allow'd also by them then met ' together in the same or like form.

31 ' *Item*, That at such several Meetings, Synods, and Conferences ' within the said time, many other Determinations, as well what ' shou'd be done and perform'd, or omitted; as also what shou'd be ' holden Consonant to God's Word, or disagreeing from it, have ' been set down by the said *Thomas Cartwright* and others. As name- ' ly, that all admitted to either Assembly shou'd subscribe the said ' Book of Discipline, *Holy*, and *Synodical*, that those who were sent ' from any Conference to a Synod, shou'd bring Letters *Fiduciary*, ' or *Credence*: That the last Moderator shou'd write them: that the ' Superscription thereof should be to a known man of the Assembly ' then to be holden: That no Book made by any of them shou'd be ' put in Print, but by Consent of the *Classis* at least; That some of ' them must be *earnest*, and some more *Mild* and *Temperate*, where- ' by there may be both of the Spirit of *Elias*, and *Elizeus*: That all ' admitted amongst them, shou'd subscribe and promise, to conform ' themselves in their Proceedings, Administration of Sacraments, ' and of Discipline, to the Form of that Book; and that they would ' subject themselves to the *Censuring* of the *Brethren*, both for Doctrine ' and Life: and lastly, That upon Occasion when any of their ' Brethren shall be sent by them upon Affairs of the Church (as to

(*c*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 202.

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'the great Meetings, Parliament &c) they all wou'd bear their 'Charges in Common: That there might be *no Superiority* among it 'them, and that the *Moderatorship*, (as it happen'd) is not a Superior- 'ity, or honor, but a Burden: That no Profane Writer, or any other 'than Canonical Scripture may be alledg'd in Sermons: that they 'shou'd all teach, that the *Ministry* of those who did not preach, is 'no Ministry, but a Mere Nullity, that it is not lawful to take any 'Oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing *Penal 'to himself*, or to his Brother; especially if he be perswaded the 'Matter to be lawful, for which the Punishment is like to be Inflicted, 'or having taken it in this Case, need not discover the very Truth: 'that to a *Bishop* or other *Officer Ecclesiastical* (as is used now in the 'Church of *England*) none Obedience ought to be given, neither in 'appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor 'in abstaining from that which they inhibit: that in such Places 'as the most of the People favor'd the Cause of Sincerity, Elderships 'shou'd warily & wisely be placed and Established; which Consistory in 'some places hath been either wholly, or in part erected accord- 'ingly, yea in some Colledges in the University, as he knoweth, hath 'heard, or verily believeth.

The most Particular Account I find of the Acts of any of their Synods, is that of the Synod of *Coventry*, *Anno* 1588. But *Fuller* takes it all from Bishop *Bancroft*, whose Authority is not very great, as I shall shew in the next Chapter: However compar'd with better attested accounts, it may help to give some light in this matter, and will be of use in my Application of this Historical Narrative, for vindicating the Loyalty of those Presbyterians.

'A (d) *Synod* of the *Presbyterians*, of the *Warwick-shire-Classis*, was 'call'd at *Coventry*, *die decimo quarti*; that is on the tenth of *April* (*Anno* 1588): wherein the Questions, brought the last year from the *Brethren* of *Cambridge-Synod*, were resolv'd, in manner as follow- eth.

1. '*That Private Baptism was unlawful.*
2. '*That it is not lawful to read Homilies in the Church.*
3. '*That the Sign of the Cross is not to be us'd in Baptism.*

4.

(d) *Id.* (*Ibid.* p. 194, &c.

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4. 'That the Faithful ought not to Communicate with unlearn'd Ministers, altho' they may be present at their Service, if they come of purpose to hear a Sermon, the reason is, because Laymen as well as Ministers may read publick Service.
5. 'That the Calling of Bishops &c. is unlawful.
6. 'That as they deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, there is no duty belonging unto, nor any publickly to be given them.
7. 'That it is not lawful to be ordain'd Ministers by them, or to denounce either Suspensions, or Excommunications sent from them.
8. 'That it is not lawful to rest in the Bishop's deprivation of any from the Ministry, except (upon Consultation with the Neighbour Ministers adjoining and his flock) it seems so good unto them: but that he continue in the same until he be compell'd to the Contrary by Civil Force.
9. 'That it is not lawful to appear in a Bishop's Court, but with Protestation of their unlawfulness.
10. 'That Bishops are not to be acknowleg'd either for Doctors, Elders, or Deacons, as having no Ordinary Calling.
11. 'That touching the Restauration of their Ecclesiastical Discipline, it ought to be taught to the People as Occasion shall serve.
12. 'That (as yet) the People are not to be solicited (publickly) to the practise of the Discipline, (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.
13. 'That men of better Understanding are to be allur'd privately to the present embracing of the Discipline, and Practice of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the Peace of the Church.

'Likewise in the same Assembly the aforesaid Book of Discipline was approv'd to be a *Draught Essential and necessary for all times*; and certain Articles (devis'd in Approbation, and for the manner of the use thereof,) were brought forth, treated of, and subscrib'd unto, by Mr. *Cartwright*, and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to the several *Classes*, for a general Ratification of all the Brethren.

But the best attested and most Authentic Account of these Meet-

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ings for Discipline, is from Mr. *Stone* one of the Ministers and Members of the said Assemblies.

'*Thomas* (e) *Stone* Parson of *Warkton* in *Northampton-Shire* (by vertue of an Oath tender'd him the day before by the Queen's Attorney, and solemnly taken by him) was examin'd (*anno* 1590.) by the Examiner for the *Star-Chamber* in *Gray's-Inn*, from six of the Clock in the Morning, till seven at night, , to answer unto thirty three Articles, but cou'd only *effectually depose* to these which follow; faithfully by me transcribed out of a Confession written with his own hand, and lately in my Possession.

'1. *Interrog.* Who and how many assembled and met together with the said Defendents, T. C. H. E. E. S. &c. all or any of them, where, when, how often &c?

'The Answer of T. S. to the *Interrog.* touching the Circumstances of first, Places of Meeting. 2 Times. 3 Persons. The Places of Meeting were either greater or less: The greater were *London* in the Houses of *Travers*, *Egerton*, *Gardener* and *Barber*; and *Cambridge* in St. *John's Colledge*. The lesser Places of Meeting were *Northampton* in the Houses of *Johnson* and *Snapes*; and *Kettering* or near it in the Houses of *Dammes* and *Stones*.

'2. The times of Meeting were 1. Since the beginning of the last Parliament. 2. Sundry times at *London*, how oft he remembred not. 3. Sundry times at *Northampton*, how oft not remembred. 4. Sundry times at *Kettering*, how oft not remembred. 5. Once at *Cambridge*, about *Sturbridge*-fair-time was one or Two Years, 6. Once at *London*, a little before Mr. *Cartwright* was committed, at Mr. *Gardener*'s House. 7. Once at this Deponent's House, the certain time not remembred.

'3. The Persons Meeting in *London* jointly or severally were, Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Charke*, Mr. *Egerton*, Mr. *Gardener*, Mr. *Barber*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Somerscales*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Chatterton*, Mr. *Gyfford*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Edmunds*, Mr. *Gylkybrand*, Mr *Culverwell*, Mr. *Oxenbridge*, Mr. *Barbon*, Mr. *Fludde*, and this Deponent. Those Meeting

(e) *Id. Ibid.* p. 206, &c.

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Meeting in *Cambridge* were, Mr. *Chatterton* and others of *Cambridge*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Gyfford*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Snape*, Mr. *Fludde*, and this Deponent. Thoſe meeting in *Northampton* jointly or ſeverally were, Mr. *Johnſon*, Mr. *Snape*, Mr. *Sybthorp*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Fludde*, this Deponent, Mr. *Spicer*, Mr. *Fleſhware*, Mr. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Littleton*, Mr. *Williamſon*, Mr. *Ruſhbrook*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Barbon*, Mr. *King*, Mr. *Proudfoote*, Mr. *Maſſie*, and Mr. *Bradſhaw*. Thoſe meeting at *Kettering*, or near it, were Mr. *Dammes*, Mr. *Pattiſon*, Mr. *Oaks*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Rujhbrook*, Mr. *Atkinſon*, Mr. *Williamſon*, Mr. *Maſſie*, and this Deponent.

2. *Interrog.* Who called theſe Aſſemblies, by what Authority, how, or in what ſort?

Anſwer, That he knew not by whom they were call'd, neither knew he any other Authority therein, ſaving a Voluntary or free Motion, one giving another Intelligence as occaſion ſerv'd, ſometimes by Letters and ſome times by word of Mouth.

3 *Interrog.* Who were Moderators in them, and what their Office?

Anſw. That he remembred not who were Moderators in any Meeting particularly, ſaving one at *Northampton*, when Mr. *Johnſon* was admoniſh'd, and that was either himſelf, or Mr. *Snapes*, he knew not well whether.

4. *Interrog.* What things were Debated in thoſe Meetings or Aſſemblies?

Anſwer. That the things chiefly and moſt often conſider'd of in theſe Aſſemblies were theſe. *firſt*, the Subſcription to the Book of *Common-Prayer*; how far it might be yielded unto, *rather* than any ſhou'd *forgo* his Miniſtry. 2*dly*, The *Book of Diſcipline* was often Perus'd, diſcuſs'd &c. 3*dly*, Three Petitions or Supplications were agreed upon to be drawn. *firſt*, to Her Majeſty. 2*dly*, To the Lords of the Council. 3*dly*, To the Biſhops. The things debated of in particular, he remembred not more than theſe. *Firſt*, the perfecting of the *Book of Diſcipline*, and purpoſe to Subſcribe to it at *Cambridge*, *Secondly*, This Queſtion diſputed, whether it were convenient for Mr. *Cartwright* to reveal the Circumſtances of the Conference a little before he was Committed. Thirdly, The Admoniſhing of *Mr. Johnſon* once at *Northampton*. Fourthly, The debating of this Queſtion, whether the Books call'd *Apocrypha*

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'*pha* were Warrantable to be read Publickly in the Church, as the Canonical Scriptures.

'5. *Interrog.* Whether any *Cenſures* were exercis'd, what *kinds*, *when*, *where*, upon *whom*, by *woom*, for *what* Cauſe?

Anſw. That he never ſaw any Cenſure exerciſ'd, ſaving Admonition once upon Mr *Johnſon*, of *Northampton*, for miſcarrying himſelf in his Converſation to the ſcandal of his Calling, neither was that uſed with any kind of Authority, but by a *voluntary yielding* unto it, and approving of it, as well in *him* that was admoniſhed, as in *him* that did *admoniſh*.

'6 *Interrog.* Whether any of the ſaid Defendents had moved or perſuaded any to refuſe an Oath, and in what Caſe &c?

'*Anſ.* That he never knew any of the Defendents to uſe words of Perſuaſion to any to refuſe an Oath; only Mr *Snape* ſent him down in Writing certain Reaſons drawn out of the Scripture, which moved him to refuſe the General Oath, *ex Officio*; which I ſtood perſuaded, that he ſent to no other end, but to declare that he refuſed not to ſwear, upon any Contempt, but *only for Conſcience* ſake.

'I have inſiſted the longer on this Depoſition, becauſe the firſt and fulleſt I find in the kind thereof, containing their *Claſſes* more formally ſettled in *Northampton-Shire*, than any where elſe in *England*. For as the weſt part of that Shire, is obſerved to be the higheſt place of *England*, as appeareth by the Rivers riſing there, and running thence to the four Winds: ſo was that County a probable Place (as the middeſt of the Land) for the Presbyterian Diſcipline, there Erected, to derive it ſelf into all the quarters of the Kingdom.

This Hiſtory of the Diſciplinarian Party makes it plain, what the meaning was of their *Combining themſelves by Claſſes and Subſcriptions*, (as Sr *Francis Walſingham* terms it). They Erected Presbyteries, reduced their Diſcipline into a Method, and took care that their Members ſhould obſerve it. And all this amounts to no more than this, that they were Presbyterians, and acted according to their Conſciences, believing that they were ſetting up and Promoting an Ordinance of God. And therefore they muſt either have proceeded according to thoſe Principles, or they muſt wilfully have omitted

ted what they believed in their Consciences, was their Duty to practise, which would have been in *them* a very great Sin. Was not this *meer Conscience* then, and not Faction? Wherefore according to the *first* of the *two Maxims* by which the Queen propos'd to govern in Matters Ecclesiastical, viz. *That Conscience should not be forc'd, the Disciplinarians* ought not to have been so severely dealt with, for holding their *Classes*, and such like Meetings. Part I.

I beg the Reader may carefully observe one thing, that tho' a great Part of the above History is taken from the Profess'd bitter Enemies of the Presbyterians, *viz.* from *Bancroft* (out of whom *Fuller* transcribes the Acts of the Synod of *Coventry*) and from the High-Commission; who exhibited the Articles against *Cartwright*, yet there is *not so much as* AN HINT of any Rebellion; *Conspiracy against the Queen's Title, Person, or Government*; *or of any Seditious Combination* against her: nor are any of those things laid to the Charge of those Presbyterians. If any thing of this Kind could have been with any Colourable Pretence charg'd upon 'em, would the High-Commission have failed to have put it in their Articles against *Cartwright*? Surely nothing had been more Proper to justify their Proceedings against the Puritans, than to have impeached 'em of an Undutiful Behavior to their Prince; for that wou'd have taken away all ground of Censuring their Conduct as severe. But instead of this, they proceed against 'em for Meer-Non-Conformity.

Mr *Stone*'s Evidence upon Oath exceedingly strengthens the Observation I have been making. For, some of his Brethren and Friends being dissatisfy'd with his revealing the whole of their Proceedings in their Meetings for Discipline, he gave the Reasons of his Practice in several Letters to his friends, faithfully transcrib'd by *Fuller*, as he asserts. And among other things Mr *Stone* alledg'd in his own Defence, that their concealing of their Meetings and of what was transacted in them might occasion suspition of some Evil, as *Treason*, *Rebellion*, Sedition &c. And that to show the contrary to the whole World, he did freely reveal all that was done by 'em, which indeed they themselves did not conceal out of any Conscientiousness of such Villanous Practises, but least a Discovery should draw upon 'em some Rigorous Proceedings, and cause the Persecution of honest Innocent People. Compare

Part 1. pare this with the Character, which his greatest Enemies gave him.

'Sure I am (says *Fuller* (*f*)) the Bishops till his dying day beheld 'him as an *Ingenuous man*, carrying his Conscience with the Rea- 'son thereof in his own breast, and *not pinning* it on the President of 'any other: Whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess 'his Parsonage, (being none of the meanest) tho' he *continu'd a* 'stiff *Non-Conformist*, only Quietly Enjoying his own Opinion. 'Indeed he was a downright *Nathanael*, If not Guilty of too much of 'the Dove in him.

And seeing such a *Nathanael*, freely resolving to tell all, could not fix the least blot upon their Loyalty, and when he was upon Oath too; and that their rankest Enemies cou'd not find any Ground to accuse 'em upon, except their meer Non-Conformity; I can't see what can be said, from these Meetings for Discipline, to justify the hard Treatment the Presbyterians in those days met with.

There are indeed *some things* in the Acts of the Synod of *Coventry*, and in some of the Conclusions fram'd in these Meetings, as they are represented in the Articles against *Cartwright*, which, tho' they are not Disloyal, yet appear, (as they are *worded there*) to need some Explication, to reconcile 'em to Truth and Charity. But then, we must consider, that these are conveyed to us only by the *known Adversaries* of the Puritans, who gave just cause to suspect 'em of misrepresenting the Opinions of those whom they persecuted with so much Rigor. And *Fuller* himself gives us this Caution, having quoted *Bancroft* in his Margent for his Voucher. 'The (*g*) worst is, that in 'matters of Fact, all Relations in these times are Relations, I mean 'much Resent of Party and Interest to the Prejudice of Truth. Let 'me mind the Reader to reflect his Eye on our Quotations, (the 'Margent, in such Cases being as Material as the Text, as containing 'the Authors) and his Judgment may, according to the Credit or 'Reference of the Author alledg'd *believe*, or *ABATE*, from the '*Reputation of the Report.*

Are we sure then that they asserted, That *Laymen as well as Ministers might read Public Service*, as 'tis told of them, in the 4th *Act* of the

(*f*) B. 9 p. 210. (*g*) P. 9. p. 195.

the Synod of *Coventry*; or that they did not in some other Act, or Explication of the same *Act*, give a sound Meaning and Sense of this matter, (tho' it be not recorded in *Bancroft*'s Relation of their *Acts*..) And the very same may be said of the 10*th* Act of that Synod, *viz. That Bishops are not to be acknowledg'd, either for* Doctors, *Elders or Deacons*: Their meaning must have been, that the Office of an *English Prelate* as exercis'd by him was not the Office of a *Doctor*, or *Elder* or *Deacon*. Otherwise 'twas not true, for by being Bishops, they ceas'd not to be Doctors, Elders or Deacons; and Mr. *Cartwright* who was the great Manager, both in promoting these Meetings, and the Resolutions taken in 'em, knew better things than to join in such an Act, unless it were explain'd in the Sense I have mention'd. Part 1.

If we make allowance for *these* and *such* like mistakes, that might be *misrepresented* and *aggravated* by their Enemies; I must own, that I believe the *Substance of all the rest* that's said of them is true; but especially in those Parts of the History, that are confirm'd by the *joint Testimony* both of Mr. *Stone* and their Adversaries. And after all, they did nothing but what was plainly agreeable to the *known Measures* of *Presbyterian* Discipline. And therefore, if the Principles of Presbyterians be not Injurious to the Civil Magistrate (as I have prov'd they are not, in the preceding Chapter;) And if their Managements in their present Synods and Judicatories be not Derogatory from the Rights of Magistracy (as I shall prove they are not, in the *first* Chapter of the *third* Part of *this* Book); then the Classes and other Meetings of the Presbyterians in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time that maintain'd the same Principles and manag'd the same way so far as their Circumstances did permit, are not *justly* chargeable with *Disloyalty*, *Faction* or *Sedition*.

3*ly*, It is Objected by *Walsingham* against the Puritans, that they *descended into the vile and base means of defacing the Government of the Church by Ridiculous Pasquills*.

Answer. It is true there were in those Days some sharp *biting* Expressions us'd in some Books against the *Bishops*, which had been better wav'd; for, tho' the Bishops did too much tempt the Patience of the Puritans, by putting the Court upon severe Measures; yet it had been more Civil, yea, and Christian too, to have suffer'd with meekness. But it must be granted, That the *Fury* of the *High Party* does

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much extenuate, tho' it does not altogether excuse this Fault. And few will think it very strange, that *hot Persecution* shou'd extort some indecent Words from the *Miserable*, or that *Oppression shou'd make wise Men mad.*

But after all this, these Papers were but the Acts of private Men; they were not written by any Concert, or in the Name of the Puritans, or approv'd by them and their Classes or Synods, and therefore they ought not to have been *ill us'd* for the Faults of *some* of their Number only. *Fuller* does 'em Justice in the following Account of this matter.

'*Bullets* (*b*) did not fly about so much at Sea, as bastatdly *Libels* 'by Land, so fitly call'd, because none durst Father 'em, for their 'Issue. They are known tho' not by their *Parents*, by their Names '1. *The Epitome*, 2. *The Demonstration of Discipline.* 3. *The Supplication.* 4. *Diotrephes.* 5. *The Minerals.* 6. *Have you any Work for 'the Cooper?* 7. *Martin Senior Mar-Prelate.* 8. *Martin Junior Mar-'Prelate.* 9. *More Work for the Cooper* &c. The main drift and Scope 'of those Pamphlets, for know one and know all (these foul 'mouth'd Papers, like *Blackmoors*, did all look alike) was to Defame and Disgrace the *English Prelates*, scoffing at them for their 'Garb, Gate, Apparel, Vanities of their Youth, Natural Defects, 'and personal Infirmities; it is strange how secretly they were 'Printed, how speedily dispers'd, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea and how firmly believ'd, especially of the Common 'sort, to whom no better Musick than to hear their Betters upbraided.

'*Some precise* Men of that side thought these jeering Pens well employ'd. ——— But the *more discreet* and *devout sort* of Men, even of such as were no great friends to the Hierarchy, upon solemn 'Debate then Resolv'd, (I speak on certain Knowledge from the 'Mouths of such whom I must believe) that for many foul Falshoods 'therein Suggested, such Books were altogether unbeseeming a pious 'Spirit, to Print, Publish, or with pleasure Peruse, which supposed 'true both in Matter and Measure, Charity wou'd rather conceal, 'than discover. 4*thly*,

(*b*) Book 9. p. 193.

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4*ly*, It is Objected against them, that they *begun to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths*, &c.

The plain Answer to this Objection is, that the Puritans *never scrupled* nor refus'd to *swear Allegiance* to Her Majesty; nor to be Evidences in Public Courts, for detecting of *any* Crime, that was *against* the Laws of God, or the just Laws of the Kingdom. But the Oath which they scrupled was, the Oath *ex officio*, tender'd by the *Bishops* and the *High-Commission-Court*; by which Men were to discover their own Actions in Criminal Cases, and so to *Accriminate themselves upon Oath*. They thought this was *against* the *Laws* of God, *Nature* & *Nations*. *Cartwright* refus'd to answer upon Oath to the Articles exhibited against him. Besides, that they thought this Method unfair in it self, they were in their Consciences satisfy'd that what they were charg'd with (tho' true) was no Crime, but a Duty; for 'twas *meer Non-Conformity*, they were prosecuted for. And therefore, they thought 'twas sinful to have any hand in carrying on a Persecution of honest People: And that they cou'd not with a good Conscience be *Assistants* to their Persecutors in *that bad* Cause; which their Swearing in these Cases wou'd have made 'em. The Reasons on both sides, are represented by *Fuller* (*i*) to whom the Reader is referr'd for full Satisfaction. And we must consider what Mr. *Stone* says of their Debates among themselves about this Subject, and of the Reasons Mr. *Snape* offer'd from Scripture against the Oath, *ex officio*, and of the Peaceable Temper of the Brethren who were against it, for they dissuaded none, but gave Reasons of their own Practice, to shew that what they did was from Conscience and not from Wilfulness.

Upon the whole, 'tis humbly submitted to all Men of Impartiality and Candor; whether the imposing of the Oath *ex officio*, upon Non-Conformists under Queen *Elizabeth*, and with the Circumstances that attended it, was not rather an Instance of the *Severities* than of the *Vertues* of that Reign; and whether their refusing it was not more justly to be accounted a Preservation and Defence of the *Rights* of *Conscience* and *Liberties* of the Subject, than a *Criminal* Disaffection to the *Queen* and *Government*.

(*i*) *Ibid.* B. 9. p. 183, To p. 186.

Part 1: *Lastly*, 'Tis Objected against the Puritans by Sr. *Francis*, 'that they 'began both to vaunt of their strength & number of their Partizans 'and Followers, and to use Comminations that their Cause wou'd prevail tho' with Uproar and Violence.

Ans. I don't doubt but the Puritans represented themselves to be a *Considerable Numerous* Party (as indeed they were) And, that their Adversaries might readily misconstruct this, as vaunting. It is hard, that men may not represent their Grievances to the State, with this Argument, that both the Grievances and the Number of Sufferers by them is great. As to their *Comminations, Violence, and Uproar*, I can find nothing that gave any Colour for that Accusation, but the Story of Mr *Wigington*'s Letter to Mr *Porter* upon Occasion of *Mr Cartwright*'s Imprisonment for refusing the Oath, *ex Officio*, when the Articles were exhibited against him in the High-Commission-Court.

Fuller gives us both the Story, and a just Defence of the Puritans against the Calumnies which some founded upon it. 'Some (*k*) soon 'after expected the Appearance of the Presbyterian Party, accounting it more Valor to free than to keep their friends from Prison. 'The rather because of a Passage in a letter of *Wigington*'s to one 'Mr *Porter* at *Lancaster*.

> 'Mr Cartwright *is in the* Fleet *for the Refusal of the Oath, (as 'I hear) and* Mr Knewstubs *is sent for, and sundry Worthy Ministers are disquieted, who have been spared long. So that we 'look for some* Bickering *ere long, & then a* Battle *which cannot 'long endure.*

'Words variously expounded, as mens Fancies directed them. Some 'conceived that this *Bickering* and *Battle* did barely import a *Passive Conflict* wherein their Patience was to encounter the power of 'their Adversaries and to *conquer by Suffering*, Parallel to the *Apostles* Words, *Without were fightings*, meaning *Combats* to wrestle 'with, in many Difficulties opposing their Proceedings. Others ex-

(*k*) *Id Ibid.* B, 9. p. 203.

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'expounded the Words literally (not of a *tame* but *wild Battle*) and 'of some intended Violence, as if shortly they would muster their '(hitherto invisible) Forces to storm the *Fleet*, and rescue their friends 'therein. A *third sort* beheld *Wigington* the writer of these words, as 'one, but of the soberer sort of *Distracted Men*, and therefore in 'vain do *shav'd Heads make serious Comments* on light mens *random-* 'Expressions, where the knot is *neither to be untied, nor cut, but Cast* 'away.

Thus have I been led into a Considerable Part of the History of the Presbyterians under Q. *Elizabeth*, by examining Mr. Secretary *Walsingham*'s Letter, which contains a Collection of the most Plausible things that his deep Judgment could very well set together, for putting a Colourable Gloss upon the Severities of the Queen his mistress, *whose* sense (and NOT HIS OWN) he has been speaking all this while. And I submit it to the Judicious Reader, whether all that has been said against Puritans (when duly examined) can infer the Reasonableness of those hardships they met with.

Let any sober man peruse the doleful Narrative of the Tragical Severities, BUT OF ONE act in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, as they are ingeniously and truly Stated by Sr *Peter King* in his Speech upon the second Article of the Impeachment of Dr *Sacheverell*, who had heartily recommended these for *wholesome Severities*, and thereby condemn'd the *Toleration Act* in *England*, which has happily Repeal'd the Law that Enacted 'em: Let him (*I say*) peruse that Speech, and it will help him to make a judgment of the Reasonableness of those Remarks I have been making, and of the Unchristian Temper of such as would have those Severities Repeated under the Government of our Gracious Sovereign Q. *Anne* Sr *Peter* speaks thus,

'What (*l*) cou'd be said more contrary to the Toleration-*Act*, 'than to recommend the Severities used in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, be- 'cause they were *wholesom in themselves*, and of happy Consequence 'to the person and Government of that Renown'd Queen. If there 'were not a *Necessity for it on this Occasion*, I would not mention 'what those Wholesom Severities were, but rather *cast a Veil* over 'that part of the Reign of that Great and Glorious Queen.

To

(*l*) *vide* Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel* p. 71, &c.

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'To give a short View of those *Wholesom Severities*; some Hereticks 'were burnt, other Persons were *hanged*, some had their *Goods Con-* 'fiscated, others had their *Persons Imprisoned*, and to mention more 'particularly a public act in writing that cannot be falsify'd or mis- 'represented, and which is since relaxed by the Toleration-Act, 'an Act pass'd in the 35*th* year of Queen *Elizabeth* Intituled *An Act to* 'retain the Queen's *Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience*; by which 'the *Dissenters* are, among other penalties to *Abjure the Realm in forty* 'Days or SUFFER DEATH *without Benefit of Clergy*

'This Penalty of abjuration of the Realm was taken from the 'ancient Common Law of *England* in Relation to *Felony*, by which if 'a man committed any Felony, excepting Sacrilege, and fled to a 'Parish Church, he might within forty days before the Coroner 'confess the Felony, and take an oath to *abjure the Kingdom* for ever; 'and if he thus confess'd and took that Oath, he was thereby At- 'tainted of the Felony, and then he had forty Days from the 'coming of the Coroner to provide and prepare for his Voyage, 'and the Coroner assign'd him such a Port as he chose for his De- 'parture out of the Kingdom; and if he did not go straightway 'out of the Kingdom, or being gone out did return without Licence, 'he had Judgment to be hang'd, except he was a Clerk, and then he 'had his Clergy.

'This Practice was what the Law call'd Abjuration; and being by 'several Regulations in the time of *Henry* the *Eighth* in effect taken 'away, the *Revival* of this Practice, was thought to be a WHOLE- 'SOM SEVERITY, fit to be inflicted on the *Protestant Dissenters* 'of those Times, and therefore the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* doth 'Enact, That if any Person obstinately refusing to repair to some 'Church or Chappel, or usual Place of Common Prayers, and 'forbearing by the Space of a month to hear Divine Service, should 'after forty Days after the End of that Session of Parliament, will- 'ingly join or be present at any Conventicle or Meeting, under 'Pretence of Religion, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the 'Realm, that then such Person shou'd *be committed to Prison*, till he 'shou'd *conform and come to Church*; and if within three months 'after Conviction, he should not Conform and come to Church, and 'make his public Confession and Submission, being thereunto requir'd

accor-

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'according to the Form of the ſaid Act, that then ſuch Offender 'ſhou'd *Abjure the Realm*; and it, being thereunto required ſhou'd 'refuſe to make ſuch Abjuration, or after ſuch Abjuration made, ſhould 'not within the time appointed him depart the Realm; or after ſuch 'Departure ſhould return without the Queen's Licence: then, in 'every ſuch Caſe, every Perſon ſo offending ſhould be A FELON 'WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY. So that the Abjuration 'inflicted on Proteſtant Diſſenters by this act, was *worſe* than 'Abjuration for *Felony* at the Common Law; in *that* they had 'the Benefit of Clergy, in *this* they had not.

'This is one of the Severities of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, whe-'ther it be a *Wholeſom* Severity or not, HUMAN NATURE 'WILL DETERMINE; however, Wholeſom it might have been 'eſteemed in thoſe Days by thoſe who had the *Power and will to puniſh 'others*, yet the Legislature have in *Terminis* declared it Unwholeſome '*for thoſe times*, and the Toleration-Act doth expreſsly, and by name 'exempt the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Penalties of this act of 'the 35*th* of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Our *Author* is ſo much in love with theſe *Wholeſom Severities*, that he ſubjoins a Quotation from Dr *Burnet*, in *their* Defence; which he alledgeth to be in his Preface to the 2*d Vol.* of his Hiſtory of the Reformation: But upon a careful Peruſal of that Preface, without miſſing one Syllable or Point in it, I can aver there is no ſuch Paſſage there at all; and I am apt to believe his friend *Thomas Long* hath led him into that Miſtake, having quoted it the ſame way, upon whoſe Word he has ventur'd to quote it again in his ſecond Letter viz. the *Conduct of the Diſſenters* &c. and to conclude that Piece with it. The Words, as he alledges, are theſe,

'Queen *Elizabeth*'s ſtrict enjoining Uniformity, making ſome Tur-'bulent Spirits Examples, countenancing the Clergy, eſpecially 'A. B. *Whitgift*, and the Sincerity and Watchfulneſs of the Council 'and Inferior Officers, preſerved the Nation in Peace all her days, & 'if her Succeſſors had held the Reins of Government with like ſtea-'dineſs of hand, the Nation how Head-ſtrong ſoever would never have 'run into thoſe Deſperate Confuſions, from which nothing but the 'hand of God could have Redeemed us.

I'm

Part I. I'm of Opinion that Bishop *Burnet* either used no such Words as are quoted by our author; or if he did, that he intended not by them to justify the Persecution of the Puritans; because he has declar'd his Opinion against all such Persecutions, 'God be thanked *(says he)* (*m*) 'That there is an End put to all Persecution in matters of Conscience; and that the *first and chief Right* of *human Nature* of following the Dictates of Conscience in the Service of God, is secur'd to all Men amongst us; and that we are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the *Remnants of the worst Part of Popery, that we had too long retain'd*; I mean the SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION.

This Passage makes me believe, that the *Dr.* Understood what our Author quotes (if he truly said such Words) concerning the *Papists* or some *Insolent Brownists* only; and what confirms me in it is that, he mentions the *Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council* &c. as contributing to *preserve Peace* during this Queen's Reign: Now from what has been said, it appears, That the Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council was employ'd *against the Suspension, Deprivation and other miseries of the Puritans*, brought on 'em by *Whitgift* and his Party; which so Judicious an Historian as Dr. *Burnet* cou'd not but know; and therefore we can't force a Meaning upon his Words, contrary to his own declar'd Opinion, and to obvious Truth.

Our Author concludes his Account of this Reign with drawing a *Parallel* between the *Presbyterians* under Q. *Elizabeth*, and their *Successors* under her present Majesty, and between the Carriage of the *former* with respect to the *Spanish Invasion*, and the Behaviour of the *latter* upon the *Pretender's Invasion*; accusing 'em of Disloyalty for their refusing to Enlist in the Militia, and to take the Oaths. And he offers this Parallel of Practices, to draw Her Majesty into Severities Parallel to those of Q. *Elizabeth*. But the true History and Reasons of their Conduct, belonging to the Reign of Queen *ANNE*; I dismiss it until we come to that Period, and shall then give a full Account of it, and consider what he has advanc'd in both his Pamphlets concerning it.

CHAP.

(*m*) *Exhort. to Peace and Union* p.. 27. quoted by *P. A.* in his *Vanity, Mischief and Danger of continuing Ceremonies*, &c. p. 4.

CHAP. III.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians During the Reign of King JAMES, *the First of* England, *and Sixth of* Scotland.

FRom the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* our Author next comes to her Succeſſor King *James*, 'And here *(ſays he)* I do ſolemnly 'proteſt to you, that I think it wou'd raiſe the Indignation of any 'Ingenious Man and Loyal Subject to read the Account, that not only Biſhop *Spotſwood*, but even *Petrie* and *Calderwood* give of their 'Treatment of that Prince and his Royal Family. In ſhort, the Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, *rejecting all his Authority*, and convening themſelves, and *ſubverting the whole Conſtitution* as they pleas'd, did treat 'him ſo *indecently*, ſo *inſolently*, I may ſay *barbarouſly* upon all Occaſions, that no body can wonder, that that much Injur'd Prince 'ſhould tell his Son in his *Baſilicon Doron*, I have *been vex'd by theſe 'Puritans from my very Birth, yea they perſecuted me whilſt I was in my 'Mother's Belly, and it muſt be little that they had not Murder'd me 'before I was born.*

I hope every good Man will be on his Guard againſt that HEIGHT

Part I.

OF INDIGNATION, and *Transport of Passion* into which this Author is *rais'd*, and by which he has been driven into *these* Reproachful Errors. How the Assembly, that never met during his whole Reign without Addressing him as their only Sovereign upon Earth, and owning their Allegiance to him; And who *never encourag'd* any Man to take up Arms against him, but who *often Address'd* him for punishing the Popish Lords, and their Abettors who rebelliously made an Insurrection against him, and who *encourag'd all the Subjects* to stand by him, not only against the *Spaniard*, but *all* Foreign Powers that shou'd make any Attempt upon his Crown, Dignity and Dominions; who were particularly Instrumental in *keeping all* his Subjects in Peace during his Absence in *Denmark*, as he himself acknowledg'd on his Return; and who after all his *thwarting* of them and *overturning* their Ecclesiastical Constitution after his Accession to the Crown of *England*, never *once rais'd* the least Disturbance to his Title or Authority: How, I say, the Assembly (notwithstanding of all this) can be said to *reject all his Authority*, is such a piece of History, as nothing but an highly *raised Indignation* durst advance. Seeing he gives not one Instance out of *Calderwood*, or *Petrie*, of their Indecent, Insolent and Barbarous Treatment of that Prince, or of their Subverting the least part (and far less the whole) of the Constitution, I am satisfy'd he cou'd not do it; for his Indignation was too great to pass any thing of that kind that was within the Compass of his *kenn*. And tho' he shou'd pick out of *Spotswood* some Stories reflecting upon their Behavior, yet few Impartial Men will lay much Stress upon what he says against them, seeing the Strain of his History favors so much of Party and Resentment.

As for King *James*'s Testimony of the *Puritans*: I desire our Author may take that Prince's Testimony of the Kirk of *Scotland* in his Speech to the Assembly *Anno* 1590 ' wherein (*n*) he prais'd God, ' that he was Born to be King of such a *Kirk*, the sincerest Kirk of ' the World, the Kirk of *Geneva*, (said he) keeped *Pasch*, and *Yule*, ' what have they for them? They have *no Institution*. As for our ' Neighbour *Kirk* in *England*, their Service is an EVIL SAID MASS IN

(*n*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 256.

'IN ENGLISH; *they want nothing of the Mass, but the Liftings.* I charge you, my good People, Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen and Barons, to *stand to your Purity*, and to exhort the People to do the same, and, I forsooth, so long as I BROOK MY CROWN AND LIFE, shall *maintain the same against all deadly.* Part 1.

Compare this with his Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* in favour of the Puritan Ministers in *England*, which is as follows, 'Right (o) Excellent, High and Mighty *Princess*, ——— Our dearest Sister and Cousin; in our heartiest manner, We recommend Us unto You. Hearing of the Apprehension of Mr. *Udall* and Mr. *Cartwright*, and certain other Ministers of the Evangel within your Realm; of *whose good Erudition and faithful Travails* in the Church, we hear a very credible Commendation; howsoever, that their Diversity from the *Bishops* and Others of Your *Clergy*, in matters touching them in Conscience, hath been a Mean by their Delation, to *work them Your Misliking*; at this present we cannot (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are *afflicted for their Conscience in that Profession*) but by our most Effectuous and Earnest Letter interpone us at your hands, to *stay any harder Usage* of them for that Cause; requesting you most earnestly, that for our Cause and Intercession, it may please you to let them be reliev'd of their present Strait, or whatsoever Accusation or Pursuit depending on that Ground: respecting both their former Merit, in setting forth the *Evangel*; the *Simplicity* of *their Conscience*, in this Defence; which cannot well be *let by Compulsion*; and the great slander, which cou'd not fail to fall out, upon their farther Straitning, for *any such* Occasion: which we assure us, your Zeal to Religion, besides the expectation we have of your good Will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our Request: Having such Proofs, from time to time of our like Disposition to you, in any matter which you recommend unto us. And thus Right Excellent, Right High, and Mighty *Princess*, our dear Sister and Cousin, We commit you to God's Protection. *Edinburgh*, *June* 12*th* 1591.

(o) *Fuller's* Church-History. *Book* 9. *p.* 203.

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Let the Judicious Reader observe that here is a full Vindication of that *Kirk* of *Scotland*, and the Puritans of *England*: The former neither could be the Sincereſt nor the Pureſt Kirk in the World, if they had been ſuch a Nurſery of Rebellion, Sedition and Barbarity to their Prince as our author makes 'em to be; and why the King ſhould charge 'em to ſtand by their Purity and exhort all the People to do ſo; and promiſe to maintain the ſame againſt all Deadly, if they had rejected all this Authority, ſubverted the whole Conſtitution, vexed him from his birth, and Perſecuted him from his Mother's Belly, is hard to Determine. If it be objected, that he ſpoke all this *againſt his Conſcience* and only to *flatter the Kirk*; its as eaſily anſwer'd, that he might ſpeak againſt the Puritans from the ſame Principle, and to flatter a Party of the *High Church*; he lay under as great Temptations to the *latter* after he went to *England*, as to the *former* while in *Scotland*: beſides, this Objection does ſo impair the Reputation of his Teſtimony in any Caſe, that I queſtion (if it be true) if his ſingle Evidence can be admitted to prove any Point whatſoever. We don't uſe to lay much ſtreſs upon Witneſſes who give Contradictory Evidences. As to the the *Engliſh* Puritans, he gives 'em a large Character, for their *good Erudition*, *faithful Travails* in the Church, and *former Merit*; repreſenting 'em as differing from the Biſhops from *Conſcience* and *not* from *Wilfulneſs*, and therefore diſſuades from perſecuting of them.

But let us conſider theCredibility of the thing it ſelf aſſerted in his *Baſilicon Doron*. The Lord *Darnley*'s Relations did indeed when he was in his Mother's Belly, kill the Italian *David Rizio* in her Preſence, for Reaſons which Hiſtorians mention, and which the Rules of Decency forbid me to repeat. If his own Father's friends did this, I know not how the *Kirk* is bound to anſwer for it; and I never heard of any other danger he was in while in his mother's Belly, if that was any at all. Upon his *birth*, he was taken care of: and his mother a violent Enemy to the Reformation, having *abdicated*, all poſſible care was taken of the Young King's Education to that Degree, that he was one of the Learnedeſt Princes of his Age, or perhaps of any other.

The General Aſſembly were ſo far from encroaching upon the Rights of his Crown, or from raiſing, abetting or countenancing any Rebellious

Rebellious, Treasonable or Disloyal Practises against him, that they thought themselves bound in Conscience to use their Ecclesiastical Authority and Censures against those who were guilty of 'em; an Undoubted Proof of their being Dutiful and Loyal Subjects. The Case of Mr *Andrew Hunter* is a plain Instance of this. Mr *Hunter* had deserted his Flock, and joined himself to *Bothuel*, who was guilty of Rebellion against his Prince: Whereupon the *General Assembly in the year* 1594 SOLEMNLY DEPOS'D the said Mr *Hunter* from the Office of the holy ministry, until he should satisfy his Majesty and the Kirk. And the King himself acknowledged, That this was the first *Instance of an Open Traytor of their Function against a Christian King of their own Religion, and their Natural Sovereign.* (p) Their early Zeal against this Scandalous and Rebellious Crime was not only a mark of their just Indignation against it, but also the best means that could be Apply'd on their Part for preventing it in others. *Bothuel* himself (who headed that Rebellion) and some of his Chief Followers were Excommunicated. Part 1.

In the Year 1595. the Assembly met at *Montrose*, to show their Detestation of all Treason and Disloyalty, and to testify their Complyance with his Majesty's just Desire, made an Act in the following Words. 'Whereas (q) an Ordinance is craved to be made a-'gainst Practisers of any Treasonable Enterprise, or Conspiracy a-'gainst his Highness Person or Estate, being found and declared 'Culpable thereof by Law; that they therefore shall *incur the Sen-'tence of Excommunication*: The GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGRE-'ETH, *Legitima Cognitione Ecclesiastica Præcunte.*

When he came into *England*, the Puritans received him with all the joy and Satisfaction Possible (r); after all their hopes were frustrated upon the Hampton-Court-Conference, They present a Petition to the King signed by one thousand Ministers, wherein they say 'Seeing (s) it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great Comfort 'of all good Christians, to advance your Highness, according to 'your *just Title* to the Peaceable Government of this Church and 'Commonwealth of *England*'. Can *any thing* be *more dutiful* and Loyal

(p) *vide Calderwood's* Hist. p. 304, 305, 307. (q) *Id. Ibid* p. 308. (r) *Coke's* Detect. Part 1. p. 11, 12. (s) *Fuller's* Church Hist. Book 10. p. 22.

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Loyal than what is contained in these Expressions? And in the Body of the Petition it self, They frankly offer'd Subscription to the Articles of Religion according to the Law (i.e. *so far as concern'd Matters of Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, being all that was required by the Statute of 13 *Eliz.*) and to the Kings Supremacy.

And the Non-Conformists of *Devon* and *Cornwall* upon the Persecution raised against 'em by him and his Favorites, do vindicate 'emselves and all their Brethren in *England* from any Rebellious or Factious Practises, in their Printed book, called, *A Removal of Certain Imputations, laid upon the Ministers* &c, which I here insert, because it is a public Challenge to any in that age to Convict 'em of Disloyalty, and refute their Assertions, which has never been yet done by any

p. 21. they say, 'Let them sift well our Courses since his Majesty's *happy Entrance* in amongst us; and let them name wherein 'we have done ought, that may *justly be said ill to become the Ministers of Christ Jesus*. Have we *drawn any sword*, have we *raised any Tumult*, have we *used any Threats*, hath the State been *put into any fear or hazard thro' us*? Manifold Disgraces have been cast upon us, we 'have *endured them*. The *Liberties* of our *Ministry* hath been *taken from us* and (tho with bleeding hearts) we have sustained it, we have 'been *cast out* of our *Houses*, and *deprived* of our *Ordinary Maintenance*, yet have we *blown no Trumpet of Sedition*. These things have 'gone very near us, and yet did we never so much *as entertain* a 'thought of *Violence*. Truth is, we have Petitioned the King and 'State; and who hath Reason to deny us that Liberty? We have 'craved of the Prelates to deal with us by Law; and is not that the 'Common Benefit of every Subject? We have sought them to convince our Consciences by Scripture——Alas! what would they 'we should do? Will they have us content our selves with this 'only, that they are Bishops, and therefore for their Greatness only to be yielded to? *Episcoporum Authoritas opprimere nos potest, docere 'non potest.*

'Now let our Author or any other disprove these Assertions, or show that the *English* Puritans or *Scots* Presbyterians did not walk according to the Measures laid down in 'em; and if they be not found false in this, 'twill be hard to find 'em guilty either of Rebellion or Sedition. *Laud* himself confesseth in his Character of King *James* 'That

(t)

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'(t)he continued full two and twenty years Reign all in Peace, without War from Foreign Enemy, or Rebellion at home'. And I believe all will own that *Laud* was not so great a friend to the *Puritans*, as to hide under a Veil any of their Rebellions, if he could but have had the *least Pretence* of accusing 'em.

But if we examine the Reasons of this Prince's Spleen against the *Puritans*, *Coke* in his *Detect.* will help us to find 'em out, who (*u*) says of him, 'That he was the first (at least since *Richard* 2d) That asserted and endeavor'd to introduce an *Arbitrary Power* in *England*, Foreign to the Laws and Constitutions of it; and in all his Reign was more governed by *Flatterers* and *Favorites*, than by the Advice of his *Parliament* or a *wise* Council——————He was more zealous for himself and the Preservation of his *Inherent Birth-Right* to the Crown of *England*, than for the honor of God and our Savior by the Pope's Usurpations otherwise; for in his Speech at the Opening the first Parliament of his Reign he calls the Church of *Rome* a *true Church*, and our *Mother-Church*, and if they would lay aside their King-killing and King-Deposing Doctrine, and some Niceties (but he names them not) *he was content to meet them midway*.

When King *James* I. came to the Crown (*says he*) (*v*) The Representing the Grievances of the Nation, by his Disorderly Reign was *Language Intolerable to him*, so that of four Parliaments (which were all he had in his Reign) in the last he boasted *he had broke the neck of three of them*, and his Son broke the neck of the four first Parliaments of his Reign.' The *Presbyterians* were never clear for meeting the Church of *Rome* midway, and abhorr'd any Practice that looked like a Coalition with them upon such Terms; and were not a little Dissatisfy'd with the King's Constant favoring of the Popish Lords in *Scotland*, And with his dangerous Articles of the *Spanish* Match in *England* recorded by *Rushworth* (of which I shall have an Occasion to give a particular Account in the first Chapter of the second Part of this Discourse] & his other Practices inclining too much that way; They were

(*t*) *vide Rushworth's* Collect. Vol. I. p. 155. (*u*) Part 1. p. 196.
(*v*) Part 2. p. 409.

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were constant Haters of *Arbitrary Power* in all Princes, and therefore no Prince of that Temper in *Britain* ever loved them. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Presbytery does provide such Effectual Remedies against the Usurpations and Ambition of the Clergy, and lays such Foundations for the Liberty of the Subject in Church matters: that it naturally creates in People an Aversion from all Tyranny and Oppression in the *State* also: which hath always made it odious in the *Eyes of such Princes*, as have endeavored to stretch the Prerogatives above the Laws of the Nation, and Liberties of the Subjects. The Author of the Account *of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland*, *May* 6. 1703. confirms this Observation (*w*.)

'In our General Assemblies (*says he*) Our Laity as well as Clergy 'are fully represented, by Deputies from all parts of the Nation. 'The Lay-Members are generally Men of the best Quality, and of 'the greatest Esteem for Piety and Parts, in their several Countries; 'they are many times Members of *Parliament*, well acquainted with 'our Laws, and *Zealous* for our *Constitution*; which makes them 'a necessary Ballance both upon the Court and the Clergy. This our 'former Princes knew well enough, and therefore *such of them* as 'had form'd Designs against our Religion and Liberty, did *ever hate* 'those Assemblies; because as our Parliaments were one Barrier, *they* 'were another about both, and many times *harder to force* than the '*Parliament*.

'This our Princes were sensible of, and being many times *more* 'thwarted in their Designs of introducing *Popery* and *Slavery* by *those* 'Assemblies, than by *Parliaments*; they either endeavoured to have 'the said Assemblies, wholly in their own Power, so as that they 'might call, pack, overaw and Dissolve them, how and when they 'pleased, as King *James* the 6. and King *Charles* I. frequently attempted by the *influence* of *their* Bishops; or else to abolish them 'Totally, as King *Charles* 2. did by *his* new *Model* of Prelacy.——— 'From all this it is evident, that no reason can be assign'd, why our 'Princes have been such Enemies to the General Assemblies of our 'Church, that they wou'd either have them wholly laid aside, or so cramped

(*w*) p. 109,——115.

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'cramped in their Power as that they ſhould be entirely at their 'Devotion; but that they knew it was impoſſible for them to ob- 'trude any Religious Innovations upon us, or to make *Tools of the* 'Church to overthrow the Liberties of the People, by the ſlaviſh 'Doctrines of Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience, while we con- 'tinu'd in Poſſeſſion —— of ſuch a free and popular Conſtitution, 'as our General Aſſemblies.

Dr. *Burnet* gives us an hint of the like Temper of the *Engliſh* Puritans in this Reign, which may diſcover the Reaſon of their falling under the Cenſure of this Prince. (*x*) 'Upon King *James*'s coming 'to the Crown, (*ſays he*) and the Diviſions that came to be after- 'wards in Parliaments, between the too often named Parties, for 'the Court and Country; And Clergymen being link'd to the Inte- 'reſts of the Crown, all theſe who in *Civil Matters* oppos'd the De- 'ſigns of the Court, reſolv'd to cheriſh thoſe of the Diviſion, under 'the Colour of their being *hearty Proteſtants*, and that it was the '*Intereſt of the Reform'd Religion* to uſe them well, and that all *Pro- 'teſtants ſhou'd Unite*. And indeed the Difference between them 'was then ſo ſmall, that if great *Art* had not been uſed to keep 'them aſunder, they had certainly united of their own accord.

What the Deſigns of the Court were, while the King was a *breaking the Necks of his Parliaments*, are too well known to need any farther Enlargement: And the honeſt part of the Nation who were ſtrugling for the Liberties of their Country, and yet were as truly Loyal as any Subjects cou'd be, were for taking the *Puritans* by the hand, and for Uniting all Proteſtants in that Juncture; which ſhows the Diſpoſition of the *Puritans*, to have been for the Public Good both of King and Subject. But the Prince was *vex'd* by all who oppos'd his Arbitrary Power; that was *their* Unpardonable Crime.

His Son Prince *Henry* was of another mind; *Coke* ſays of him, (*y*) 'That he was a Prince adorn'd with Wiſdom and Piety above his 'Years,---of a Noble and Heroic Diſpoſition, and an Hater of flatteries '&Flatterers,—— His Court was more frequented than the Kings, 'and by *another ſort* of Men, ſo that the King was heard to ſay,

(*x*) *vide* Preface to the 2 Vol. Hiſt. Reform. (*y*) *vide* Detec. Part 1. p. 60. &c.

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'*will he bury me alive*? Never was any Prince's Death more univer-
'sally and cordially lamented." *And* yet this Prince had so great a Friendship for Presbyterians, as made him very Unacceptable to his Father's great Minions: For *Coke* assures us 'That the *High-*
'*Church*-Favorites tax'd him for being a Patron to the *Puritans*' if they had used his Father *so Barbarously* and *Insolently*, *subverted the whole Constitution*, and rejected *all his Authority*, this Prince was too wise to be Ignorant of it; and his Spirit too *Heroic*, not to Resent such *high affronts* offer'd to the Illustrious Imperial Crown upon his Father's Head, of which himself was the hopeful Apparent Heir.

Our Author's next (and last) Testimony against the Dissenters in this Reign is Dr. *Bancroft*'s, of whom he says [p. 11.] 'I cannot
'give you a juster view into this Matter, in letting you understand
'who these *Puritans* were, and how they proceeded, than to give
'you the words of a Sermon preach'd before the Parliament of
'England in the Year 1588. by Dr. *Bancroft*, afterwards Arch-
'Bishop of Canterbury.

Whether the justest Account that can be expected of the Proceedings of the *Scots* Presbyterians, must come from *Bancroft*, let the Reader judge by *Coke*'s Character of him, who [z] says, 'About this
'time the Clergy [at least a *Faction which stiled themselves the Clergy*] made
'an Attempt to try how far their Doctrine of *Absolute Power* in the
'King had taken Root in him, they had gain'd their Point so far,
'as the King had declar'd his Command to the Commons as *Abso-*
'*lute King*, and now they'll see whether the King wou'd assert
'it, and the Case was this,——— Dr. *Richard Bancroft* (a man
'of a Rough Temper) as Zealous an asserter of the Rights of the
'Church of *England*, or rather a *Faction of Church-men*, who arro-
'gated to themselves the Title, as *Julius* the 2*d* was of the Papacy,
'exhibited to the King and Council 25 Articles, in the name of
'all the Clergy of *England*, called *Articuli Cleri*, which were de-
'sired to be reformed in granting Prohibitions, tho' there were a
'Parliament and Convocation then sitting, which I do not find had
'any hand in it: This

[z] Detect. part. 1. p. 46. 47.

Part I.

'This Exhibition, as it aſcrib'd an *Abſolute Power* to the King, 'ſo it ſtruck directly at the Conſtitution of Parliament, the Prin- 'cipal End whereof is to Redreſs Grievances and Abuſes in the 'Nation.

By this the Reader will perceive that *Bancroft* headed the High-Church Faction, exalted *Arbitrary Power* in the Prince, and run down the Privilege of Parliament; to all which the Preſbyterians being ſo juſtly Oppoſite, they have Reaſon to except againſt his Evidence, as a Partial Witneſs; and indeed, it is rather an Evidence of the juſtice of their Cauſe, than of its Weakneſs, that they are condemn'd, by men of *his Temper*; by whom to be evil ſpoken of is rather a Mark of honor than Diſgrace.

I muſt further obſerve, that *Bancroft* was entirely officious and Meddling, in preaching ſuch Doctrine before the Parliament of *England*, *Anno* 1588. concerning the Affairs of another *Church* and Kingdom wholly Independent on theirs; and it confirms the Obſervation the *Scots* Presbyterians have ſtill made, *viz.* That the High-Church Party in *England* did ſtill inflame the Differences between their Princes and them, in order to make the Civil-Government reproach and Perſecute 'em: And that this ſhou'd be done in that very year, wherein the whole Iſland was in danger by the *Spaniard*, ſhows who were the guilty Cauſes of theſe Diviſions, which encourag'd that horrid Attempt.

Mr. *Davidſon* anſwer'd this Sermon in a Book, Entitul'd Dr. *Bancroft's Raſhneſs in railing againſt the Church of Scotland*: There's nothing Material in what our Author quotes from it, but what's fully anſwer'd already. The Doctor gives his Charge in three Articles, to which he prefixes a groſs Hiſtorical Miſtake, which with all Judicious Men can't but leſſen the Reputation of what he advanceth upon it, 'About ſome ſix or ſeven years agone (*ſays he*) certain 'Men of the new Government intending the Erection of theſe Pres- 'byteries in *Scotland*, began their Parts &c.' Whereas this Deſign of Erecting Presbyteries in *Scotland* was begun ſeveral years before that time he mentions.

In his firſt Article he chargeth 'em with *inveighing againſt the Superiority of Biſhops*, here is his Quarrel with 'em indeed: They did the ſame from the year 1560. and it has been ſtill the Opi-

Part 1: nion of all the *Free Assemblies* of that Church, that Bishops are not *jure divino* superior in Office to Preaching Presbyters; but I can't see wherein this tends to the Detriment of Magistracy. And for the King's *Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical*, what they assert of it, and how agreeable their Principles about it are to all the Ends and Rights of Magistracy has been already clear'd. What they did in the Kings *Minority*, is but what all Nations in the World do, when their Kings are *Minors*, that is, they do their business the best way they can by the Assistance of a Regency. And all their Policy and Discipline begun in the King's Minority, was after many full and free Conferences between him and them firmly Established by him and the Parliament, when he came to age; they never pretended to *alter one Law* (as has been shown) and far less without Knowledge or approbation of King and State. Such false History does not become any man in any Place, but far less a Clergy-man and from the *pulpit* too, which is too Sacred to be made the Stage of such Untruths. And to our Author's Question in his Marginal Note upon it, viz. *what do they now in their Provincial Synods?* I answer, they do their own proper business for the good of Mens souls, without attempting or pretending to alter any Law of the State, or disturbing either Queen or Subject.

In his 2d Article, he says, *they discharg'd the Bishops*; for which the same Reason which justify'd their Opinion against the Superiority of Bishops, is sufficient. They use no such Terms as *Commanding the King and Council under pain of Excommunication*, tho' they did frequently Petition him in most humble manner, to that effect. 3*ly*, He says they *prescrib'd Laws for the King and State*, which is as great an Untruth as any of the former. And tho' they may set forth in their humble Supplication, that such and such particular things wou'd be an *Establishing of Iniquity by a Law*. (as his Marginal Note Insinuates) is this prescribing a Law? I suppose *our Author* and all good Protestants wou'd allow the Convocation to Address the Government, if they were about to establish *any Iniquity by a Law*; (which I hope they are too Vertuous to Attempt) and yet this cou'd not be reckon'd a prescribing of Laws to the Queen and State. If the Assembly has judg'd that to be *Iniquity*, which in truth is no Iniquity at all, that it self wou'd be *nothing to the purpose in Hand*; and the

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the discussing of that Controversy wou'd lead me clear off the present Subject: And therefore I shall say no more of it, but only insert one Paragraph of the humble Address and Apology of the Presbyterian *Ministers* and *Gentlemen* in the North of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the Representation of the *Irish* Convocation against them, wherein that matter is sufficiently clear'd. It runs thus,

'While (*a*) the Convocation asserts, that where we have the Ascendency, the constant Tenor of our Discourse is to call Toleration, *establishing Iniquity by a Law*; we beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we neither know nor remember that ever we us'd any such Expression, but find it once us'd in a Representation of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, not with *any Design* to pass that Censure upon all *Toleration* in General of such as Dissent from 'em, but only against a particular Draught of an *Act of Toleration* for Episcopal Dissenters, brought into the Parliament of that Kingdom, in the year 1703. which laid them under no Obligation of giving Security for their Fidelity to the Government, tho' many of 'em were *known Jacobites*, and continue still to be such, as appears by their praying openly for the *Pretender*, and *refusing to pray* for your most Excellent Majesty. And whether such a Toleration wou'd not have been an establishing Iniquity by Law, even in the Judgment of all your faithful Subjects of all Persuasions, we humbly submit it to your Majesty.

But to return to *Bancroft*, he misrepresents the Principles of Presbyterians, while he asserts that they maintain'd before the King, 'That 'He was an *Incompetent Judge*, and utterly disclaim'd his Authority, that for such matters as were spoken in the Pulpit, they 'ought to be exempt from the Judgment and Correction of Princes.' For they teach that the Magistrate ought to maintain the true Religion, and suppress Heresy and Idolatry; whence it necessarily follows that the Magistrate has a power of punishing Preachers of false Doctrine taught in the Pulpit as well as out of it. But the true State of the Controversy between the King and some of the Ministers was this; some of them having been cited to appear before the Privy-Council

(*a*) *vide* Present State of Religion in *Ireland*, p. 38.

Part 1. Council, on pretence of their saying something in the Pulpit which reflected on the King and the Court, they pleaded that the Faithful Exercise of their Ministry oblig'd 'em to *Reprove* Sin in the *Highest* as well as the *Meanest*; and that what they did being a Part of their *Meer Spiritual Function*, & no way relating to the King's Title to His Crown, or to his Civil Authority, Power and Jurisdiction, was Cognizable only, *Prima Instantia*, by the Ecclesiastical Judicatures of the Church. The Debate turn'd much upon the Question about their Church Establishment. But the King's Power in punishing by the Civil-Sword the Preachers of False and Scandalous Doctrine, and of his being a Competent Judge of it in order to the Exercise of that Power was not deny'd by them: But the Question was whether the Church was to judge in these matters *Prima Instantia*, or whether the Magistrate might do it before it was try'd in any Ecclesiastical Court; For, that he might do it afterwards, and punish a Presbytery or any Ecclesiastical Judicatory that give a wrong Judgment, is what *Rutherfurd* and *Gillespie* (two Zealous Presbyterians) have fully granted, as I have shown *Chap.* 1. p. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

Our Author alledgeth that Mr. *Boyse* and Mr. *Mc Bride* (two Presbyterian Ministers) do scurrilously Preach against the Constitution, the Instance he gives of the first is his *Sermon against Episcopacy* (I suppose he means the Sermon Entitul'd the *Scriptural Bishop*.) But the Debate between Mr. *B*---- and his Opponents upon that Head being in Print, I refer the Reader to what is said on both Sides. The Instance he gives of the *latter*, is his Sermon Preach'd at the Synod in *Antrim*; an Account whereof we have in the first Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the Representation of the House of Lords, in these Words. 'As (*b*) to 'the Sermon alledg'd to be Preach'd by Mr. *Mc Bride*, at a Provincial 'Synod at *Belfast*; we humbly offer, That that Sermon was Preach'd 'at *Antrim*, in the Year 1698. When the Author cou'd not be call'd 'a *Non-Juror*, the Oath of Abjuration not being then impos'd; 'That it was Printed without his Order and Knowledge, and that 'he, being on account of it called before the then Lords Justices and 'Council, was *acquitted*. But

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 28.

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But to pass our Author's Marginal Digressions, let us return to the reign of King *James* I. And here I find our Auther has very prudently wav'd giving any Account of the Behaviour of Presbyterians in *Ireland* under this Reign; for (if he is acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, upon King *James*'s Accession to the Crown of *England*) he'll soon find that the Settlement of Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland*, was one of the Chief Means of bringing that Kingdom into the Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and of Securing and Enlarging the *British* and *Protestant* Interest in *Ireland*, as will appear by the following brief account of it.

When King *James* I. came to the Crown of *England*, the Kingdom of *Ireland* in General, and the *British* and Protestant Interest there in Particular was in a very Deplorable Condition: A Tragical Series of Concurring Causes contributed to the Miseries of that unhappy Nation. The Natives had a rooted Prejudice against the *English* Government, looking upon themselves as reduc'd to a State of Slavery by *England*; and believ'd that their Antient Government by their own Kings, and their Laws, Liberties and Properties were all taken from 'em by Violence; and they had not the Right notion of the Excellency of the *English* Constitution, which is very fit for civilizing a Barbarous People. This oblig'd the *English* to have a Watchful and Jealous Eye over all the Motions of those, whom they rather found to be Implacable Enemies, than good Subjects: and therefore they transplanted as many of their own Country-men into *Ireland*, as they cou'd well spare from home, and persuade to go abroad, upon so discouraging an Enterprize.

But the *English* Settlements in *Ireland* being weaken'd by the Debates between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* about the Succession, which carry'd home divers of the *English* to assist the several Candidates, according as their interest and Party led 'em, the *Irish* got Head again. In King *Henry* 8*th*'s time, their Aversion to the *English* grew greater, upon his throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, and then their Bigotted Clergy wrought upon a blinded People, and inflam'd 'em to the greatest Height, telling them that before they had lost their Liberties and Ancient Privileges, but now their Religion (more valuable than all the Rest) was at Stake. All these Grounds of Prejudice were farther improv'd upon Queen Elzabeth's happy Accession to the

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Crown; in whose Reign the *English* were miserably harass'd, and many of 'em destroy'd in *Ireland*, by the Rebellions and Insurrections rais'd by that bloody People. And there was a Law Enacted [3. and 4. *Philip* and *Mary*] Entitul'd *An Act against bringing in of Scots, retaining of them, and Marrying with them*; which continu'd in force during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and hindred the *Scots*, from planting *Ulster* or any other part of *Ireland*: the Rebellions of the *Irish*, the Destruction of the *English*, and the keeping out the *Scots* made it a miserable Distracted Kingdom. And in this Posture of affairs King *James* found it.

That Prince finding that he cou'd neither Levy the Rents and Revenues of the Crown, nor execute the Ordinary Course of Justice, nor Protect such of his Subjects as were faithful there, without Military Force, endeavor'd to Civilize the Barbarous Natives, and win them by acts of Grace and Lenity; and therefore restor'd some of the most Considerable of the *Irish* Rebels to their Estates and Inheritances. But this Experiment had not the Desir'd Issue. For soon after follow'd the Ungrateful and Traiterous Rebellion of the Earl of *Tyrone*, and *Sr Cahir O Doghtirtie* and their Accomplices, which made a Considerable addition to these Miseries under which the Nation lay groaning, when he came to the Throne. The Parliament of *Ireland*, (11, 12, *and* 13 *Jac.* 1. *Cap.* 4.) past an *Act for the Attainder of* Hugh *late Earl of* Tyrone, Rory *Late Earl of* Tyrconnel, *Sr* Cahir O Doghirtie *and others*, wherein there is this Remarkable Expression, that gives a most Authentic Proof of the Weakness of the Protestant and British Interest in *Ireland* at that time; the Words are, 'It may please your most Excellent Majesty of your 'Gracious Disposition, which your Highness doth bear towards the 'SETTLING OF THIS UNREFORMED KINGDOM" The Parliament then look'd upon *Ireland* to be an *Unreform'd* and an *Unsettled* Kingdom.

Many Projects were set on foot for the settling and Reforming of it, and among others, that same Parliament that had so feelingly express'd its Miseries, and who were the best Judges of proper Expedients for remedying them, past an Act (Chap. 6.) for *repealing the Act against bringing in of* Scots, *retaining of them, and Marrying with them*; and thereby gave a *public PARLIAMENTARY Encouragement* and *Invitation* to the *Scots* Nation to come and plant *Ireland*

land, and to promote the Settlement and Reformation thereof. And tho'divers of the *Scots* had come over before the passing of the aforesaid *Act*, conceiving hopes that their own Natural Prince wou'd take care to have such a Law past in due time, yet we must date the Commencement of the most considerable Attempts of the *Scots* for the Plantation of *Ulster*, from that Law; after which, there came over *many Thousands* of 'em in a few years, and settled in *Ulster*. They brought along with them their Presbyterian Principles, which they had learn'd at home, and encourag'd Ministers of their own Persuasion to settle amongst 'em. The first Minister of that Persuasion (of the *Scots* Nation) I have heard of was the Reverend Mr. *Edward Bryce*, who settled in *Broadisland* in the County of *Antrim*, *Anno* 1611. And about the same time, or very soon after it, we have an Account of the Reverend Mr. *Robert Cunningham* in *Hollywood*, in the County of *Down*. And there were three Ministers who came from *England*, and were Contemporary with Mr. *Brice* and Mr. *Cunningham*, viz. Mr. *John Ridges* of *Antrim*, and Mr. *Henry Calvert*, and Mr. *Hubbard* of *Carrickfergus*, who had been a Pupil under the great *Cartwright* in *England*. He was encourag'd by the Lord *Chichester*, then Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, who himself had been a Pupil of *Cartwright*'s too; and was a Man of great Parts, had got a considerable Estate in *Ireland*, and was amongst the first Planters of *Ulster* in this Reign, and an Encourager and Favorer of the Puritans, finding it for the Interest of the Crown and Kingdom to have the Country Planted with Protestant Inhabitants. Mr. *Ridge* and Mr. *Calvert* were encourag'd by the Family of the *Clotworthy*'s of *Antrim* upon the same Principles, and especially being themselves of that Persuasion. Part 1.

In the Year 1622. the famous Mr. *Robert Blair* came from *Scotland*, and was ordain'd Minister of *Bangor*, in the County of *Down*; he was Encourag'd by the Lord *Clancboy*, Son to a Presbyterian Minister in *Scotland*, who had been a *Fellow* in the Colledge of *Dublin*, reported to have been Tutor to the great *Usher*, was now become a Lord, and possess'd of a great Estate; and a great Encourager of the Plantation of *Ulster*, and who saw a necessity of Encouraging the Presbyterians upon his Estate, otherwise the Country must have remain'd a Wilderness. His own Nephew Mr. *James Hamilton*, became Presbyterian Minister of *Ballywalter*, and Mr. *John Livingston* (a Man of singular Learning and Piety) came soon after into the Ministry

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and was settled in the Parish of *Killinshy*, with divers others, in the County of *Down*. And in the County of *Antrim*, were settled about this time) Mr. *Josias Welsh* at *Templepatriek* Son to the great *John Welsh*, and Grandson of *Knox* the Reformer, and Mr. *George Dumbar* at *Larn* with divers others in that County.

The mutual Moderation of the different Denominations of the Protestants of *Ireland* at that time, was a great help to the Settlement and Plantation of *Ulster*; of which I shall give several Instances, which I wish may be duly consider'd by their Successors. When Mr. *Robert Blair* was presented to the Parish of *Bangor* by the Lord *Claneboy*, the difficulty that stuck with him was how he cou'd be ordain'd, for he was a Zealous Presbyterian, and *scrupled* to receive *Episcopal Ordination* according to the establish'd Form. The Lord *Claneboy*, brought him into Company with the then Bishop of *Down*, viz. Bishop *Ecclin*; and the Bishop and Mr. *Blair* had a free Conference upon that Subject, and at last Compromis'd the matter thus. The Bishop propos'd that Mr. *Robert Cuningham*, and the other Ministers of Mr. *Blair*'s Persuasion, who were in the Country shou'd concur with him in the Ordination; and that he (*i. e.* the Bishop) being acknowledg'd by Mr. *Blair* to be a Presbyter, and as such to have Power of Ordination in Conjunction with other Presbyters, shou'd join with 'em in that Act; and that all those things which Mr. *Blair* scrupled at in the establish'd Form of Ordination shou'd be laid aside, and the Expressions in it he excepted against exchang'd for others to be concerted with his own Consent and Approbation. This Proposal Mr. *Blair* readily consented to, and in pursuance of it was ordain'd Publickly in the manner agreed upon in the Church of *Bangor*; finding nothing in it repugnant to his Principles and Conscience, and hoping that this might happily *Contribute* to the *Union* of Protestants in order to the preserving and promoting the Infant-Plantation of *Ulster*, and for laying a good Foundation for rooting out the Principles of Popery and Rebellion, which had been so industriously kept up by the *Irish* Natives. All these of the same Persuasion who were ordain'd in *Ireland* between that time and the Year 1642. were ordain'd after the same Method; and particularly Mr. *John Livingstone* hath left a full Narrative of his Conference with *Knox* Bishop of *Raphoe*, who join'd with the Presbyterian Ministers in his Ordination. And all of them, (*Blair* and all the rest) enjoyed the Churches and Tithes, tho' they remain'd Presbyterian still, and us'd not the Liturgy, and there

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was a Civil Comprehenſion of them, and a ſort of an Eccleſiaſtical Comprehenſion too; for they frequently met and Conſulted with the Biſhop about Affairs of Common Concernment to the Intereſt of Religion, and ſome of 'em were Members of the Convocation in the Year 1634.

Theſe Miniſters kept a *Monthly Meeting* at *Antrim*, wherein four of them uſually preach'd in one day, and they commonly ſpent two days at theſe Meetings in Preaching and ſolemn Humiliation, by Prayer and faſting, for the Sins of the Land; and then conſulted amongſt themſelves of the beſt Methods for Cheriſhing Piety in their ſeveral Congregations, and for the Propagation of it thro' the whole Country, and for the Extirpation of Popery: wherein God was pleas'd to bleſs 'em with Admirable Succeſs in a few Years. A very Coarſe People were brought in by their Miniſtry, not only to be wonderfully Civiliz'd, but by a Powerful Bleſſing upon the Goſpel, great Numbers of 'em became ſerious Chriſtians; and from all parts of the Country reſorted to theſe Monthly Meetings, and to the Quarterly Communions then in uſe. For Mr. *Blair* and Mr. *Cuningham* ſoon Concerted between themſelves to give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *each of them four times* a year, and adjuſted the Times of the Celebration of it, ſo as the *Greateſt Number* of their Pariſhioners, who were *Proficients* in *Religion* Communicated in both their Churches, upon all theſe Occaſions, which was once in ſix or ſeven Weeks. And the other Miniſters found ſo great Comfort & ſo much divine Aſſiſtance in their Work, as encouraged them likewiſe to a Deſireable Frequency in the Adminiſtration of that ſolemn Ordinance. They employed themſelves in their Miniſterial Work with Indefatigable Diligence, to the Approbation of all the *Moderate* and Sober *Epiſcopalians*; and particularly of the Great *Uſher*, with whom Mr *Blair* was well acquainted, and from whom he and his other Brethren had great Applauſe.

And many of them were in high Eſteem amongſt the People of Diſtinction and of the beſt Station then in *Ulſter*, and their Miniſtry *much* regarded, and attended upon even by *theſe* who had *freedom* in their Conſciences to *conform* to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Eſtabliſh'd* Church, one Inſtance whereof (to mention no more) was in Mr. *Blair*'s Preaching before the Judges of Aſſize (at the deſire of the

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Bishop of *Down*) upon the Lords-day which happen'd to be Easter-Sunday, upon which the Judges were to receive the Sacrament; he preach'd to 'em before Noon that day, and on the Saturnday before; had not clearness to Communicate kneeling, upon which the Curate of the Place perform'd the Office, according to the Liturgy; And Mr. *Blair* was sent for on the Lords day in the Evening by one of the Judges, who made him *repeat* the *Heads* of his *Sermon*, discours'd him *seriously* about the Covenant of Redemption, which had been the Subject of it, and spoke with great Regard to Mr. *Blair*, and the Methods us'd by him and his Brethren in the Exercise of their Ministry, and express'd a Cordial Willingness to be under such a Ministry, which, he perceiv'd, was favor'd by so much of God's Countenance.

The Providence of God was very remarkable in promoting this Plantation of *Ulster* by means of the *hard Treatment* of Presbyterians at *that time* both in *England* and *Scotland*; for Persecution drove many of 'em from both Kingdoms into *Ireland*. And *those* who gave too much way to their ill Treatment at *home*, found it for the *public* Safety of *Ireland* and the Protestant Religion, to protect them there.

And 'tis very Remarkable, that after the Principles and Behavior of the same Presbyterians who came into *Ulster* were publickly known, even as long after as in the *tenth* Year of the Reign of K. *Charles* I. the Parliament of *Ireland* made an Act (*Cap* 4) *for the Naturalization of all the Scottish Nation, which were Ante-Nati, born before his late Majesty King James, &c. happy Access to the Crown of England and Ireland*; and the very Design of that Act was to give farther Encouragement to some of the *Scots* who had come over before, and for want of being Naturaliz'd, were liable to divers Inconveniencies mention'd therein, and to Encourage more *Scots* to come over, and they particularly set forth the usefulness of the *Scots* for promoting the Happiness of the Kingdom, in these Memorable Words, 'It being a great Discouragement and Disheartning unto many of your said Subjects 'of *Scotland*, that otherwise wou'd have *planted themselves here, for* 'the further CIVILIZING, STRENGTHNING, and SECURING 'this your Highness said Realm, against *Rebels at home*, and *all Foreign Invasion*.

Here is one of the most ample Testimonies (and from the Parliament too) of the Loyalty and Usefulness of the *Scots* Planters in *Ulster*

ster, that they or any Body cou'd desire; and whoever compares this with the State and Condition in which they found the Country, when they came to it, must acknowledge the Justice of the Observation, made by the *Presbyterian* Ministers of the North of *Ireland*, in their first Apology to Her Majesty, wherein they say; Part I.

'We crave leave with all Humility to observe to your Majesty, that 'since our first Settlement in *Ulster*, an hundred Years ago, by En- 'couragement from the Crown, the *British* and *Protestant* Interest, 'which was very weak before, has been considerably strengthen'd 'by our Means, to that Degree, as to have a great Influence on the 'Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom, of which your Royal 'Predecessors have been very sensible.

I doubt not but the Reader will expect that I shou'd satisfy him, how I came by the Materials of this short Narrative I have given of the first Settlement and Progress of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* in this Reign, having quoted no Printed History for some Parts of it. As to the Acts of Parliament I have mention'd, these will speak for themselves; and the publick Histories do all so unanimously agree upon the State of *Ireland*, as I have represented it in the beginning of this Reign, that he must be very Ignorant that doubts it. And for other Parts of the Narrative, I have them from a Manuscript-History of the first Settlement and Progress of Presbyterians in *Ulster*, wrote by the late Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Presbyterian Minister in *Belfast*. That Reverend Divine had all the Advantages that any Man in his time cou'd be suppos'd to have for coming to the exact Knowledge of the Facts he relates: for he himself was ordain'd *May 7th* in the Year *1646*, about 24 Years only after Mr. *Blair* was ordain'd, and was personally acquainted with him. He had the Advantage also of a Manuscript-History of Mr. *Blair*'s Life, written by Mr. *Blair* himself, giving the same Account; which I have perus'd carefully, and find an exact Harmony between 'em. Mr. *Adair* was a great Intimate and (in some respect) a Disciple of the Famous Mr. *John Livingstone*, who has likewise left us a Manuscript-History of his Life. I have seen it too, and find it exactly agree both with Mr. *Blair* and Mr. *Adair*.

Mr. *Adair* himself lived near 50 years in the Ministry, and by his long Experience had great Opportunities of making Judicious Obser-

vation

Part I.

vations upon the History of the Times; especially if we consider, that during that whole time he was constantly employ'd by his Brethren, in all their Affairs of Moment and Intricacy; was often in Conference with the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, with *Monk*, *Venables*, and the most considerable of the Usurper's Party, and with *Henry Cromwell* himself; being call'd by all these to appear before 'em, and still asserted the King's Right (as shall appear in it's proper place.) He was frequently a Commissioner from the Presbyterians to the Duke of *Ormond*, and other Chief Governors of *Ireland*, after the Restauration; And was sent over by all his Brethren in the North of *Ireland* in 1688, with their Address to the Prince of ORANGE, and staid at Court for some time: And by these means had the Honour of Acquaintance with many Noblemen and Gentlemen; and was richly furnish'd, thro' the whole Course of his Ministry, with the best of Materials for Composing such a Work. Besides, he had Assistance from some who were Compiling such an History, before he attempted it, and particularly from Mr. *John Greg* Presbyterian Minister in *Newton*, and Mr. *Andrew Stuart* Presbyterian Minister in *Donnaghadee*, who made some Progress in the Work; and were Men of great Sagacity, Judgment, and Veracity, as many yet alive can Testify. He had the Benefit of the Conversation and Observations of three old Ministers, viz. The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hall* of *Lairn*, Mr. *Anthony Kennedy* of *Templepatrick*, and Mr. *Robert Cunningham* of *Broad-Island*, *who all survived the late Happy Revolution*, and were as Old Ministers as Mr. *Adair* himself. And their Characters are all so well known to many Gentlemen of Worth of all Persuasions, as 'twou'd be needless to say any thing in *Proof* of their very great Sincerity.

Add to all this the Excellent Character of Mr. *Adair* himself, who was a Man of *great* Natural *Parts* and *Wisdom*, Eminent *Piety* and *Exemplary* Holiness, great Ministerial Gravity and *Authority*, Endued with *Savory* and most Edifying *Gifts* for his Sacred Function, wherein he was Laborious, Painful, and Faithful; was a Constant, Curious, and Accurate Observer of all Public Occurrences; and with all these Rare Qualities, had not only the *Blood* and *Descent*, but the *Spirit* and just *Decorum* of a *Gentleman*.

If all these things be Compar'd, and duly weigh'd, I think I may Adventure to say, that its morally Impossible we shou'd be led into Mist-

Mistakes by what *Accounts* are taken from that Manuscript-History; And I know nothing that can be said, for questioning its Veracity, but that Mr. *Adair*, Mr. *Blair*, and Mr. *Livingstone* were Presbyterian Ministers; which carries in it a most *Uncharitable* Insinuation, as if *all* the *Honesty* in the *World* were *Confin'd* to *one* Persuasion. And if it be Undeynable, That there are several Ingenuous Popish Historians, who deserve Credit, even in the Facts they relate concerning the Church of *Rome*, he must be a *very Sceptic*, who will refuse the Testimony of these Worthy *Protestant* Divines, of such Establish'd Characters amongst all who knew them. Part 1.

I have been the Larger in shewing the Credit due to this Manuscript-History, because I shall have Occasion afterwards to refer to it. The History it self contains a Curious Collection of some very surprizing Affairs, and perhaps may be expos'd to a *Public* View in due time.

CHAP.

PART II.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians from the beginning of the Reign of King *CHARLES* I. To this present Year *MDCCXIII.*

CHAP. I.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King CHARLES I.

THERE are three Instances adduc'd by our Author, and insisted upon in both his Pamphlets, to prove Presbyterians guilty of the height of Disloyalty in this Reign. *viz.* 1. Their taking Part with the Long Parliament against the King, which he calls Rebellion. 2. Their opposing Duke *Hamilton*'s Engagement for rescuing the King out of the hands of the Sectaries, and for saving his life. And 3*ly*, The Execrable *Murther* of the King, as the worst of all; with all which he charges them.

What I shall be oblig'd to offer for clearing these three points, will give

Part 2.

give an Impartial and Distinct Account not only of their Conduct and Loyalty, but of several very Material Parts of the History of these Kingdoms, without which the Behavior of Presbyterians can't be set in a true light.

As to the first, *viz.* the Civil War between King *Charles* I. and the Long Parliament, I shall not give my own opinion in that Matter, but represent to the Reader the Reasons on both Sides, leaving him to form a Judgment for himself. The most *Impartial* way I can think of for stating the Debate, is, to give the Reasons of a very Learn'd Prelate, who thinks that War to have been a Rebellion on the Part of the Parliament and their Abettors: And on the other hand to insert the Reasons of the Author of a very Celebrated Paper, who is of the Contrary Opinion. The first is the present Bishop of *Sarum*, who in his speech on the first Article of the Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverel* says,

'I go next to shew what was the Common Doctrine for the next '60 years, from 1628, to 1688. I must yield up the first 12 years; 'For upon the Unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and that 'Parliament, there was a *long Discontinuance* of Parliaments, then the 'lately condemn'd Doctrine was again in vogue; and nothing was *so 'much heard of*, as the Law of Government which was from God, An-'tecedent to all Human Laws: Out of this sprung *Illegal Imprison-'ments*, Illegal *Monopolies*, *Severe Proceedings* in the *Star Chamber*, but '*above all* the Ship-Mony. These things put the Nation in an *Uni-'versal Disjointing* and Feebleness. And when an unavoidable Necessi-'ty forced the King to call a Parliament, the fatal Effects of those 'Councils broke out terribly. I know many fancy, that the War is 'to be charg'd on the Principles of Self-Defence; they are much 'mistaken, I had Occasion to see a great way into the Secret 'of that time, when I examin'd the Papers relating to the two Dukes 'of *Hamilton*. I knew a great dealm ore since from two Persons of 'Unquestionable Integrity, who knew the Secrets of that time, the 'Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*; but all receiv'd a full Con-'firmation, when I found it agreed perfectly with the noble account 'given by the Earl of *Clarendon*.

'No Body dream'd of a War, nor had they any principles leading 'to it. But there was an unhappy Train of Accidents that hinder'd

'Matters from being brought to Settlement, even while the King 'was granting all they cou'd desire. Stories were carried by Persons 'about both the King and Queen, of Words let fall, that made them 'conclude, there were still ill designs on Foot, against the Laws that 'were then pass'd. But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the 'Discovery of a Negociation, to engage the Army to declare a-'gainst the Parliament. Whosoever compares the Depositions in '*Rushworth* with the account of that matter by the Earl of *Clarendon*, 'will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is 'willing to believe; tho' he acknowledges they had both *Goring*'s 'Evidence, and *Piercy*'s Letter with them. I will not take it upon 'me to determine, whether they believ'd too much, or the Earl of '*Clarendon* too little. It is certain they believ'd all that was in the 'Depositions and a great deal more: For *Goring*, being continu'd in 'the Government of *Ports-mouth*, and his Father being advanc'd from 'being a Baron to be an Earl, and *Piercy*'s being made a Lord and 'Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*, made them conclude 'they had suppress'd a great deal, instead of saying more than was 'true. This stuck deep in their Hearts, and at last fatally broke out 'in the Demand of the Militia, that brought on the War, which I 'do own was plainly a *Rebellion*, because a force was offer'd to the 'King, not to defend themselves from an unjust Invasion, or Ille-'gal Grievances, but to extort a new Law from him.

'Thus the true Occasion of the War, was a Jealousie, that a Con-'duct of 15 Years had given too much Ground for; and that was 'still unhappily kept up, by a fatal Train of Errors, in every step 'that was made.

Besides these Reasons, all the Reasons that are usually advanc'd for Passive Obedience and Non-resistance were offer'd, to show the Unlawfulness of that War. But the Reader must excuse me for omitting them here; because that sort of Reasons is now universally rejected by those, who assert the Legality of the late happy Revolution in 1688. And were given up by Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Council in his Tryal as I have shown Part 1. Chap 1. p. 15. & the debate about the Civil War does not now turn upon that Point, but meerly upon this hinge, whether there was sufficient Cause for the Parliament and the Subjects under their Conduct to take up Defensive Arms against the Arbitrary

bitrary Courſes of that Reign, and the Invaſions made upon their Religion and Liberties by the Prerogative. That there were ſuch Violations of Liberty as were very heavy Grievances, is acknowledg'd on all Sides, but that they were ſo great as to Juſtify a War, is denied by the one Party, and affirm'd by the other. Part 2.

Of all thoſe who have embrac'd the Affirmative of this Queſtion, I don't find any who gives ſo clear a State of the Caſe, as the Author of a late Celebrated Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *Faults on both Sides.* He gives his opinion in theſe Words,(*a*)

'It is neither in my Inclination or Purpoſe, to vindicate any of 'thoſe many ill things that were acted in the Proſecution of that Ci- 'vil War; but ſince my Lord *Clarendon* himſelf *fairly acknowledgeth*, 'That that Prince was miſled into many Miſtakes in the Conduct of 'his Government, we may modeſtly ſay, that 'twas the proper buſi- 'neſs of the Parliament to inſiſt upon a *thorough Reformation* of all that 'had been done amiſs, and to OBTAIN SUCH LAWS as might '*Effectually* ſecure the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the People from the '*like Invaſions* for the future: If the King, at firſt, *adher'd* to the 'Advice of thoſe who diſſuaded him from giving ſuch ſatisfaction 'to his Parliament, as he wou'd have yielded to at laſt; and if he 'was perſuaded to decide the Diſpute by the Sword, and to begin 'it by Diſplaying his Standard of War againſt his People, *what 'cou'd then remain* for them to chuſe, but either to *give* up for *ever* 'all their *Rights* and *Liberties*, and to ſubmit themſelves and their 'Poſterity to be *govern'd by the Will and Pleaſure of all their future 'Kings*: Or, to reſolve to defend their Ancient Laws and Privileges to the utmoſt, and to oppoſe Force with Force?

'There is, doubtleſs, a true Diſtinction to be made between a '*Rebellion* and a *Civil War*; the firſt is Notorious, when Subjects 'take up arms againſt *Lawful Governors Lawfully Governing*; but 'when a Prince *violates* the Eſtabliſh'd *Laws* of the Nation, *raiſes* 'Taxes by his *own* Authority contrary to the known Rules of the 'Conſtitution, *invades* the *Liberties* of his Subjects by *Illegal* Impri- 'ſonments, unjuſt *Proſecutions* and other *Grievous* Oppreſſions, *per-*

(*a*) P. 4, 5.

Part 2.

'*fists* in such *Arbitrary* Acts of Government for a course of Years; if a People can find *no other* Means to preserve their most valuable Interests, but by having Recourse to the last Remedy, and shall *take up Arms* to Compel such a Prince to *restore* their *Rights*, and reform his *ill Government*; 'tis evident, from the Histories of the Civil Wars of *France* and other Countries, that grave and impartial Historians have *not thought fit* to treat this way of opposing the Unlawful Usurpation of Princes with the *Odious name of Rebellion*; and 'tis observ'd, that our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts pass'd after the Restoration, in Relation to the preceeding War between the King and Parliament, they *wou'd never give it the name of Rebellion*, doubtless out of the Consideration that it behov'd 'em to keep up the Sanction of the Parliamentary Authority; and that *that War was Authoriz'd* by a *legal Parliament*, who had Right to vindicate the Liberty of the Nation.

'The Names of Reproach, which pass'd in these Times, were *Cavalier* for these who sided with the King, and *Roundheads* for such as took part with the Parliament: Now if the Intention of the latter were no other than to bring the evil Counsellors to condign Punishment, to prevail with the King to comply in a just settlement of their Civil and Religious Liberties; and then to restore him to the *Regal State* under *such Limitations* as might *secure* them from any *future Invasions* of their Rights and Priviledges, (and this I believe, was the GENERAL DESIGN of *those that took up Arms at first*) I see no reason why these *Roundheads* shou'd lie under a harder Censure for what they Acted at that time, than may be *imputed* to *our selves* for what *we* have done in the late HAPPY REVOLUTION, for the Rescuing our Laws and Religion from the Violations of the late King *James*.

'Hitherto you will say I have argu'd like a *Whig*, but I shall soon shew you that I am not inclin'd to be Partial. When this very Reforming Party had reduc'd the Forces of the King, and 'twas in their Power to have put a good end to the War, they fell into Factions and Divisions among themselves, and many of those that had Eminently distinguish'd themselves and gain'd the Applause of the People, enter'd into designs to advance their own Grandeur; the *great Officers of the Army* form'd *Cabals* in the House of Commons

'mons, who by their Strength and Interest *violated the Rights of* Part 2.
'*Parliament*, by imprisoning several of their fellow-Members with-
'out just Cause, and excluded such as oppos'd their sinister Designs,
'without filling the House with New Elections; so that they became
'no true Representative of the People, and carry'd on all their ex-
'travagant Actions afterwards by a small number of their own Fa-
'ction: In short, when the King was at last brought to yield to
'such Terms as might have settled the Nation in Peace, they *rejected*
'*all manner of Accomodation* with him, *hurried him to the Block*, usurp'd
'the Regal Power, kept up the Army to support their own Tyran-
'ny, oppress'd the People with illegal exactions, and rul'd the three
'Nations by the Sword; and if those who Style the whole a Rebel-
'lion, had but *distinguish'd* between the *Commencement* of the Civil
'War, and the *time* when *these* Actions were perpetrated, I shall be
'content to allow them that Term, or even a worse if they cou'd in-
'vent it.

That the Reader may be able to judge whether the Reasons of the last mention'd Author, or of the Bishop of *Sarum*, be of greatest Weight, it will be proper for him to observe that those who defend the Parliament's War against the King do alledge, that his Reign consisted not of *some few* single Acts; but of a *constant Series* of Male-Administration, to the *Endangering* of the Protestant Religion, the *subverting* of the Priviledges of Parliament, and the *Overthrow* of the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects: And that *all possible means* on their Part were us'd for the Redress of those Grievances, but to no purpose; that the Intrigues of his Prime Favorites and the Prevalency of evil Council put the Parliament and Nation under the unhappy necessity of defending their Rights by the Sword, as the last and only means of their Self-preservation.

One main Cause of the People's Grievances in Religion under his Reign, was his Marrying a *Bigotted Papist*, upon such base and *Dishonourable* Articles confirm'd by his Oath, as *inevitably* open'd a Door to a Popish Interest and Council with all its mischievous effects both in Church and State. This unfortunate Prince was led into this snare by his Father, who us'd all his Incerest for promoting the *Spanish* Match, in the Articles whereof there were many things *highly* prejudicial to the *Protestant* and favorable to the *Popish* Religion.

The

The *Roman-Catholick Apostolic Religion*, and the *Holy Roman Church*, were too lofty Epithets for a Protestant Prince to Swear to, as he did in the 2 and 8 Articles. By the *6th* Article, not only the *Infanta* 'her self, but also her Men-Servants and Maid-Servants, and *their* 'Servants Children and Descendants, and *all* their Families of what 'sort soever serving her Highness might be freely and publickly Ca-'tholicks." The 5, 7, and 8, provide her a Church, Chappel and Oratory, with all Popish Ornaments. The *10th* allows her 24 Priests and Assistants to serve in them; and over them a Bishop or his Vicar, (*by the* 11) with full Authority and Jurisdiction: who 'only may pro-'ceed (by the *15th Article*) against Ecclesiastical Persons as *hath been* '*accustomed by Catholicks*: And if any Secular Judge shall apprehend any 'Ecclesiastical Person for any offence, he shall *forthwith Cause* him to 'be deliver'd to the aforesaid *Superior Ecclesiastic*, who shall proceed 'against him *according to the Canon-Law*. By the 13, the *Infanta* and 'her Servants might procure from *Rome* Dispensations, Indulgences, 'Jubilees, and all Graces as shall seem meet to their Religion and 'Consciences. By the *16th*, the Laws made against Catholicks in '*England*, or in any other Kingdom of the King of *Great-Britain* 'shall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and tho' they be 'Catholicks, they shall not lose their Right of Succession to the King-'dom and Dominions of Great Britain". The *Infanta* must chuse the very Nurses for their Children of the Marriage by the *17th*, & which is more, the Children must be brought up in *her Company*, at the least, until the *Age of Ten Years*, by the *20th*. By the 22d, The King, Prince, and Council must Swear to all the Articles, and endeavour, if possible to have them *Establish'd by Parliament*. And by the *23d*, All was 'to 'be *allow'd* and *approv'd* of by the Pope, that *he* may *give* an *Apostol-'ical Benediction*". In a Word, there is not one of all the 23 Articles, but what is in favor of the Popish Religion and Interest, and yet all Sworn to by the King, Prince and Council, as appears by the Forms of their several Oaths recorded in *Rushworth*'s Collections, together with the Articles themselves at large (*b*)

Besides all these, there were other private *Articles*, Sworn to by the King, Prince and Council, in favor of the Papists, which *Rushworth*,

(*b*) Part 1. p. 86, 87, 88, 89.

worth (Ibid.) mentioneth, the most Material Clauses whereof, are these, ' 1. That particular Laws made against the Roman Catholicks ' ——— as likewise General Laws——— which are repugnant ' to the Romish Religion, *shall not at any time hereafter*, by *any means* ' or Chance whatsoever *directly* or *indirectly be Commanded to be put in* ' *Execution* against the said Roman Catholicks; And we will cause ' that our Council shall take the same Oath, so far as it pertains to ' them, and belongs to the Execution, which by the hands of their ' Ministers is to be exercis'd. Part 2:

' 2. That *no other* Laws shall be made *anew* against the said Ro- ' man Catholicks, but that there shall be a *perpetual Toleration* of the ' Roman Catholic Religion, &c.

' 3. That neither by us, nor any other interpos'd Person directly ' or indirectly, privately or publicly, will we treat (or attempt) any ' thing with the most Renown'd Lady *Infanta Donna Maria* which ' shall be repugnant to the Roman Catholic-Religion, neither will ' we *by any means perswade* her that she shou'd *ever renounce or* relin- ' quish the same, &c.

' 4. That we and the Prince of *Wales* will *interpose our Authority*, ' and will do *as much as in us shall lye*, that the Parliament shall rati- ' fy all and singular Articles in favor of the Roman-Catholics——,and ' Revoke and Abrogate particular Laws made against the said Ro- ' man Catholics——— as likewise the General Laws ——— repugnant ' to the Roman Catholick-Religion &c.

In the *Prince*'s Oath *confirming* these Articles, let the following Words be remark'd, ' Moreover I *Charles* Prince of *Wales* engage my ' self ------ That all those things which are contain'd in the forgo- ' ing Articles, and concern as well the *Suspension* as the Abrogation ' of *all Laws* made against the Romon Catholicks, shall WITHIN ' THREE YEARS INFALLIBLY TAKE EFFECT, and *sooner if* ' *it be possible*, which we will have to lie upon *our Conscience* and *Roy-* ' *al Honour*. That I will intercede with——my *Father*, that the *Ten* ' *Years* of the Education of the Children which shall be born of this ' Marriage ---- (which Term the *Pope* of *Rome* desires to have Pro- ' rogu'd to *twelve years*) may be *lenghthen'd to the said Term*. And I ' ------ swear, that if it so happen that the entire Power of disposing ' of this matter be devolv'd to me, I will also grant and approve ' the said Term. Furthermore--- *as often* as the *Infanta* shall re-

quire

Part 2.

'require that I shou'd give ear to Divines and others whom her 'Highness shall be pleas'd to employ in matters of the Roman Ca-'tholick Religion, I will *HEARKEN TO THEM WILLINGLY* 'without *all Difficulty*, and *laying aside all excuse* &c.

Compare all this with the Letters between the *Pope*, *King*, and *Prince* upon *that* Subject; and consider that Clause of the Prince's Letter to the Pope (*c*) 'Your Holiness Conjecture of our desire to 'Contract an Alliance & Marriage with a Catholick Family and Prin-'cess is agreeable both to *your Wisdom and Charity*: for we cou'd ne-'ver *desire so vehemently* to be join'd in a strict and Indissoluble Bond 'with any Mortal whatsoever, *whose Religion we hated*; therefore 'your Holiness may be assur'd that we are and always will be of '*that Moderation*, as to *abstain* from such Actions, which *may testify* 'our Hatred against the Roman-Catholic Religion.

Both Houses of Parliament *Anno* 1623. in their joynt Address to the King say, (*d*) 'The humble Advice of us your Obedient Sub-'jects we joyntly offer from both Houses, *No one Person there dissenting* '*or Disagreeing from the Rest*---That the Treaties both for the *Marriage* '& the *Palatinate may not any longer be continu'd* with the *honor* of your 'Majesty, the *Safety* of your People, the *Welfare* of your Children and 'Posterity, as also the *assistance* of your Ancient Allies & Confede-'rates". And in their Reasons for this *Address* they say, 'The Spa-'niards taking advantage of the Prince's being in *Spain*, importun'd 'a General Connivance of Religion, to the Diminution of the King's 'Sovereignty, and to the Discouragement of all his well-affected 'Subjects. And thus they have labor'd with the Pope, being of 'Mischievous Consequence. During this Treaty the Popish Faction 'hath mightily encreas'd.

In their next Address by their Committee in answer to his Speech they say (*e*) 'The Weal and Safety whereof (*i. e.* of *England*) is 'in our judgments apparently threatned, if your Majesty's Resoluti-'ons for Dissolving of the Treaties now in question be longer de-'ferr'd". The King was prevail'd with to Dissolve these Treaties, which

(*c*) *Rushworth* Collect. Part. 1. p. 82. 83. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 128.
(*e*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 135.

Part 2.

'which occasion'd Bonfires Ringing of Bells, and great Joy in *London*. (*f*)

The Parliament, being resolv'd to strike the Iron while 'twas hot, prepar'd a smart Petition against Popish Recusants, exactly opposite to the Articles of the *Spanish* Match; which the King in his Letter to Secretary *Conway* calls, a *Stinging Petition* against the Papists. In which this is one clause, (*g*) 'Seeing we are thus happily deliver'd 'from that danger, which those Treaties now Dissolv'd, and that 'use which your ill-affected Subjects made thereof, wou'd certainly 'have drawn upon us, and cannot but foresee and fear lest the like 'may hereafter happen, and inevitably bring such Perils to your Ma-'jesty's Kingdoms; we are most humble Suitors to your Gracious 'Majesty, to *secure the Hearts of your good* Subjects by the Engage-'ment of your Royal word unto them, that upon *no Occasion* of Mar-'riage or Treaty or *other Requests* from any Foreign Prince or States 'whatsoever, you will *take off*, and slacken the Execution of your 'Laws against the Popish Recusants.

The Parliament *Anno* 1621. gave sufficient Warning of those Mischiefs and danger to Religion by *any such Match*: The Commons in their Address (*h*) to him say, 'finding how ill, your Majesty's 'Goodness hath been requited by Princes of Different Religion, who 'even in time of Treaty have taken opportunity to advance their 'own ends, *tending to the Subversion of* Religion——: by reason where-'of your *ill affected* Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have taken 'too much Encouragement, and are dangerously encreas'd in their 'Number, and in their Insolencies". In this address they give 14 Causes of great and growing Mischiefs in the Kingdom, whereof the *7th.* is, 'The Expectations of the Popish Recusants of the Match 'with *Spain*, and feeding themselves with great Hopes of the Con-'sequences thereof'. They propose *ten* Remedies of the Evils they fear'd from these Causes, whereof the *6th* is, 'That to frustrate 'their Hopes for a future Age, our most Noble Prince may be *timely* 'and *happily* married to *one of our* own Religion.

(*f*) Id, *Ibid.* p. 128. (*g*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 142.
(*h*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 40.

Part 2.

In all the *Intrigues* of *this* Match, declar'd by *divers* Parliaments to be *dangerous to Religion*, & the *Kingdom*, King *Charles* 1*st* (then Prince of *Wales*) was as deeply concern'd as his *Letters*, Oaths and Promises above mention'd cou'd make him, being early ensnar'd by his Father's Favorites.

This Match being broke off, there is another immediately set on foot with *France*, which took effect, and produc'd all the Mischiefs, which these wise Parliaments above mention'd did foresee. Of which *Rushworth* says (*i*) 'The *French* enlarg'd their demands in favor of Papists (as the *Spaniards* did do before them) and strain'd the King 'to the Concession of such Immunities, as he had promis'd to his 'Parliament, he wou'd never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign 'Princes.

'The Cardinal *Richelieu* —— being appointed to the Management of the Treaty, assur'd the Catholicks of *Great-Britain*, that 'the *most Christian King* remembring that he was born and rais'd up 'no less for the Propagation of the Catholic Cause than for the Enlargement of his own Dominions, was resolv'd to obtain *honorable* 'Terms for *Religion*, or *never to conclude* the Match: and for his own 'part, such was his Compassion towards them, that if he might 'work their Deliverance, or better their Condition, not only with 'Counsel, Interest & Authority, but with his life and Blood, he wou'd 'gladly do it. ——

'In *August* the Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were sworn unto by King *James*, Prince *Charles*, and the 'French King. The Articles concerning Religion were not much 'short of these for the *Spanish* Match'. The private Articles of it besides what was common to it and the *Spanish* Match were (*k*) 'That the *Catholicks* as well Ecclesiasticks as Temporal, imprison'd 'since the last Proclamation which follow'd the breach with *Spain*, 'shou'd be *set at Liberty*, and that the Goods of the Catholicks, as 'well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, that were seiz'd on since the fore-'mention'd Proclamation, shou'd be restor'd to them, and that the '*English* Catholicks shou'd be no more search'd after, nor molested for

(*i*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 152. (*k*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 169.

Part 2.

'for their Religion, and in the 10*th* of May, says *Rushworth* (*Ibid.*), 'as the first fruits of this promis'd Indulgence and favor, the King 'granted (*viz. Charles* 1.) unto *twenty Roman Priests* a special Par- 'don of all Offences committed against the Laws then in Force against 'Papists.

The first Parliament of his Reign expres'd the Eminent Danger of the Protestant Religion, and the growth of Popery under his Administration, in a Long petition in as moving and plain Terms as cou'd be devis'd; they give (*l*) eight Causes of the Encrease of Popery, each whereof doth either explicitely or by necessary Consequence tax him with Male-Administration; but for Brevity's sake, I take notice only of the 1*st*, 2*d*, and 8*th*.

'1. The Want of the due Execution of the Laws against Jesuites, 'Seminary Priests, and Popish Recusants, occasion'd partly by the '*connivancy of the state*, partly by Defect in the Laws themselves, and 'partly by the manifold abuses of Officers.

'2. The Interposing of Foreign Princes by their Ambassadors 'and Agents in Favor of them.

'8. The *Employment of men ill-Affected in Religion* in Places of Go- 'vernment, who do, shall, or may countenance the *popish* par- 'ty.

They propose 16 Remedies *against this Outragious and Dangerous Disease* as they justly term'd it, all pressing the strict Execution of the Laws, and proposing the wisest Expedients for the more effectual doing of it. To this he gave three Answers, 1. A very General one, promising to be more particular, and 2*ly*, by the Lord Keeper in a short message assuring 'em of his real *Performance in every particular* (*m*). The third Answer was full to each Article, and part, occasion'd by the Commons Desire sometime after, that the Lords might concur with them in presenting to the King these Matters following (*n*) 'That notwithstanding they did petition his Majesty for advancing 'God's true Religion, and the suppressing of Popery: Unto which 'his Majesty vouchsaf'd, as well from his own mouth, as the Lord

(*l*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 181, &c. (*m*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 174. (*n*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 180

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'Keeper, to return such an Answer, as assur'd them of his Royal Performance; yet at this Meeting they found, that on the 12 of *July* last, his Majesty granted a pardon unto *Alexander Baker* a Jesuite, & unto *ten other Papists*, which [as the Commons have been inform'd] was gotten by the *Importunity* of *some forreign* Ambassador, and pass'd by *Immediate Warrant*, and was *recommended* by the *Principal Secretary* of State, without the payment of the Ordinary Fees. And further that *Mary Estmonds* in *Dorset-Shire*——made her escape from the Constable, and complain'd to the King. The principal Secretary did write to two Justices in her favor.

Upon these Passages, the Commons made Observations, 1. Upon the Date of the pardon, which was the NEXT DAY AFTER HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER BY the Lord Keeper to *their Petition concerning Religion*. 2*ly*, That the pardon dispens'd with several Laws, as the 21, and 27. of *Q. Elizabeth*, and 3*d*. of King *James*, provided to keep the Subjects in due Obedience. 3*ly*, That the Pardon was sign'd by the *Principal Secretary* of State. And therefore the Commons declar'd that these Actings *tended* to the *Prejudice of true Religion*, his Majesty's *Dishonor*, the *Discountenancing* the Ministers of Justice, the *grief* of the *good People*, the *animating* of the *Popish* Party, who by such *Examples* grew more proud and Insolent, and to the *Discouragement* of the *High-Court* of Parliament.

Hereupon the King gave a Distinct answer in open Parliament to each Paragraph, and afterwards emitted divers Proclamations, and Orders against the Papists in Pursuance of the said Answer; but his evil Counsellors did not intend they shou'd take any great Effect, as appears by the Commons Address to him *anno* 1626. (o) Wherein they Observe his Majesty's promise in answer to the above Petition and particularly 'That he wou'd give Order to remove *from all Places* 'of *Authority* and Government, all such Persons as are either Popish 'Recusants, or according to Direction of former Acts of State, *justly to be* 'suspected, which was then presented as a great and Principal Cause of 'that Mischief.' Notwithstanding whereof, they in the body of their Address

(o) *Id. Ibid.* p. 391

Addreſs mention by Name above 70 Perſons of that kind to be then in Officesof Truſt; five whereof were Lords, a great Number of them *Knights* and few or none under the Degree of *Eſquires*; and many of thoſe Offices they enjoy'd were very conſiderable, and of great Importance to the ſafety of the Nation. The Enumeration of theſe Perſons, their Offices and Characters fills 5 Pages in *Ruſhworth*; after which they proceed in theſe Words, 'Wherefore they humbly be-'ſeech your Majeſty not to ſuffer your loving Subjects to *continue* 'any longer diſcourag'd by the Apparent Senſe of that encreaſe both in 'Number and Power, which by the favor and Countenance of ſuch 'ill-affected Governors accrueth to the Popiſh Party. Part. 2.

A new Parliament call'd *March* 17*th*, 1627, falls a freſh upon the Grievances in Religion, and finds the Inſolencies of Popiſh Recuſants and Perſons Popiſhly affected (notwithſtanding of all the endeavors of former Parliaments) to remain as yet intolerable, whereupon ſeveral Worthy Members made ſuch Speeches as will ever be remembred to their honor; and even the King's Secretary (*Cooke*) aſſerts (*p*) 'whilſt 'we ſit here in Parliament, there was another intended Parliament, 'of Jeſuits and other Well-wiſhers within a Mile of this Place, that 'this is true, was diſcover'd by Letters ſent to *Rome*.

The Iſſue was a Petition from both Houſes of Parliament againſt Recuſants conſiſting of eight Articles, all grounded upon the Non-Execution of the Laws againſt them, or making ſuch Compoſitions with thoſe againſt whom the Laws were executed, as defeated their Deſign, and continu'd the Danger 'to the Emboldning of Popiſh 'Recuſants to entertain *Maſſing-Prieſts*, into their private Houſes, 'and to *exerciſe* all their *Mimick Rites* of their groſs Superſtition '(as by their daily Practice and Oſtentation we may conceive) to the 'Nature of a *Concealed Toleration*: Your Majeſty (ſay they) wou'd 'be Graciouſly pleas'd to entertain this particular *more nearly* into 'your Princely Wiſdom and Conſideration; and to diſſolve this *My-'ſtery of Iniquity* patch'd up of colourable Leaſes, Contracts, and Pre-'conveyances, being but *Masks* on the one part to *deceive your Ma-jeſty*

(*p*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 505.

Part 2.

'*jesty and States*; on the other part, for *private Men* to accomplish their Corrupt Ends (*q*)

In their Petition about Billeting of Soldiers, they take 'Notice of 'many Companies who openly profess'd themselves Papists, and that 'some of their Captains and Commanders were as Popishly affected 'as themselves. (*r*)

In the following Session, we find the Commons in three Remonstrances (*s*) speaking very home to the Court in these Words, 'There 'is a GENERAL FEAR conceiv'd in your People of SECRET 'WORKING and COMBINATION to *introduce* into this Kingdom '*Innovation* and Change of our *Holy Religion* —— for notwithstanding the many good and wholesome Laws and Provisions made to 'prevent the encrease of Popery within this Kingdom, and notwithstanding your Majesty's most Gracious and Satisfactory Answer to 'the Petition of both Houses of *Oxford*, we find there hath follow'd '*no good Execution nor Effect*, but on the contrary —— these of 'that Religion do find *extraordinary favor* and respect in Court from 'Persons of great Quality and Power, whom they continually resort 'unto, and in particular to the Countess of *Buckingham*, who her self 'openly professing that Religion, is a known Favorer and Supporter 'of them, that do the same, which we well hoped, upon your Majesty's Answer to the aforesaid Petition at *Oxford*, shou'd *not have 'been permitted*, nor that any of your Majesty's Subjects of that Religion justly to be suspected, shou'd be entertain'd in the Service of 'your Majesty, or your Royal Consort the Queen; some otherwise 'of *that Religion* have had *Honors, Offices* and *Places* of *Command* and '*Authority* lately *confer'd* upon them. But that which *STRIKETH 'THE GREATEST TERROR* into the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects concerning this, is, that Letters of stop of Legal Proceedings against them *have been procur'd from your Majesty* (by what indirect Means we know not) and Commissions under the Great Seal, 'granted and executed for Composition to be made with Popish Recusants, with *Inhibitions* and *Restraint* both to the Ecclesiastical and 'Temporal Courts and Officers, to intermeddle with them; which is con-

(*q*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 517. (*r*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 619, (*s*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 620, 621.

Part 2.

'conceiv'd to *amount to no less than a Toleration, odious to God, full of* '*DISHONOR* and *EXTREME DISPROFIT to Your Majesty*, of 'GREAT SCANDAL and GRIEF *to your GOOD PEOPLE*, and 'of *APPARENT DANGER* to the *present State* of your Majesty and 'of this Kingdom; their Numbers, Power and Insolency, *daily in-* 'creasing in *all parts* of your Kingdom, and especially about *London* and 'the Suburbs thereof.' After mentioning the danger from the *Armi-nian* Faction headed by *Laud* and *Neal* and the discountenancing of Orthodox Preachers (of which more afterwards) they subjoin these Words, 'It doth not also a little increase our Dangers and Fears this 'way, to understand the miserable Condition of your Kingdom of '*Ireland*; where without Controul, the Popish Religion is openly 'profess'd and practis'd in every part thereof, Popish *Jurisdictions* 'being there generally exercis'd and avow'd, Monasteries, Nunne-'ries and other Superstitious Houses *newly Erected*, reedify'd and re-'pleniish'd with Men and Women of several Orders, and in a *plenti-'ful manner* maintain'd at *Dublin*, and most of the great Towns, and 'divers other Places of the Kingdom; which of what ill consequence 'it may prove, if not seasonably repress'd, we leave to your Ma-'jesty's Wisdom to Judge; And now, if to all these your Majesty 'will be pleas'd to add the Consideration of the Circumstances of time 'wherein these Courses *tending to the Destruction of true Religion*, 'within these your Kingdoms, have been taken here, even when the 'same is with open force and violence persecuted in other Countries, 'and *all the Reform'd* Churches in *Christendom* either depress'd or mis-'erably *distress'd*; we do humbly Appeal to your Majesty's Princely 'Judgment, whether there be not *just Ground of fear*, that there is 'some *Secret* and *Strange cooperating* here with the Enemies of our 'Religion abroad, for the *utter Extirpation* thereof; and whether 'if these Courses be not speedily redress'd, and the Profession of 'true Religion more encourag'd, we can expect any other but Mise-'ry and Ruin speedily to fall upon us.

In the last Session of this Parliament, there arose divers Debates between the King and them about the Order of their proceeding, *he* urging *first* of all for Subsidies, and they *preferring* the Considera-tion of their Grievances in Religion; and therefore gave him a De-claration, containing their Reasons for so doing; they continu'd but

Part 2.

a short time, and finding they were immediately to be dissolv'd, the Commons fram'd three Resolutions; the first whereof was this (*t*; 'Whosever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favor or 'Countenance seem to extend or introduce *Popery* or *Arminianism*, or 'other Opinion Disagreeing from the Truth and Orthodox Church, 'shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-'wealth.

From the Year 1628. to 1640, the Court took care that there shou'd be no Parliamentary Complaints of *Male-Administration* in the Affairs of *Religion* nor *any thing else*; for during that time, there were no Parliaments in *England* at all, but besides what Historians say of the Dangers of Popery in that time, *public Records* of Inferior Courts give a Melancholy Account thereof. Let the Reader be pleas'd to peruse *Prynn*'s *Royal Popish Favorite*, wherein He'll find an Account of King *Charles* 1sts, 'Extraordinary Favors 'and Protections of Notorious Papists, Priests & Jesuits, against 'all *Prosecutions* and *Penalties of the Laws enacted against them*, not-'withstanding his many Royal *Proclamations*, *Declarations* and '*Protestations* to the contrary, manifested by sundry Letters of Grace, 'Warrants and other Writings under the King's own Sign-Manual, 'Privy-Signet, his Privy-Councils and Secretary *Windebank*'s hands 'and Seals, by divers Orders and Proceedings in open Sessions at '*Newgate* in the *King*'s-*Bench*, and elsewhere (all extant on Record, 'in the *Sessions Books*, *Goal-Books*, *Crown-Office*, where all who scruple 'their Indubitable Verity or Reality, may Peruse them for their bet-'ter Satisfaction.') Some of the Persons Names, in whose favor these Writs (Copied by the said Author, and publish'd by Authority of Parliament) are these, *viz.* *Will. Keely* Gent. *Will. Cobb* Gent. Sir *Francis Eagelsfield* Barronet, Sr. *John Shelly* Barronet, and his Lady, Sir *John Wintour* and his Lady, Sir *Francis Marnock* Baronet and his Lady, *Thomas Jennings* Merchant, Sir *Charles Smith*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, and his Lady and Family, *Clement Preston* Esq; *Will. Peters* Gent. My Lady *Elizabeth Stover*, Sir *Will. Pearsal* Knight, *John Carill* Esq; Son to Sir *John Carill*; *Edward Cotton* Esq; and his Wife, The Lord *Arundel* and his Lady. *Will. Thorold* Esq; and his Wife, Lady *Elizabeth Dormer*, Capt. *John Read*, *Anthony Midcaff* Gent. My Lady *Sands* Dow-

(*t*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 660

Dowager, and her Daughter and Servant, Sir *Henry Audley*, and his Lady; My Lady *Windsor*, *Will. Arundell* Esq; (Son to Lord *Arundel*) and his Lady, Sir *Henry Brown* and his Lady, *Will. Bradshaw* Esq; and his Lady. The following Persons deliver'd by the like Letters were all Priests, viz. *John Dally*, *Cornelius Crawley*, *John Southworth*, *Reynault Mc. Donald*, *Palmer*, *Gilbert Brodin*, *Roger Clay*, *Thomas Gaunt*, *Middleton*, *Stevens*, *James Williamson*, *Richard Salvin*, *Thomas Ridale*, *Bryan Midcoff*, *John Seargin*, *Will. Biddle*, *Thomas Holms*, *Robert Widdington*. *Tho. Readman*, *Tho. Berry*, *Tho. Shephard*, *Gilb. Shelton*, *Matth. Wilson*, *John Plansford*. All legal Proceedings against these and vast Numbers more were staid by Writs under the King's own Hand; beside all that was done by the Privy-Council and *Windebank*. Part 2

The three first Articles charg'd by the Commons, *Decemb.* 7. 1640. (*u*) 'are 1. Seventy four Letters of Grace to Recusants, within those four 'Years, sign'd with his own Hands. 2. Sixty four Priests discharg'd 'from the Gate-house at *Westminster* within these four years, and for 'the most part by him. 3. Twenty-nine discharg'd by verbal War-'rant by him.' Of the King's Letters above-mention'd it's remarkable that in many of them there is this Clause, *at the Instance of our dear Consort the Queen*; some of 'em say, *at the Instance of the Queen Dowager of France*, and divers of 'em were at the *Instance of foreign Popish* Princes and their *Ambassadors*.

The Parliament met *April* 13. 1640. *wou'd not Grant* the King any Subsidies to enable him to *invade the SCOTS*, until their *Grievances* shou'd be first consider'd; among which their Members complain of the, universal *Suspension of the Laws against the Papists*, their being employ'd *in places of Trust and Power*, & many other things of that kind, tending to the Destruction of Religion (*w*) but were *dissolv'd in disgust*, before they cou'd come to any Resolutions, except about Conferences between the Two Houses, and Messages.

Between this and *November* 3*d* 1640, (the Meeting of the long Parliament) the Papists were so far from having the Laws executed against 'em, that the King's extraordinary Favors to them were the Arguments us'd by the Queen, *Montague* and Sir *Kenelme Digby* and others in their

(*u*) Collect. p. 327. (*w*) *Rushw.* Coll. p. 2; from p. 1127, to p. 1154.

Part 2.

several Letters to the Roman-Catholicks for raising Money for the King against the *Scots* (*x*); And particularly in that from many Papists in *London* to their Friends in the Country, there is this remarkable expression, 'It is the sense of *us all* both Ecclesiastical and Lay-'Persons, that besides the discharging of their and our Duties to God 'and the King, *it mainly importeth the good of the Catholicks*, to have 'their business take good Success.

And thus I have given the Reader a brief Account of the *open* and *barefac'd* Countenance given by the Court to *Papists*, from the public Records of the Nation, during that part of his Reign, which preceded the long Parliament. The Arguments from these Instances are so fully improv'd by all his Parliaments, that makes it altogether needless to say any thing further about them; and I think he sees little, that sees not that these wise and prudent Parliaments who were so Zealous for Religion and Liberty, have not prov'd *to a Demonstration* that *both* were *evidently endanger'd* under this King's Administration: If his Marrying a *Popish Queen*, and upon such Articles, as he must (if he kept them) *dispense with the Laws*, and deny *all* his Parliament's *just* Desires in Religion, together with all that follow'd natively thereupon, did no Prejudice to Religion and Liberty; our wise Parliaments since the Revolution must be mightily to blame, who have enacted, that if the Successor to the Crown *be Papist*, or *but Marry* a Papist, he or she *shall lose the Crown and right of Succession*, and the next Protestant Heir is to succeed, as if the former were Dead. Shall a Practice in the Protestant Successor be carried so far as to make him Guilty of a Forfeiture of his Crown? and shall not that same Practice in a Protestant Predecessor with what follow'd upon it, be justly accounted a dangerous Subversion of the Fundamentals of a Protestant Government?

My Lord *Clarendon* himself confesseth the truth of a great part of what has been now advanc'd (*y*) 'The Papists had for many years (*says* 'he) enjoy'd a great Calm, being *upon the matter absolv'd from the se-*'*verest parts of the Law*, and dispens'd with for the Gentlest; and were

(*x*) *Id. ibid.* Part 2. from p. 1327. to p. 1331. (*y*) *vide Clarendon's* Hist. Book 2. p. 116, 117. Edit. Folio.

'were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable dan- Part 2.
'ger of being made a Sacrifice to the Law. They *were look'd* upon as
'good Subjects *at Court*, and as *good neighbours* in the Country; all the
'Restraints and Reproaches of former Times being forgotten. But
'they were not prudent Managers of this Prosperity, being *too Elate*
'and *Transported* with the Protection and Connivance they receiv'd,
'tho' I am perswaded their Numbers encreas'd not, their *Pomp* and
'*Boldness did*, to that Degree, that, as if they affected to be thought
'dangerous to the State, they appear'd *more publicly*, entertain'd and
'urg'd Conferences *more avowedly*, than had been before known;
'they resorted at common hours to Mass to *Somerset-House*, and re-
'turn'd thence in great Multitudes, with the same *barefacedness* as
'others came from the *Savoy* or other Neighbour Churches, they at-
'tempted and sometimes obtain'd Proselytes of weak uninform'd La-
'dies, with such Circumstances as provok'd the Rage and destroy'd
'the Charity of great and powerful Families, which long'd for their
'Suppression: They grew not only *Secret Contrivers*, but public *pro-*
fess'd Promoters of, and Ministers in, the *most odious*, and the *most*
grievous Projects; as in that of Soap, form'd, fram'd & Executed, by
a Corporation of that Religion, which under that *Licence and Notion*,
'might be, and were suspected to be qualified for *other Agitations*.
'The *Priests*, and such as were in Orders (Orders that in themselves
'were punishable by Death,) were departed from their *former Mo-*
desty and *Fear*, and were as willing to be known, as to be hearkned
'to; insomuch as a Jesuit at *Paris* who was coming for *England*, had
'the boldness to visit the Ambassador there, who knew him to be
'such, and offering his Service acquainted him with his Journey, as
'if there had been no Laws there for his Reception. And for the
'most Invidious Protection and Countenance of that whole Party, a
'Public Agent from *Rome* (first Mr. *Con*, a *Scottish Man*, and after
'him the Count of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) resided at *London* in great
'Port; publickly visited the Court; and was avowedly resorted to
'by the Catholicks of all Conditions, over whom he assum'd a parti-
'cular Jurisdiction; and was Caress'd and Presented Magnificently
'by the Ladies of Honor who inclin'd to that Profession. They had
'likewise with more Noise and Vanity than Prudence wou'd have
'admitted, made Public Collections of Money to a considerable *Sum*,
'upon some Recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her

Part 1.

'Majesty presented as a free Will-Offering from his Roman Catholic 'Subjects to the King, *for the carrying on the War* against the *Scots*; 'which drew upon them the Rage of that Nation, with little De- 'votion and Reverence to the Queen her self; as if she desir'd to sup- 'press the Protestant Religion in one Kingdom, as well as the other 'by the Roman Catholicks. To conclude, they carry'd themselves 'so, as if they had been suborn'd by the *Scots* to root out their own 'Religion.

The evil Counsellors of that Unfortunate Prince were not satisfy'd with all the Countenance Papists got under him; but to compleat the danger of Religion, must put him upon Methods for *corrupting* the *Protestant Doctrine* by spreading the Poysonous Infection of the most Rigid Tenets of *Arminianism*, for *corrupting Protestant Worship* by dangerous Innovations, for *abusing Protestant Church-Government* by making it degenerate into a most *Arbitrary* and Tyrannical Usurpation; whereby many *sincere* and *Zealous* Protestants were ruin'd, while dangerous Recusants were treated with distinguishing Marks of Royal Favor. To this purpose the Commons in their Remonstrance *Anno* 1628. (z) say, 'And as our fear concerning Change or 'Subversion of Religion is grounded upon the daily encrease of Pa- 'pists ——— So are the Hearts of your good Subjects no less 'perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily *Growth* and '*Spreading* of the Faction of the *Arminians*, that being, as your Ma- 'jesty well knows, a cunning way to bring in Popery, and the Pro- 'fessors of those Opinions, the Common *Disturbers* of the Protestant 'Churches, and *Incendiaries* in those States, wherein they have got- 'ten any Head, being *Protestants* in *shew* but *Jesuits* in *Opinion* —— 'who notwithstanding are much favor'd and advanc'd, not wan- 'ting friends even of the Clergy near to your Majesty, namely Dr. *Neale* 'Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dr *Laud* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who 'are justly suspected to be unsound in their Opinions that way. And 'it being *now generally* held the way to Preferment, and Promo- 'tion in the Church, many scholars do bend the Course of their Stu- 'dies, to maintain those Errors; their Books and Opinions are 'suf-

(z) *Id. Ibid.* Part 1. p. 621, 622.

Part 2.

' ſuffer'd to be Printed and Publiſh'd, and on the other ſide the Im-
' printing of ſuch as are Written againſt them, and in defence of
' the *Orthodox* Church, are hinder'd and prohibited —— and fur-
' ther increaſe our fears concerning Innovation of Religion, we find
' there hath been *no ſmall* labouring to *remove* that which is the *moſt*
' *powerful* means to ſtrengthen and increaſe our own Religion, and
' to oppoſe both theſe, which is the diligent Teaching & Inſtruction of
' the people in the true Knowledge, and Worſhip of Almighty God.
' And therefore Means have been ſought out to *depreſs and Diſcoun-*
' *tenance pious and powerful and Orthodox Preachers*, and how Confor-
' mable ſoever, and Peaceable in their Diſpoſition and Carriage they
' be, yet the preferment of ſuch is oppos'd, and inſtead of being en-
' couraged, they are moleſted with Vexatious Courſes, and Purſuits,
' and hardly permitted to lecture.

' Among the 16 Remedies Propos'd by both Houſes of his firſt Parliament *anno* 1625, againſt Popery and the danger of Religion, this was the 3*d*, (*a*) ' That ſpecial Care be taken to enlarge the
' Word of God, throughout all the Parts of your Majeſty's Domini-
' ons, as being the *moſt powerful* Means for *planting* of true Religion,
' and rooting out of the Contrary: To which end, among other
' things, let it pleaſe your Majeſty to adviſe your Biſhops by
' fatherly Entreaty, and tender Uſage to reduce to the peaceable and
' orderly Service of the Church, ſuch *able Miniſters as have been ſi-*
' *lenc'd*, that there may be a profitable uſe of their Miniſtry in theſe
' needful and dangerous times.

' King *Charles* (ſays *Ruſhworth*) (*b*) in his father's life time was
' link'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and now continu'd to receive
' him (*i. e. in the beginning of his Reign, which he there deſcribes*) into
' an Admir'd Intimacy and Dearneſs, making him partaker of all
' his Counſels and cares, and chief Conductor of his affairs ——
' The public State of Religion, and the Steering of Church Matters
' had an *early Inſpection* & conſultation in the *Cabinet-Council*. Biſhop
' *Laud* who in King *James*'s life time had deliver'd to the Duke
' a little Book about Doctrinal *Puritaniſm*, now alſo deliver'd to the
Duke

(*a*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 182. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 167.

'Duke a Schedule wherein the Names of Ecclesiastical Persons were 'written under the Letters *O* and *P*, O standing for Orthodox and *P* 'for Puritans: for the Duke Commanded that he shou'd thus digest 'the Names of EminentPersons, to be presented to the King under 'that Partition.

Who *these* Persons were, *depress'd at Court*, and persecuted with the *highest Severity* under the *name* of *Puritans*, appears by the above mention'd Petition of the Commons; whence we may see that all the sober, moderate Conformists, who were against *Arminianism*, and *Laud's* other Innovating Principles, did suffer under that name, and those who were dissatisfy'd with some things in the Legal Establishment and therefore silenc'd, were *able Ministers*, to be *intreated* and *tenderly us'd*, and their *Ministry necessary* in those dangerous Times. Their Character with their ill Usage is attested by a very Violent Royalist. *viz.* Dr. *Bates* (*c*) 'They were treated (says he) with '*Suspensions*, *Deprivations*, *Imprisonments* and *Banishment* by the Bishops 'and Ecclesiastical Courts. But that *Severity*, tho' 'twas inflicted al-'most according to the letter of the Law, brought an odium on 'the Prelates, and made the Opposers of *Hierarchy* to be pity'd; 'and the rather because they seem'd to suffer for Conscience sake, 'and their desire of purer Worship; were men of strict Morals, 'fervent in their sermons, zealously given to prayer and the Offi-'ces of Piety; and, in one Word, otherwise *good Men*. Therefore 'many free born Subjects even among the Gentry and Nobility took 'their part, caress'd them, and at length came into the same Senti-'ments, and measures with them against the Hierarchy.

All which is further attested in the Celebrated Speech of Sr. *Benj*; *Rudyard*, a great Royalist and friend to Episcopacy, made in Parliament *anno* 1640 (*d*) 'We well know (*says he*) *what Disturbance* 'hath been brought upon the *Church*, for *vain petit Trifles*, how the whole

(*c*) *Elench. Mot. Nuper. in* Anglia *part.* 1. *p.* 115. 116.) 'Suspensiones, Privationes, vincula, Exilium regeruntur *ab Episcopis*, et *Curiis Ecclesiasticiis*, sed odium in Præsules conflavit ista Severitas, etiam legum ad Præscripta fere exercetur; & Anti-Hierarchicis misericordiam peperit, &c; Majorem, quod Conscientiæ

(*d*) *vide Collect.* Printed Speeches and p. 103.

Part 2.

' whole Church, the whole Kingdom hath been troubled, where to ' place a Metaphor, an *Altar*. We have seen *Ministers*, their *wives*, ' *Children* and *families* undone *against* Law, *against* Conscience, *against* ' all bowels of Compassion about not dancing upon Sundays. What ' do these sort of men think will become of themselves, when the ' *Master of the House shall come*, and find them thus beating their fel- ' low-servants. These Inventions were but *sives* made a purpose to ' *winnow* the *best men*, and that's the *Devils Occupation*. They have ' a mind to *worry Preaching*, for I ne'er yet heard of any, but Dili- ' gent Preachers that were vex'd with these and the like Devices,---- ' they wou'd evaporate and Dispirit the power and Vigor of Religi- ' on, by drawing it out into solemn, specious Formalities, into Ob- ' solete, Antiquated Ceremonies, new furbish'd up----A Romanist ' hath brag'd and congratulated in Print, that the face of our Church ' begins to alter, the language of our Religion to Change. And ' *Sancta Clara* hath publish'd, that if a Synod were held *non intermix- ' tis Puritanis*, setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their Religi- ' on wou'd soon be agreed. They have so brought it to pass, that ' under the Name of Puritans, *all our* Religion is *branded*, and under ' a *few hard Words* among Jesuits all Popery is countenanc'd. Whoso- ' ever Squares his Actions by any Rule, either Divine or Human, he ' is a Puritan; whosoever wou'd be Govern'd by the King's Laws, ' he is a Puritan. Their great Work, their Master-Piece now is, to ' make all those of the Religion to be the suspected Party of the King- ' dom. If we secure our Religion, we shall cut off and defeat many ' Plots that are now on foot by them and others.

I suppose the true reason why all the Moderate Conformists have still been assaulted when ever the *Puritans* have been oppress'd, but e- specially under this Reign, was because they always were united in heart and Affection, and in their most vigorous Endeavors against the Common Enemy of Religion and Liberty; and therefore the one cou'd

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' entiæ gratia, & purioris Cultus desiderio luere viderentur, moribus severis essent, ' in concionibus vehementes, precibus & piis Officiis prompti, uno verbo, ad ' cætera boni. Hinc Multi Municipes Generosi etiam et Nobiles ipsis patrocinari, ' eosq, in sinu fovere, tandem una sentire & in Hierarchiam simul Conspirare.

Part 2.

cou'd not be destroy'd, and the other safe, nor could Popery and Arbitrary Power be advanced but upon the Ruines of both: for (says *Coke*) (d) 'when King *James* died (*i. e. the first of England*) the Nation was rent into four Parties *viz.* the *Prerogative*, which extended the King's divided Will from the Laws and Constitutions, above his Royal or Regal Will: The *Country* or *Legal Party*, which stood for the Legal Establishment both of Church and State, and the Puritan and Popish Party: after the Treaties of Marriage between the Prince and Daughters of *Spain* and *France*, the *Popish* and *Prerogative Parties* joyn for carrying on the Court-Designs: and *were oppos'd by the Country and Puritan Parties.*

It being therefore the Design of the Court, of Papists and High-flyers, as being united in one Interest, to run down the Low-Church and the Dissenters, they took various Methods for accomplishing this dangerous end: With respect to the *Low-Church*, they went to work, two ways. 1. They *contriv'd* ways *against* the *Promotion* or Preferment of any of that Party to places either in Church or State. 2. They *turn'd* them out of all Offices they enjoy'd, upon the least Colorable Pretence. The *first* was easily done, the disposing of Bishopricks and other considerable Offices being in the breast of the Court; and that they did so, is confirmed by the above-mention'd Address of the Commons: and that such places as were at the Disposal of Bishops might not be given to persons opposite to the unhappy Interest of the *then-Court*, all persons were put into the highest Ecclesiastical Posts, that might answer the Ends of their Advancement. *Laud* was brought from step to step till he cou'd rise no higher; *Manwaring* and *Montague*, tho' censur'd by the Parliament, were preferr'd; and *all that Party* encourag'd with all possible respect and Power.

The *second* Essay was more difficult, *viz.* how to turn them out of what they had, instead of giving them more: but this by Degrees was accomplish'd. Archbishop *Abbot*, because he wou'd not license *Sibthorp's* Sermon, such another as *Sacheverell's* and *Manwaring's*, was sequestred, confin'd to his house, and disgraced; as in the King's letters of Sequestration, his long Narrative of his own case, with the History relating

(d) Detect. Part. 1. p. 206.

relating to it, the reader may see in *Rushworth* (*e*) and the most suspected persons and greatest Highflyers entrusted with th' Administration of all his Ecclesiastical Offices. The Archbishop among many Memorable things in that Narrative says, (*f*) 'I saw what little esteem was made of me in those things which belong'd to my own 'Occupation; with Bishopricks and Deanries, or other Church-'Places, I was no more acquainted, than if I had dwelt at *Venice*, and 'understood them but by some *Gazette*. The Duke of *Buckingham* 'had the managing of those things, as 'twas generally conceiv'd: for 'what was he not fit to determine, in *Church* or *Common-wealth*; in '*Court* or *Council*, in *Peace* or *War*; at *Land* or at *Sea*, at *Home* or 'in *Foreign Parts*: *Montague* had put out his *Arminian Book*; I three 'times complain'd of it, but he was held up against me, and by the 'Duke magnify'd as a well-deserving-Man. *Cosins* put out his Treatise, which they commonly call *the seven Sacraments*, which in the 'first Edition had many strengthenings, as it seemeth; I knew no-'thing of it, but as it pleased my Lord of *Durham*, and the Bishop 'of *Bath*.

Part 2.

To throw out the Inferior Conforming Clergy, of sober Principles, the *BOOK OF SPORTS* was enjoin'd to be read by them on the Lord's Day, *without any Parliamentary Authority*; an Act in it self profane and odious, for Disobedience thereunto many sober Conformists were depriv'd, and thereby Room was made for the Promotion of an *High flown Arminian Laudensian Clergy*.

And now, that the Party seem'd to have secur'd to themselves the present Possession of Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to have enhanc'd the Supreme Management of Church-Affairs; to confirm all against any necessary Reformations, they impose an Oath in the Convocation 1460. commonly called the *et cætera*-Oath, because they Swore in these Words, 'Nor will I ever give my Consent to alter the Govern-'ment of this Church by Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans and Arch-'Deacons *et cætera*." wherein that blind *et cætera* startled more of the sober Conformists, whom former Methods cou'd not expel, and produc'd Multitudes of Unanswerable Exceptions against it from *Northampton*, *Kent* and *Devonshire* (*g*), and from the latter a Petition

(*e*) Collect. *Ibid.* p. 431, to p. 458, (*f*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 453. (*g*) *Id.* Part 2. p. 1205, to 1208.

Part 2.

to the Council, wherein (*h*) they say, 'but this Oath striking deep-
'ly at the Root of *many Conscientious and constant Preaching Ministers*,
'and Purity and Zeal to the Peace of the Church hath led them hi-
'therto to a Dutiful Conformity, *must needs deprive* them, if they
'take not the Oath, *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and consequently *induce a*
'*general Ignorance*, the Mother only of Popish Devotion.

The Low-Church being thus oppress'd, the violent Persecution of Dissenters in *England* can't satisfy *Laud* and his Party; but he throws in a bone of Contention into *Scotland*, by his *new Service-Book*, and *Canons* illegally intruded upon that Church, and countenance'd with all the Power the Court cou'd employ to second them; and kindled such flames there as ended in Blood and Confusion: *Coke* justly observes (*i*) of *Buckingham* and him, 'These two stopt
'up both the King's Ears, from any other Directions in Church or
'State but what was infus'd by them,—— before a year goes about,
'you shall see *Buckingham* set the King at Odds with his Parliament,
'and yet engage him in a War against *Spain*, and before another
'goes about, engage the King in another against *France*——
'and after 13 years, *Laud* shall be the Firebrand to *set all the three*
'*Nations into the flame of a Civil War*, as King *James* had foretold.

The High-Commission-Court and *Star-Chamber*, as manag'd in those times, were the powerful Engines of gaining and maintaining the height of Arbitrary-Power to the *Laudensian Faction*, whereby they rais'd themselves upon the Ruins of the *Low-Church* and *Dissenters*, *molesting them with vexatious Courses* and *Pursuits*, as the worthy Commons observ'd in their above-mention'd Petition. And therefore Mr. *Johnston*'s Observation (*k*) of K. *Char.* I. is good, 'The
'best friends that King had (*says he*) and who spilt their Blood for
'him can't deny, but he had set his heart upon a *Laudean* Religion,
'and an *English* Patriarchate, which we all know wou'd have ended
'in Latin, and have been still *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as it was in all Ages.

If there was Open and Notorious Countenance given to Papists against the Advice of *all his Parliaments*, while the Protestant Interest was *persecuted abroad*, and the Insolencies of Papists *encreasing at home*

(*h*) *Ibid.* 1209. (*i*) Detect. Part 1. p. 211. (*k*) Notes on the Pastoral-Letter, p. 104.

Part 2.

home, and at the same time a visible Discountenancing and Oppressing the most sober of the Protestants, Conformists as well as Dissenters; & raising, advancing and rewarding all those who were of the most High-flown Principles; and managing of all the most important Affairs of Religion by the Advice of such as contriv'd, and executed all Methods for accomplishing these Ends, *some whereof were known Papists* as the great Lord Treasurer *Weston*, Secretary *Windebank* with divers others. If, I say, all this be true, (as abundantly appears from the most Authentic Records of the Nation above mention'd further proving the same) and that this was not by some single Acts or *casual* Oversights, but by a *constant* Uninterrupted *Series* of Male-Administration from the beginning of this Unfortunate Reign, to the very Commencement of the Civil War; then it necessarily follows, that the Protestant-Religion was in *danger of being subverted* under his Administration, by the Influence of his evil Counsellors.

I shall next consider the Violation of the Fundamental Liberties and Properties of the Subject under his Reign, and observe the same Method, I did in shewing the danger of Religion; which indeed was effected by *trampling* on the best Laws that were in being for the Security of Religion, and subjecting 'em, from time to time, to a *dispensing-Power*, the inseparable *Character* of Arbitrary-Government.

King *James*'s advice to his Son, *that he shou'd not break with his Parliaments*, was not so prevalent with him as his example, whereby he taught him the contrary Lesson: King *Charles* (when Prince of *Wales*) was present in Council when his Father with his own Hand took out of the journal-Book of the House of *Commons* their Protestation they had made *Anno* 1621, against his invasions of their undoubted Rights and Priviledges, See the Protestation it self, and the Declaration relating to it. [*l*] Upon his Accession to the Throne, the Principles of Government he had early imbib'd, were as early and constantly exerted.

His very first Parliament complains of *mispending the public Treasure, and of his neglect of Guarding the Seas*, [*m*] and tho' in their first Session they had granted him Subsidies, and were a little encourag'd by his answer to their Petition about Religion in the *Second*, yet in the

[*l*] *Rush.* Collect. part 1. p. 53, 54. [*m*] Id. p. 176.

Part 2. third they wou'd grant no more Subsidies tho' earnestly Press'd for by him, until their Grievances were redress'd; and therefore he dissolv'd them (*n*). Immediately after their Dissolution, he issueth out his Letters for Levying Money off the Subject by way of Loan (*o*) and Summons a new Parliament to meet in *February*. The Commons begin upon Grievances, *viz.* the *Miscarriage of the Fleet to Cadiz*; the *evil Counsellors about the King*, *and Misgovernment and Misemployment of the King's Revenue* (*p*). Tunnage and Poundage, and the other Impositions without Authority of Parliament, are question'd. He presseth for their speedy Resolution of giving him Subsidies, urging his great Necessities to which they Answer, begging him to 'accept of 'the faithful and necessary Information of his Parliament —— in 'discovering the Causes, and proposing the Remedies of those great 'evils which occasion'd his Majesty's wants, and his People's Grief. (*q*) And in assurance of the Redress of their Grievances, promise to supply him. He gives this return. 'I must let you know (*says he*) that I *will not allow any of my Servants* TO BE QUESTION'D 'AMONGST YOU, much *less* such as are of *eminent Place* 'and near to me —— I see you specially aim at the Duke of *Buckingham*, I wonder what hath so alter'd your Affections towards him '—— I assure you he hath not medled nor done any thing con-'cerning the public or Common-wealth, but by special Directions 'and Appointment, and as my servant (*Id. Ibid.*)'. The House not affrighted out of their Privileges by this Speech, proceeds and lays all their Grievances upon the *Duke*'s evil Counsel, upon which the King calls up the Commons to the Lords-House and tells 'em, he was come to *shew them their Errors and their Unparliamentary Proceedings*; and the Lord Keeper (by his Majesty's Command) entertains them with a long and bitter Invective, Impeaching their whole Procedure; vindicating the Duke in every thing; and with respect to their Searching into his Conduct, says, 'It is therefore his Majesty's EXPRESS 'and FINAL Commandment, that you yield Obedience unto these 'Directions which you have formerly receiv'd, and cease this Unparliamentary Inquisition, and commit unto his Majesty's Care, and 'Wisdom and Justice, the future Reformation of those things, which you

(*n*) *Id.* p. 191. (*o*) *Id.* p. 192. (*p*) *Id.* p. 207. (*q*) *Id.* p. 216.

'you ſuppoſe to be otherwiſe than they ſhou'd be' (r) His Speech concludes with a ſharp *Reprimand* to them for their *Scanty Supply*, and their not diſpatching it before the Redreſs of Grievances, threatning they ſhou'd ſit no longer, if they did not enlarge it. The King not content with what my Lord-Keeper had ſaid, tells 'em himſelf (ſ) 'Remember that PARLIAMENTS ARE ALTOGETHER IN MY 'POWER, for their Calling, Sitting, Diſſolution; therefore as I find 'the fruits of them *good* or *evil*, they are to continue or *not* to be: 'And remember, that if in this time, inſtead of mending your Er-'rors, by delay you perſiſt in your Errors, you make them greater 'and irreconcileable. Part. 2.

In Anſwer to the King's and Ld Keeper's Speeches, the Commons prepared an humble *Remonſtrance*, wherein they aſſert their Proceedings to be grounded upon the Laws of the Kingdom and Parliamentary Precedents, and particularly concerning *Buckingham* they ſay (t) 'Now concerning your Majeſty's Servants and namely the Duke of 'Buckingham; we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to be inform'd by us 'your faithful Commons, who can have no private end, but your 'Majeſty's Service and the good of our Country, That it hath been 'the *Antient*, Conſtant and *Undoubted* Right & *Uſage* of Parliaments to 'queſtion and complain of *all Perſons of what Degree ſoever*, found 'Grievous to the Common-wealth, in abuſing the Power and Truſt 'committed to them by their Sovereign: A Courſe approved not only 'by the examples in your Father's days of famous Memory, but by 'frequent Precedents in the *beſt* and moſt *Glorious* Reigns of your 'noble Progenitors, appearing both in Records and Hiſtories; with-'out which Liberty in Parliament, no private Men, no ſervant to 'a King, perhaps no Counſellor, without expoſing himſelf to the 'hazard of great Enmity and Prejudice, can be a Means to call 'great *Officers* in queſtion for their Miſdemeanors, but the Com-'mon Wealth *Might Languiſh* Under Their Preſſures, *Without Re-'dreſs*.

The Commons Impeach the Duke in 13 Articles, of heinous Crimes. 1. Of engroſſing ſo many great Offices, impoſſible for one man to diſcharge faithfully. 2. Of buying the Office of *Great Admiral*, con-

(r) *Id. Ibid.* p. 223. (ſ) *Id. Ibid.* p. 225. (t) *Id. Ibid.* p. 245.

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contrary to Law. 3. Of buying the Offices of *Lord-Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports* and *Conſtable* of the Caſtle of *Dover*. 4. Of neglecting to guard the ſeas, to the decay of Trade and Ruin of the Nation. 5. Of ſeizing the Ship *Stephen* of *New-Haven* worth 40000 pounds unjuſtly, and detaining it for his own uſe. 6. Of oppreſſing the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, to the Ruine of Trade. 7. Of putting treacherouſly the *Vanguard Ship* under the Command of Captain *Pennington*, and ſix Engliſh Merchant-Ships, under the Power of the *French* King. 8. Of his knowing that the aforeſaid Ships were to be employ'd by the *French* King againſt the Proteſtants of *Rochell*, to the ſcandal of Religion, and Diſhonor of K. *Charles*, and the Nation. 9. Of his diſpoſing of Titles of Honor to perſons unworthy of 'em, and forcing others to buy them againſt their Will. 10. Of Receiving a Bribe of 20000 pound for procuring the Lord Treaſurer's Place, beſide other Bribes mention'd in the ſaid Articles. 11. Of procuring many Titles of Honor to his near Kindred, with Penſions of great value from the Crown to ſupport them, to the burthen of the Public, and Diſcouragement of the Nobility. 12. Of embezzeling and engroſſing the King's Mony and Lands, to the *impoveriſhing* the Public Treaſury and *Confuſion* and danger of the Kingdom. 13. Of his Adminiſtring to *King James* a Plaiſter and Potion contrary to the Advice of his ſworn Phyſicians, not compoſed by (or with the knowledge of) any of his ſworn Apothecarys, in his laſt ſickneſs, whereof he died. It would make any true *Engliſh* heart bleed, to conſider the Uparallel'd and inſupportable Oppreſſion of the Subject occaſion'd by this mighty Favorite, and proved againſt him with ſo much Solidity, Learning & Shining Evidence, by thoſe worthy Patriots who were the Managers of thoſe Articles. (*u*).

Sr *Dudley Diggs* having made the Prologue, and Sr *John Elliot* the Epilogue to the Impeachment of the Duke; they were both by the *King*'s Command committed to the Tower. And the *King* himſelf ſpeaks again to the Lords in behalf of the Duke, *and to approve his Innocency, as touching the Matters againſt him, I my ſelf can be a Witneſs to clear him in every one of them.* The Commons prepare a Remonſtrance againſt the Duke, and *Tunnage and Poundage* as illegal; and that very day 'twas finiſh'd, the Parliament is diſſolved, tho' the Lords

(*u*) Id. *Ibid.* from p. 302 to p. 356.

Lords had prepared a Petition advising the contrary as necessary for 'preventing great and Apparent Dangers at home and abroad, 'and for making him happy in the Duty and love of his People, the 'greatest safety and Treasury of a King. (w) Part 2

In that intended Remonstrance, the Commons set forth, the Court's unjust Opposition to the former Parliament, the Dissolution of it, when they were about to redress Grievances brought on by the Duke's evil Counsel, and his Intrigue for keeping some of the noted Commons from being elected as Members of the present Parliament, by making them *Sheriffs*. In this present Parliament they observe the many Interruptions they met with by messages from his Majesty, which hindred them from Prosecuting the Duke according to Law: the *infringing of their Privileges* in the Imprisonment of their Members: the Duke's Arrogance in procuring a factious Party to elect him Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, while he stood impeached of the above Crimes; his Majesty's Message, that if *he had not a timely Supply, he would betake himself to new Counsels*, which they feared wou'd be bad; because from the beginning of his Reign, he levied the Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* without Authority of Parliament, which they declare to be *against the Constant use of former Times, the known Right and Liberty of the Subject, and the settled Laws of the Kingdom*; And that any who shall give such *new Counsel*, as to levy any Tax contrary to law, are *Pests and Capital Enemies to the King & Commonwealth, to be rewarded with the highest Punishment the Laws inflict on any Offenders*. They conclude, complaining that their humble and hearty 'Endeavors were misinterpreted, hindred 'and now at last almost frustrate utterly, by the interposition of the 'Excessive & Abusive Power of one Man, expressing their infinite Grief, 'that he shou'd have so great a Power and Interest in his Princely 'Affections, praying, that his Majesty wou'd not ballance this one 'man with all these things, and with the Affairs of the Christian 'World, which do all suffer so far as they have Relation to this 'Kingdom, chiefly by his Means.

Let the Reader judge whether *Coke* had not reason to say (x), *so much easier is it in such a Reign for a Favorite to ruine a Nation, than for a Nation to have Justice against a Favorite*. The King publish'd a De-

(w) *Ibid.* p. 398. (x) Detect. Part 1. p. 237.

Part 2.

Declaration of his Reasons for Dissolving the Parliament, wherein he throws all the possible Odium he cou'd against that *Honorable house* of *Commons*, who had with so much *bravery* and *honesty* asserted the Liberties of their Country. Soon after, he falls upon the *Loan* and other illegal Taxes remonstrated against: (*y*) publishing a Declaration, and instructing Commissioners for levying them (*z*). gives a Commission for trying soldiers and others according to the *Martial Law*, in time of Peace; (*Ibid.*) and some time after, having entred into War with *France*, heaps new favors on *Buckingham*, making him Admiral and General of all the Fleet and Forces for that Expedition: and (*a*) Imprisons many worthy Gentlemen for refusing the *Loan* (*b*)

A new Parliament met *March* 17*th*, 1627. of whom *Coke* gives this Character. 'Neither *Rome* nor *Athens* cou'd ever glory in such 'an Assembly as the Commons of this Parliament were, for their ver-'tue and Learning: nor *any Age* produce such a number of men of the 'like Integrity to their Country, and humble Obedience to their Prince'. They begin with the Grievances of *billeting* Soldiers, *loans* by *Benevolence* and *Privy Seal*, Imprisonment of the Refusers; whereupon there were such Speaches made as will ever be admir'd by all those who are not fond of Absolute Slavery. (*c*). They present to the King their Petition against his illegal way of billeting Soldiers, which Practice they complain of as contrary 'to the *fundamental Laws* of the Realm '& an apparent *violation* of the *antient* & *undoubted Right* of *all* his Maje-'sty's--- loyal Subjects to the exceeding great Disservice of his Majes-'ty, the general Terror of all, and utter undoing of many of his 'people (*d*).

The Celebrated *Petition of Right*, another *Magna Charta* of *England*, was fram'd by the Commons, concluded by both Houses of this Noble Parliament, and confirm'd by the King himself in common Form, *soit droit fait comme il est desire*, in which Petition there is a Narrative of the BREACH OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS of the Kingdom, and *Invasions of Liberty*, *and Property* which occasion'd it. It runs thus (*e*)

To

(*y*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 415. (*z*) p. 418, 419. (*a*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 425. (*b*) *Ibid.* p. 428. (*c*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 499, &c. (*d*) *Id.* p. 542. (*e*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 588.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty. Part 2.

'HUmbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, That whereas it is declar'd and enacted by a Statute made in the time of the Reign of King *Edward* the first, commonly called, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no Tallage or Aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his Heirs in this Realm, without the good will and assent of the *Arch-bishops*, *Bishops*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Burgesses*, and other the Freemen and Commonality of this Realm: And by Authority of Parliament holden in the 25*th* Year of the Reign of King *Edward* 3. it is declar'd and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compell'd to make any Loans to the King against his Will, because such Loans were against Reason, & the Franchise of the Land; & by other Laws of this Realm it is provided, That none shou'd be charg'd by any Charge or Imposition, call'd a *Benevolence*, nor by such like Charge, by which Statutes before mention'd, and other the good Laws and Statutes of this Realm, your Subjects have inherited this Freedom, That they shou'd not be compell'd to contribute to any Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge, not set by common Consent in Parliament.

'Yet *Nevertheless*, *of late*, divers Commissions directed to sundry Commissioners in several Counties with Instructions have issu'd, by means whereof your People have been in divers places assembled, and *required to lend certain Sums of Mony* unto your Majesty, and many of them upon their *Refusal so to do*, have had an Oath administred unto them, *not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm*, and have been constrained to become bound to make Appearance and give Attendance before your Privy-Council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprison'd confin'd, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: And divers other Charges have been laid and levied upon your People in several Counties, by Lords Leiutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Commissioners for Musters, Justices of Peace, and others by command or Direction from your Majesty or your Privy-Council, against the Laws and Free Customs of this Realm.

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'And where also by the Statute call'd *The great Charter of the Liberties of England*, it is declar'd and enacted, That no Freeman 'may be taken or imprison'd or be Disseiz'd of his Freeholds or 'Liberties, or his free Customs, or be Out-law'd or Exil'd; or in 'any manner destroy'd, but by the *lawful Judgment of his Peers*, or 'by the *Law of the Land*.

'And in the 28 *h* Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the third, it 'was declar'd and enacted by Authority of Parliament, That no Man 'of what State or Condition that he be, shou'd be put out of his Lands 'or Tenements, nor taken, nor imprison'd, nor Disherited, nor put 'to Death, without being brought to answer by due Process of Law.

'Nevertheless, against the Tenor of the said Statutes, and other 'the good Laws and Statutes of your Realm, to that end provided, 'divers of your Subjects have been of late imprison'd without any 'Cause shew'd, and when for their Deliverance they were brought 'before your Justices, by your Majesty's Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, 'there to undergo and receive as the Court shou'd Order, and their 'Keepers commanded to Certify the Causes of their Detainer; *no 'cause was certify'd, but that they were detain'd by your Majesty's special Command*, signify'd by the Lords of your Privy Council, and 'yet were return'd back to several Prisons, without being charg'd 'with any thing to which they might make Answer according to the 'Law.

'And whereas of late great Companies of Soldiers and Mariners, 'have been dispers'd into divers Counties of the Realm, and the In'habitants against their Wills have been *compell'd to receive them into 'their Houses*, and there to suffer them to sojourn against the Laws 'and Customs of this Realm, and to the *great Grievance* and vexa'tion of the People.

'And whereas also by Authority of Parliament, in the 25th year 'of the Reign of King *Edward* 3. It is declar'd and enacted, That 'no man shall be forejudg'd of Life or Limb against the Form of the great 'Charter, and the Law of the Land: And by the said great Charter 'and other the Laws and Statutes of this your Realm, *no man ought 'to be adjudg'd to Death, but by the Laws establish'd in this your Realm*, 'either by the Customs of the same Realm, or by Acts of Parlia'ment: And whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted 'from the Proceedings to be us'd, and Punishments to be inflicted 'by the Laws and Statutes of this your Realm; Nevertheless *of late 'divers Commissions under your Majesty's Great Seal have issu'd forth*, by

'which

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'which *certain Persons have been assign'd and appointed Commissioners* 'with Power and Authority to proceed within the Land, according 'to the *justice of Martial Law* against such Soldiers and Mariners, or 'other Dissolute Persons joining with them, as shou'd commit any 'Murder, Robbery, Felony, Mutiny or other Outrage or Misde-'meanor whatsoever, and by *such Summary Course and Order*, as is 'agreeable to Martial Laws, and is us'd in Armies in time of War 'to proceed to the Tryal and Condemnation of such Offenders, and 'them to cause to be executed and put to Death, according to the 'Law Martial.

'By Pretext whereof, some of your Majesty's Subjects have been 'by some of the said Commissioners put to Death, *when and where*, 'if by the Laws and Statutes of the Land they had deserv'd Death, 'by the same Laws and *Statutes* also *they might*, and by NO OTHER 'OUGHT TO HAVE *been*, *ADJUDG'D and EXECUTED.*

'And also sundry grievous Offenders by colour thereof, claiming 'an Exemption have escap'd the Punishments due to them by the 'Laws and Statutes of this your Realm, by reason that divers of your 'Officers & Ministers of Justice have unjustly refus'd, or forborn to pro-'ceed against such Offenders according to the same Laws and Statutes, 'upon pretence that the said Offenders were punishable only by 'Martial Law, and by Authority of such Commissions as aforesaid, 'which Commissions, and all other *of the like nature*, are wholly and 'directly *contrary to the said Laws and Statutes* of this your Realm.

'They do therefore humbly Pray your most Excellent Majesty, That 'no Man hereafter be *compell'd* to make or yield any *Gift*, *Loan*, *Be-'nevolence*, *Tax*, *or such like Charge*, without common Consent 'by Act of Parliament; and that *none* be call'd to *make Answer*, or '*take* such *Oath*, or to give Attendance, or be *confin'd*, or other-'wise *molested* or disquieted concerning the same, or *for refusal* there-'of: And that *no Freeman*, in any *such manner* as is before mention'd 'be imprison'd or detain'd: And that Your Majesty will be pleas'd 'to remove the said Soldiers and Mariners, and that your People 'may not be so *burthen'd* in time to come: And that the foresaid 'Commissions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revok'd and '*annull'd*; and that hereafter no Commissions of like nature may 'issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, *to be executed as 'aforesaid*, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's Subjects be 'destroy'd or put to Death, contrary the Laws and Franchise of 'the Land.

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'All which they most humbly Pray of your most Excellent Majesty, *as their* RIGHTS *and* LIBERTIES ACCORDING TO THE 'LAWS and Statutes of this Realm; And that your Majesty wou'd 'also vouchsafe to declare, That the Awards, Doings and Proceedings to the Prejudice of your People, in any of the Premisses, 'shall not be *drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example:* And that 'your Majesty wou'd be also Graciously pleas'd for the further 'Comfort and Safety of your People, to declare your Royal Will 'and Pleasure, That in the things aforesaid all your Officers and 'Ministers shall serve you, according to the Laws and Statutes of this 'Realm, as they Tender the Honor of your Majesty, and the Prosperity of this Kingdom.

Before the above Petition pass'd the *House* of *Lords*, the *Duke* and his Party who did all they cou'd to stop it, or make it ineffectual, prevail'd upon them to move the Addition of a Clause call'd a *Saving* in those Words. '*We* humbly present this Petition to your Majesty, 'not only with a care for Preservation of our Liberties, but with a 'due regard to leave entire that Sovereign Power wherewith your 'Majesty is Trusted, for the Protection, Safety, and Happiness of 'your People'. Which Clause the Commons wou'd by no means consent to have inserted, and having in their Conference with the Lords, given such Arguments against it from Law and Reason, as intirely satisfy'd their Lordships, 'twas in the above Form concluded, and made the joint Deed and *Act* of King, Lords and Commons. And therefore 'tis most plain that the FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES of the Subject were, to the imminent danger of the People's ruin, *violated under this King's Administration.* Who wou'd have thought that ever this Prince, after such a Petition assented to by him in so solemn a manner, wou'd have suffer'd his evil Counsellors to prevail upon him to continue those Invasions he had made upon the *Vital Liberties* of the Nation, and far less to encrease the same.

The Commons supposing the King's Judgment to be set straight by the Petition of Right, fell next upon the *Unhappy Instruments* that had *abus'd* his Royal Power, that the like might be prevented for the future; for the best Laws in the World are but a *Paper-Security* without the *Examplary* Punishment of those *Ministers* of *State*, and Incendiaries who trample upon them. The King acquaints them, he was

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was ſoon to put an end to that Seſſion; whereupon they impeach Dr. *Manwaring* for his Sermon he preach'd for the *loan*, and for all the other illegal Practices of the Court, againſt the Fundamental Conſtitution of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Nation: the Lords find him guilty, and pronounce a ſmart Sentence againſt him; *(f)* another proof of the Nations ſenſe of their Grievances under that Government.

While the Commons are proceeding in their Enquiries (or leſt they ſhou'd do ſo) into the other Cauſes of their Miſery, the King in his accuſtomed manner in ſuch Caſes, ſends them a Meſſage 'requiring them that they enter not into, or proceed with any new 'buſineſs, which may ſpend greater time, or which may lay any 'ſcandal or Aſperſion upon the State-Government or Miniſters 'thereof.' This unexpected Treatment, after the *Petition of Right*, ſurpriz'd 'em; upon which after long Reaſoning, they agreed on a full *Remonſtrance* of the State of the Kingdom, and the Cauſes of its Miſeries both in *Religion* (of which before) and *Liberty*; Wherein they expreſs their fears of Innovation and Change of Government as well as Religion, and tho' comforted with the *Petition of Right*, yet repeat many things contain'd in it, reinforcing it with new Arguments: they take notice of his Order under the *Privy-Seal* for keeping *German* Horſe, and the great Sums of Mony paid for that end, and his Commiſſion under the *Great-Seal*, for raiſing of Mony by Impoſitions; the dangerous Conſequences and Tendencies thereof they fully repreſent; They further obſerve the *often Breaches of Parliaments*, whereby he *has been depriv'd of the faithful Counſel and free aids of his People*; *his taking of Tunnage and Poundage without act of Parliament, ever ſince the beginning of this Reign to that Preſent, the ſtanding Commiſſion to Buckingham to be General of an Army in time of Peace, diſcharging of faithful and ſufficient Officers*, the ill Succeſs of all his late *Deſigns and Actions*, *particularly at* Cales, the *Iſle* of Rhee, & Rochel *to the extreme waſte of the honor, blood and Treaſure of the Nation, the Weakneſs of the Forts at home, being ill provided in ammunition, the Decay of Trade, loſs of Shipping and Mariners, and growing Poverty of the Kingdom*; all which Miſeries and Miſchiefs they fix upon the

(f) *Id. Ibid.* p. 605.

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the evil Council of the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Party, and therefore pray he may be laid aside *(g)*. Soon after, the King sent an Order to the *Star-Chamber*, that the Information Exhibited to that court against the *Duke* for divers great Offences, (for that his Majesty was fully satisfy'd of the Innocency of the Duke) *be taken off the file, that no Memory thereof remain on record against him, which may tend to his Disgrace* [*Id. Ib.*]

The Commons proceed upon the Bill for *Tunnage and Poundage*, & resolving to draw it accurately, they cou'd not do it in the time allow'd by the King for their sitting, and therefore drew up a Petition to him, shewing him the Causes of their Delay; and lest he shou'd claim it without their Consent, as he had done all along, they remonstrate in these Words, 'That there ought not any Imposition 'to be laid upon the Goods of Merchants, exported or imported, 'without common Consent by Act of Parliament, which is the Right '& Inheritance of your Subjects founded not only upon the MOST 'ANCIENT and ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION *of this Kingdom*, but often Confirm'd and declar'd in divers Statute Laws; that 'the Receiving of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, and other Impositions not 'granted by Parliament, is a *Breach of the Fundamental Liberties of 'this Kingdom*, and *contrary* to your Majesty's Royal *answer to the 'said Petition of Right (h)*.

The King understanding this Remonstrance was a coming to him, sends for the *Commons* to the *House* of *Lords* and ends this Session of Parliament, with a famous Speech, respecting their former Remonstrance, which he said *no wise man cou'd justify*, takes notice of their new-intended Remonstrance, and openly declar'd in these words, 'Those things which have been done, whereby *many have had some 'cause to expect* the Liberties of the Subjects to be trench'd upon, 'which indeed was the first and true ground of the Petition (*i. e.* the '*Petition of Right*) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for 'your Prejudice, and from time to time, in the *Word of a King*, ye 'shall not have the like Cause to complain. But as for *Tunnage* and '*Poundage*, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure to grant *(i)* ' Whether he

(g) Id. *Ibid.* p. 626. *(h)* Id. p. 629. *(i)* Id. *Ibid.* p. 631.

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he kept his Royal Word given here, will appear from what follows. And whether his claiming *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, was not againſt the *Petition* of *Right*, and Fundamental Liberties of the Subject, will appear by comparing it with that Clauſe. 'That no 'man hereafter be compell'd to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Be- 'nevolence, *Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without common Conſent by Act* 'of Parliament' But Tunnage and Poundage was a Tax and Charge impos'd without Act of Parliament; and therefore was againſt the Petition of Right.

Between this and the next Seſſion of Parliament which met *Jan.* 20*th*, The Duke is kill'd, and *Laud* brought into the Higheſt favor. *Manwaring*, declar'd by ſentence of the Lords in the laſt Seſſion uncapable of future Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in the Church of *England*, for his Preaching up Arbitrary Government and Slavery, is pardon'd and preferr'd, and *Montague*, (queſtion'd on the ſame account) made a Biſhop, and the Merchants Goods ſeiz'd for *Tunnage* and *Poundage*.

When the Parliament met, they conſider'd the 'violation of the 'Liberties of the People, ſince the end of the laſt Seſſion, even con- 'trary to the Petition of Right, ſome having been ſince that time 'committed, and a Command ſent to the Sheriff, not to execute 'a *Replevin*, when Mens goods and Merchandizes have been taken 'away, and it was inſtanc'd in the Caſe of Mr *Rolls* a Merchant, 'and known to be a Member of the Houſe, to whom it was ſaid, by 'ſome of the Officers of the Cuſtom Houſe, *if all the Parliament were* 'in you, we wou'd take your Goods (*k*). For clearing the Cuſtomers and hindring men from being brought to cenſure in Parliament, the King makes an Order in Council *Febr.* 22. wherein he declares that 'what was formerly done by his Farmers and Officers of the 'Cuſtoms, was done by his own Direction and Command- 'ment———; and therefore cou'd not in this ſever the Act of 'his Officers from his own Act, neither cou'd his Officers ſuffer for 'it, without *High Diſhonor to his Majeſty*; the Subſtance of which 'Declaration he ſends in a Meſſage to the Commons (*l*), who after de- 'bate thereupon, being ready for a vote mov'd the ſpeaker to put the

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 643. (*l*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 658, 659.

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the Question; but he refus'd to do it, and said he was otherwise commanded from the King, whereupon they adjourn to *Febr.* 25, & from thence by the King's Command to *March* 2d; at which time they urge the Speaker again, to put the Question; & he reply'd, *I have a command from the King to adjourn till* March 10th *& put no Question.* It was no great wonder that the House was disoblig'd by such a palpable invasion of the fundamental Constitution of Parliament; and therefore the Commons (foreseeing a Dissolution) made a Protestation, the first part whereof concerning Religion is already cited p. 184. and the other two Conclusions are *viz.* '2 whosoever shall counsel or 'advise the taking and Levying of the Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an Innovator in the 'Government and a *Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.*

'3. If any Merchant or Person whatsoever shall Voluntarily yield 'or pay the said Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the 'Liberties of *England* and an Enemy to the same *(m)*'. Next Day 'Warrants were directed from the Council to *Denzil Holles* Esq; Sr. '*Miles Hobert*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden* Esq; '*Will. Coriton*, *Walt. Long*, *Will. Strowd*, and *Benj. Valantine*, commanding their Personal Appearance on the Morrow. At which 'time Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Valantine* appearing, and refusing to Answer out of Parliament what was said and 'done in Parliament, were committed close Prisoners to the Tower; 'and Warrants were given, the Parliament being still in being, for 'the Sealing up of the Studies of Mr. *Holles*, Mr. *Selden*, and Sir 'John Elliot, Mr. *Long* and Mr. *Stroud* not then, nor of some time 'after appearing, a Proclamation issu'd out for the Apprehending 'of them *(n)*.

March 10th, The King dissolves the Parliament, the Cause whereof he says in his Speech was *meerly the Undutiful and Seditious Carriage in the Lower-House*, asserting that there *were some Vipers among them, that did cast this Mist of Undutifulness over most of their Eyes*, whom he

(*m*) p. 660. (*n*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 661.

he threatneth with *Punishment.* (*o*) And accordingly those worthy Patriots and Asserters of the violated Liberties of their Country. (*Vipers in the King's Eyes*) after an illegal Imprisonment are miserably haras'd and unjustly Sentenc'd, fin'd in Exorbitant Sums, and imprison'd till they shou'd make submission and acknowledge their Offence (*p*) Part 2.

When such *illegal* and *Arbitrary* Courses destructive of the *Foundations* of *Liberty* and *Property* were taken, during the Sitting of Parliaments, and in their short intervals, what must we expect to hear of in the long interval between the Parliament Dissolv'd *March* 10*th*, 1628, and that call'd *Apr.* 13*th* 1640: During which time, there were no Powers to controul his Judges, challenge his evil Counsellors, supply the King with faithful Counsel, or to correct the growing Disorders of his Reign. Among the many Additions to former Grievances, that of *Ship-Money* became one of the chief, not only for its being so evidently against *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and Fundamental Liberties of the Subject, but because of its being so positively and universally enjoin'd by the King's Writs often repeated, Confirm'd by the Opinions of his *Corrupted Judges*, enforc'd with the *severest* Penalties of Imprisonment and Prosecution against the Refusers, and particularly in the noted Case of Mr. *Hambden*; the whole Arguments us'd in his Case, which touch the Merits of the whole Cause *Pro* and *Con*, the Reader may Peruse at large in *Rushworth*'s Appendix to his *Second* Part.

The hearts of all good Subjects and Free-Men were rais'd with joyful expectations from this Parliament, hoping their Grievances wou'd be redress'd; and the Speaker of the House of Commons (Serjeant *Glanvile*) in his first Speech to the King upon his Approbation of him, boldly acquaints him, 'That if by the *Subtilty* of *Misinformers*, by the 'specious false pretences of *public Good*, by cunning and close *Contri-*'vance of their ways to *seduce*, the sacred Royal Person shall at any 'time be *circumvented* or *surpriz'd*, or overwrought or drawn to com-'mand things contrary to Law, and that the same be done accordingly: *These Commands will be void*, and the King innocent in his very 'Person, being defended by the Prerogative: Nevertheless the Au-

(*o*) *Id. Ibid.* p. 662. (*p*) *Id. Ibid.* 691.

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'thors in such Misinformations, and Actors in these abuses will stand 'liable, and expos'd to *strict Examination* and *just Censure*; having no-'thing to defend themselves but the color of a void Command, *made* 'void by *just Prerogative*, and by the *Fundamental and true Reasons of* 'State and Monarchy: And *what Difference* is there, or can be in Law, 'between a *void Command* and *no Command* at all." (q) The House proceeds upon this Principle, Orders the Proceedings against Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, and the other Imprison'd Members of the Parliament (3 and 4 *Caroli*) to be sent for, the Carriage of Sir *John Finch* Speaker of that Parliament to be examin'd, all the Grievances mention'd in many Petitions from Counties and Boroughs to be Stated, and the Records in the Case of Ship-Money concerning Mr. *Hambden*, to be brought into the House, (r) Upon Report, the House Voted *Finch*'s Carriage in not obeying the House, and his adjourning the House by the King's Command, to be a Breach of Privilege. The Grand Committee for Grievances, presents Ship-Money as a *Grievance* (*Ibid.*) And afterwards the Commons resolv'd on these particulars following, as Heads for a Conference to be had with the Lords, '1. Concerning Innovations in Matters of Religion, 2. Liberty and 'Property. 3. Privilege of Parliament'. The first Head I omit here, having taken some Notice of it before, the other two are as follows. '2. 'As to Property of Goods. Resolv'd, that one Head of this Confe-'rence, shall be the Complaints which have been made by the Petitio-'ns from the several Counties, touching the Multitude of *Monopo-'lies* and Restraint of Trade, also the Complaints which have been 'made by several Petitions from the Counties, touching the Grievan-'ces of Ship-Money.

The Complaints which have been made by several Petitions from 'the Counties, of enlarging the *Bounds of Forests* beyond what they 'have been for some hundreds of Years last past,——concerning 'Military Charges. *viz.* Coat & *Conduct-mony*, *Wages* and *Arms*, 'taken from the owners, *forceing* the Country to buy and provide at 'their Charges, horses and Carts by way of Tax——concerning 'the *denyal of Justice* in the Courts of *Westminster*, to the Subjects 'Prejudice in Point of the Property of their Goods. The frequent *Impri-son-*

(q) *Id.* part 2. p. 1124. (r) *Id. Ibid.* p. 1137.

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'*prisonments* and Vexation for Non-payment of *Unwarrantable Taxes*, and for not submitting to *unlawful* Monopolies. Thirdly, as to 'the Liberties and Privilege of Parliament, resolv'd, that one head 'shall be the Complaints that have been made touching the *punishing* 'of men *out of Parliament*, for things done *in Parliament*, in *breach* 'of the *Privileges* of Parliament (*s*).

While the House is a Canvassing those Grievances, the King interrupts them with Messages about the present urgent Necessity of Supplies, and that it must be preferr'd to Grievances, which was the *old Cant* of his Ministry in every Parliament; but such was their feeling sense of the distracted and Miserable Condition of the Nation, that they wou'd not enter upon Supplies, till their Grievances shou'd be first consider'd, and thereby sufficiently express'd their belief of what one of their Members (*t*) said in to the house:

The Commonwealth (*says he*) hath been MISERABLY TORN 'AND MASSACRED, and *all Property* and *Liberty shaken*, the 'CHURCH DISTRACTED, the Gospel and Professors of it per'secuted, and the whole *Nation overrun* with swarms of *projecting Canker-Worms*, and Caterpillars, the *worst of all* the *Egyptian* 'Plagues——all that I shall say to it are but the Words that *Ezra* 'us'd to King *Artaxerxes* of the Settlement of that State——that 'which cur'd theirs I hope will cure ours: his Words are these, *whosoever hath not done the Laws of God, and the King, let Judgment be* 'speedily executed upon him, whether it be unto Banishment, or to Con'fiscation of Goods, or to Imprisonment,——we can't complain we 'want good Laws---there want only *some Examples* that such as 'have been the Authors and Causes of all our Miseries and Distra'ctions in Church and Commonwealth contrary to these good Laws 'might be *Treacle to expel the poison of Mischief out of others* (*u*)' The King rather than let the Grievances be redress'd in a Parliamentary way, dissolves the Parliament, imprisons some of the Members, pursues the *Ship-money*, renews the *Loan*, and gets Subsidies from the Convocation, when the Parliament had refus'd 'em.

While affairs stood thus, Divers Noble Lords, and likewise the whole City of *London* petition'd the King for calling a new Parliament,

(*s*) Id, p. 1148. (*t*) Mr. *Grimstone*. (*u*) Id. Ibid. p. 1129.

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ment, setting forth in those Petitions their great Grievances, on the account of Innovations in Matters of Religion; the *Oath*, *Canons*, and *Benevolence* impos'd by the late *Convocation*, the encrease of Popery, and employing Papists in *Places* of *Trust Civil* and *Military*, contrary to Law; their fears of bringing in *Irish* forces upon 'em, the illegality of *Ship-Mony* and other Taxes then impos'd; and the Intermission and Dissolution of Parliaments without the Redress of Grievances (*w*). And on *November* 3. 1640. the Long Parliament met.

Before the King's leaving of his Parliament and the Commencement of the Civil War, there was an *unexampled Harmony* and *Unanimity* in the Judgment of the 2 Houses concerning the *Main Grievances* complain'd of by the Nation, as appears by the following Votes.

By the House of Commons

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

'That the Charge Impos'd upon all the Subjects for the providing 'and furnishing of Ships and the Assessments for raising of Money, for 'that purpose called the *Ship-Money*, were *against the Laws of the* 'Realm, the *Subjects Right* of *Property*, and contrary to *former Resoluti-* 'ons in Parliament, and to the *Petition of right*.

'2. That the Extrajudicial Opinions of the Judges publish'd in 'the *Star-Chamber* and inroll'd in the Courts at *Westminster* in *hæc* 'verba &c. in the whole and in every part of them, are *against the* 'Laws of the Realm, the *Right of Property* and the *Liberty* of the *Sub-* 'jects, and contrary to *former Resolutions* in Parliament, and to the 'Petition of Right.

'3. That the Writ following in *hæc verba* &c. and the other Writs 'commonly called the Ship-writs are *against the Laws* of the Realm, 'the *Right of Property*, and the *Liberty* of the Subjects, and con- 'trary to *former Resolutions* in Parliament, and to the *Petition of* 'Right.' In their 4*th* Resolution they condemn'd the Judgment against Mr. *Hambden* as illegal.

The Lords reduc'd the whole Substance of these 4 Votes into *three* and agreed with the Judgment of the Commons *nemine Contradicente*; and accordingly order'd 'Vacates and *Cancellations* to be made of the Re-

(*w*) Id. *Ibid.* p. 1261, 1263.

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'Resolutions of the Judges touching the Shipping-Mony, and of the 'Emoluments thereof in the several Courts, and of the Warrants 'for Ship-Writs, and Proceedings therein; and the Judgment giv- 'en against Mr. *Hampden*, and Procedings thereupon; and that En- 'tries be made of these *Vacates* upon the several Rolls, according to 'the Form read in the House (*x*).

Now is it not strange, nay morally Impossible to be true, that if the Court had been wrong'd by these Votes in matters that concern'd the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, the King being present, and at a time, when there was *no Hostility* between him and his People, there shou'd not be *one Member* in either House to give a *single Negative* to these Votes, for a Testimony to the *Pretended Prerogative* of the Prince; but on the contrary, that those Members who *stuck closest* to the King's side in the War, did with as much life and Convincing Reason as any others in the Parliament represent the *dreadful* and *dangerous* Condition of the Nation in their Speeches, made sometimes in the House of Commons, and at other times to the Lords, in Conferences with them, or Impeachments made at their Bar: of which I have (for the Reader's satisfaction) transcrib'd the following Passages.

Mr. *Edward Hide* afterwards Earl of *Clarendon* (*y*) 'My Lords I 'am commanded by the Commons to present to your Lordships a 'great and crying Grievance——— by the Consequence of it, the '*Grievance of the whole Kingdom.* The Court of the President of the '*North*, or as it is more usually call'd, *the Courts of York*——— 'hath so prodigiously broken down the Banks of the first Channel in 'which it ran, as it hath *almost overwhelm'd* that Country under the *Sea* 'of *Arbitrary Power*, and involv'd the People in a Labyrinth of *Distem-* 'per, *Oppression* and *Poverty*. My Lord of *Strafford* came to that Go- 'vernment in December 4 *Caroli*; & since, the Commission hath been 'three several times receiv'd. But unto that Commission of the 8 'and 13 Years of the King's Reign, a new Clause was inserted for 'the Granting, Sequestring and establishing Possessions according to 'Instructions, which crowded in a *Mass of new Exorbitant* and *Into-* *lerable*

(*x*) *Id. Ibid.* Appen. from p. 212. to p. 218. (*y*) p. 1336.

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'lerable Power'; our Complaint is against this Commission it self, and against the *whole Body* of *these Instructions.* The *Ninth* Instruction requires an Obedience to such Ordinances and Determinations as be or shall be made by the Council-Table, or High-Commission-Court. A Grievance of *so Transcendent a Nature*, That your Lordships noble Justice will provide a Remedy for it, with *no less care* than you wou'd *RESCUE THE LIFE AND BLOOD OF THE COMMON-WEALTH.* There are among them in the whole 58 *Instructions, scarce one* that is not against or besides the Law.

(z) 'Mr speaker, the County of *Dorset* have entrusted their Complaints——in a short Memorial of the Heads of them, which was read in the hearing of the Freeholders then present, who all with one voice signify'd upon each particular---their desire, that we shou'd represent them,——and these they are. 1. The great and *Intolerable Burthen* of Ship mony——2. The many great Abuses in pressing Soldiers and raising Monies——3. The multitude of Monopolies. 4. The new Canon, and the Oath to be taken by Lawyers, Divines &c. 5. The Oath requir'd to be taken by Church-Officers to present according to *Articles new and unusual:* Besides this, there was presented to us by a very considerable part of the Clergy of that County, a Note containing two particulars. 1. The Imposition of a new Oath——which they conceive to be *illegal*, and such as they *cannot take* with a *good Conscience.* 2. The requiring of a Pretended Benevolence, but in Effect a *Subsidy*, under the *Penalty of Suspension, Excommunication and Deprivation, ALL BENEFIT OF APPEAL EXCLUDED.*

(a) Mr. *Speaker*, I have in Charge to present the Grievances of *Kent.* 1. The great Increase of Papists, by the remiss Execution of the Laws——2. The introducing and countenancing of divers *new Ceremonies* in Religion--3. A great Grievance by the Military Charges. 1. Of *Coat* and *Conduct*-Mony. 2. The inhancing the Price of Gunpowder ——3.—— A thousand of our best Arms were taken from the owners and sent into *Scotland:* the Compulsory way was this, *if you will not send your Arms you shall go your selves.* The

(z) Lord *Digby* with the King at *Oxford.* p. 1337. (a) Sir *John Culpeper* afterwards with the King at *Oxford.* p. 1338.

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'The next Grievance is the *Canons*——— the oath *et cætera*, made 'by a Convocation that ended with the Parliament, yet afterwards 'the same men without any new Election were *Shuffled into a Sa-* 'cred Synod, and without Parliament *assum'd to themselves Power* to 'make Laws, to *grant Benevolence* and to *meddle with our freehold* '[b]. The next is *Shipmony*, it cries aloud, it strikes the *first-born* 'of every Family, I mean *our Inheritance.* If the Laws give the 'King Power in any danger of the Kingdom whereof he is Judge, 'to impose what and when he please, we owe all that is left to 'the Goodness of the King. There is one Grievance more, but 'it Comprizeth many, it is a Nest of Wasps or Swarm of Ver- 'mine, which have overcrept the Land. I mean the *Monopolies* & 'Pollers of the People: These like the Frogs of *Egypt* have gotten 'Possession of our Dwellings; they *sup* in our *Cup*, they *dip* in our 'Dish, they *sit* by our *fire*, we find them in the *Wash-house*, and 'powdering-Tub, they share with the Buttler in his Box; they 'have *mark'd* and *seal'd* us from *Head* to *foot*, they will not abate 'us a Pin; These are the Leeches that have *suck'd the Commonwealth,* 'so hard, that it is almost become Hectical.

(c) 'My Lords, the Articles against Judge *Crauley* you have 'heard,——— how these *Sons* of the *Law* have torn out the Bowels 'of their *Mother.* This Imposition of *Shipmony* springing from a 'pretended necessity———they entail upon the State for ever, 'at once making *Necessity inherent to the Crown*, and *Slavery to the* 'Subject———certainly there is no Privilege more properly be- 'longs to a Parliament than to open the Purse of a Subject, and yet 'these Judges——— have not only assum'd this Privilege of Parlia- 'ment, but presum'd *at once* to make a present to the Crown *of all* 'that either your Lordships or the Commons of *England do or shall* 'hereafter Possess.

(d) 'Mr. *Speaker*, The Constitution of this Commonwealth hath e- 'stablish'd, or rather endeavor'd to establish to us the Security of 'our Goods, and the Security of these Laws which wou'd secure us, and

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[b] I'm perswaded that neither Puritan nor Presbyterian Assembly ever did the like of this. [c] Mr. *Waller* afterwards sentenc'd to death for adhering to K. *Char.* 1. p. 1339. (d) Lord *Faulkland* afterwards with the King at *Oxford.* Printed Collection of Speeches &c. p. 337, &c.

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'and our Goods; by appointing for us Judges, so settled, so Sworn, 'that there can be no Oppression, but they of necessity must be Ac- 'cessary: since if they neither deny nor delay us Justice, which *nei- 'ther for the Great nor the little Seal*, they ought to do; the greatest 'Person in this Kingdom cannot continue the least Violence upon 'the Meanest. But this Security, Mr. *Speaker*, hath been almost 'our Ruine; for it hath been turn'd, or rather turned it self into a 'Battery against us: And those Persons who shou'd have been as *Dogs 'to defend the Sheep*, have been as *Wolves to worry them* —— The 'Cause of all our Miseries we have suffer'd, and the Cause of all our 'Jealousies we have had, that we shou'd yet suffer, is, that a most Ex- 'cellent Prince hath been most infinitely abus'd by his Judges, *telling 'him that by Policy he might do what he pleas'd.* —— And since in 'procuring of those Laws, upon which those Men have trampled, 'our Ancestors have shown their utmost Care and Wisdom, for our 'unaffected Security, Words having done nothing, and yet having 'done all that Words can do, we must now be forc'd to think of A- 'bolishing our Grievances, and of taking away this Judgment, and 'these Judges together, and of regulating their Successors by *their 'Exemplary Punishment* —— Among these there is one that I 'must not loose in the Croud —— who not only gave away *with his 'breath* what our Ancestors had Purchas'd for us by so large an Ex- 'pence of *their time*, *their Care*, *their Treasure*, *and their Blood* ------ 'but strove to root up those Liberties- -- And to make our Grievan- 'ces Immortal, and our Slavery Irreparable, lest *any Part of our 'Posterity might want occasion to curse him* —— It is my Lord- 'Keeper —— for my part, I think no Man secure, whilst all our 'Estates are in his Breast, who hath sacrific'd his Country to his Am- 'bition; whilst he who hath prostrated his own Conscience, hath 'the keeping of the King's, and he who hath *undone us already by 'Wholesale*, hath a Power left in him *by Retail.*

'(*e*) Mr. *Speaker*, when I look upon the Body of this good and 'flourishing Kingdom in matters of Religion and of our Laws (for 'like *Hippocrates* Twins they Live and Die together) I say when I 'behold these in that State and Plight, as they have been represented to

(*e*) Mr. *Begshaw* afterwards with the King at *Oxford*. *Id.* p. 345, &c.

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'to us, *flere magis libet quam dicere.* But this is our Comfort, that we are all met together, for the Welfare and Happineſs of Prince and People. And who knows whether this may not be the appointed time, wherein God will reſtore our Religion as at the firſt, and our Laws as at the beginning —— To make People rich they muſt have Eaſe and Juſtice; *Eaſe* in their Conſciences from the *Bane* of Superſtition, from the *intolerable Burthen* of *Innovation* in Religion, and from the Racks & Tortures of *Strange* and *New-fangled* Oaths. They muſt be eas'd in their Perſons —— in their Lands —— in their Goods —— yet if they have not Juſtice they cannot ſubſiſt. —— The King is Styl'd *Fons Juſtitiæ*, and he commits it to his Judges —— but not without an Oath requir'd of them 18 *Eliz.* 31. —— The effect of the Oath is, that they ſhou'd do equal Law and Execution of Right to all the King's Subjects —— That they ſhou'd not deny to do common Right to any Man for the King's Letters, or for any other Cauſe; & in caſe ſuch Letters do, that they *proceed to do the Law notwithſtanding ſuch Letters*,---- how this Oath hath been perform'd, we have ſeen and felt; I wou'd ſay no more; but when I caſt my Eyes upon the inferior Courts of Juſtice, wherein no ſuch Oath is requir'd: I mean the *High-Commiſſion*, and *other Eccleſiaſtical* Courts, *my Soul hath Bled* for the *MANY PRESSURES I have obſerv'd* —— in theſe Courts againſt the King's good People; eſpecially for the moſt *MONSTROUS ABUSE* of the Oath *ex Officio*, which, *as it is now us'd*, I can call no other than *Carnificina Conſcientiæ* —— Theſe Worthies that ſpoke before me, have told you of our Miſeries; but I cannot tell you of the Remedies: For things are come to that Height, that I may ſay, as *Livy* ſaid of the Roman State in his time, *nec Vitia noſtra ſcire poſſumus, nec Remedia*: for no Laws will now do us good; better Laws cou'd not have been made than the Statute of Monopolies, againſt Projectors, and the *Petition of Right* againſt the Infringers of Liberties; and yet, as if the Law had been the Author of them; There hath been *within theſe few Years* more Monopolies and *Infringement of Liberties, THAN HATH BEEN IN ANY AGE SINCE THE CONQUEST.* And if all theſe vile Harlots, as Q. *Eliz.* call'd 'em, that have been the Authors of thoſe evils, and the Troublers of our *Iſrael* do go unpuniſh'd, it will never be better with us; for now during Parliament like frozen Snakes

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'their Poyson dries up, but let the Parliament dissolve, and then 'their Poyson melts and scatters abroad, and doth more hurt than 'ever.—— My conclusion, Mr. *Speaker* is this —— let them be 'made Examples of Punishment who have been the Authors of all 'these Miseries, according to the Counsel of *Solomon*, *Take away the* 'Wicked from before the King, *and his Throne shall be establish'd* &c.

(*f*) 'My Lords, there can't be a greater Instance of a sick and 'languishing *Common wealth* than the business of this day. Good 'God! How have the guilty these late Years been punish'd, when 'the Judges themselves have been Delinquents.' 'Tis no such Marvel, 'that an IRREGULAR, EXTRAVAGANT, ARBITRARY 'POWER, like a Torrent, hath broke in upon us, when our 'Banks and our Bulwarks, the Laws were in the Custody of such 'Persons. Men who had *lost* their *Innocence* cou'd not *preserve* their 'Courage. Nor cou'd we look that they who had so visibly undone 'us themselves shou'd have the vertue or Credit, to rescue us from 'the Oppression of other men.——Had not *this blessed* day come, all 'men wou'd have had that quarrel to the Law it self, which *Marius* 'had to the *Greek* Tongue, who thought it a Mockery, for a Man 'to learn that Language, the Masters whereof liv'd in Bondage 'under others.——It is in your Lordships Power---to restore the 'dejected broken People of this Island to their former Joy and Se-'curity, the Successors of those men to their Old Privilege and Ve-'neration, and SEPULTAS PROPE LEGES REVOCARE.

(*g*) 'It is most certain that there hath not been in all that De-'duction of Ages (*i. e. since the Conquest*) such a Conspiracy—— of 'all the Elements of Mischief to bring a flourishing Kingdom (if it 'were possible) to swift Ruin and Desolation. I will be bold to say '(and I thank God we have so good a King under whom we may 'speak boldly of the abuse by ill Ministers, without Reflection up-'on his Person) that an *Accumulation of all the Public Grievances* 'since *Magna Charta*, put one upon another unto that hour in which 'the *Petition of Right* past into an Act of Parliament, wou'd not 'amount to so Oppressive, I am sure not to so Destructive a Height and

(*f*) *Mr. Edw. Hide Rush.* Collect. Part 2. p. 1360, &c. (*g*) Lord *Digby Id. Ibid.* p. 1342.

'and Magnitude, to the Rights and Property of the Subject, AS ONE BRANCH *of our beſlaving*, ſince the *Petition of Right*. The 'branch I mean is the Judgment concerning *Ship-Mony*, as for unmatcht Oppreſſion and Enthralling of free Subjects in a time of 'the beſt King's Reign, and in Memory of the beſt Laws enacted in 'favor of the Subject's Liberty, let any man find a truer Cauſe than 'the *Ruptures* and *Intermiſſion* of Parliaments. 'Tis true, Sir, wicked 'Miniſters have been the Proximate Cauſes of our Miſeries; but 'the want of Parliaments the Primary and the Efficient Cauſe. Ill 'Miniſters have made ill Times, but that, Sir, hath made ill Miniſters.

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From theſe and many ſuch Speeches, of great Royaliſts, and the Unanimity of the above mention'd Votes of both Houſes, the Nations juſt and deep ſenſe of the Univerſal Encroachments that were made upon their Fundamental Liberties and Properties by Arbitrary Power is abundantly manifeſted; and the ſame doth further appear from divers Acts of this Parliament, to which the King himſelf gave the Royal Aſſent, viz. *An Act for the preventing inconveniencies happening by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments. An Act to prevent the Inconveniencies by the untimely adjourning of this Parliament. An Act for the Regulating of the Privy Council, and for taking away the Court commonly call'd the Stare-Chamber. Repeal of the branch of a Statute* 1. *Eliz. concerning Commiſſioners, or Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. An Act for the declaring unlawful and void the late Proceedings touching Ship-mony, and for the vocating all Records and Proceſſes concerning the ſame. An Act againſt divers encroachments and Oppreſſions in the Stannery Courts. An Act for the Certainty of Foreſts, and of the Meets, Meers, Limits and Bounds of the Foreſts. An Act for preventing of vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knight-hood. An Act about Tunnage and Poundage.*

Seeing the Experience of all the former Parliaments of this Reign had made it evident that the beſt Laws they did or cou'd make, or which had been made for them by their Anceſtors cou'd do them no Service, without the *Exemplary Puniſhment* of thoſe who had *trampled* upon them; This Parliament then falls to Work, and reſolves to Purge the Court of ſuch Time-ſerving Flatterers and Oppreſſors, as by their Counſel had abus'd the King's Honor and endanger'd the People's ſafety. My Lord Keeper *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank* fled for

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the same. *Strafford* is beheaded, but much against the King's Will. *Laud* and the unjust Judges are impeach'd. While the King is in *Scotland*, the horrid and bloody *Irish* Massacre breaks out, which alarm'd all the Protestants of the three Kingdoms, and convinc'd the *Long Parliament* of the Absolute necessity of Proceeding in *their intended* Method of bringing all the Instruments of their Miseries to a deserv'd Punishment. Accordingly the Commons prepare a Remonstrance (upon the King's return to *London* which was in *November* 1641) wherein they set forth all the *illegal* and *oppressive* Practices of his evil Counsellors and *Ministers* of *State*, with their ill Consequences happen'd already, and to be justly fear'd, if the Actors shou'd go unpunish'd. And while they are prosecuting this Design, the King in *January* following *comes in Person* with a *Company of Arm'd Men* into the House then sitting, and demands five of their Members to be deliver'd to him, to be Try'd for High-Treason. This unaccountable *breach of* their *Priviledge* fill'd them and the Kingdom with such *Consternation*, as they no longer thought their Lives Safe, and therefore were guarded by such as had a respect for 'em and their Privileges. 'Tis true, the King promises not to do the like again, but while his *evil Counsellors* were about him, who *for* 15 *Years* had in so *many noted* Instances made him *break his Royal Word*, they durst not trust him; and hence arose the Debate between him and them concerning the Militia; they urging that the Power and Trust of it might be put into such hands as both Houses of Parliament might confide in, as absolutely necessary for the Nations safety; (for which as also for their Demands, about other places of Public Trust, they give a *vast number* of known Precedents in their Declaration upon the breaking up of the Treaty between him and them, *Anno* 1643. (*b*)) which he refus'd to do; He leaves his Parliament, goes to *York*, and from thence to *Hull*, where Sir *John Hotham* refus'd him Entrance, and at *Nottingham* in *August* following, *set up his Standard*, Proclaims the Parliament *Rebels*, and gathers an Army against them.

From all the Public Acts, Records, Petitions, Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Commissions, Impeachments and other Actions, and

(*b*) *vide* the *Proceedings* of the late Treaty of Peace &c. Printed by Order of both Houses p. 82.

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and well Attested Historical Observations mention'd in the Premisses, from the 195th page of this Discourse, let the impartial Reader judge, whether the *fundamental* and *Vital Liberties* and most *essential* Properties of the People of *England* were not Manifestly overturn'd by the Male-Administrations of this Reign. If none but the long Parliament had complain'd of this, one might have had some ground at least to suspect, that all might have been but the noise and *Clamor* of a *Faction*, combin'd against the *honest* Designs of the *Court*: but from what hath been said, 'tis clear that *Grievances, Oppression & Infringement of Liberties*, was the CONSTANT CRY of all his Parliaments whatsoever. Is it not strange, that all the Marks of Disgrace he put upon his Parliaments, by his Messages to them, imprisoning their Members, and publishing such bitter invectives against them in his Declarations after their Dissolution, and all the means that cou'd be us'd by the Court for new Elections; that all this, I say, cou'd never *procure him one Parliament in* 15 *years time*, that cou'd *either please him or be pleas'd with him?*

Can any man of Judgment offer so much Violence to his Reason, as to believe, that the *English* Nation (whose *Gallant* and *Loyal* Genius stands Celebrated in the Records of *Immortal* Fame) shou'd so universally and Constantly, in so many different Parliaments, conspire to load the Methods of their Prince's Government with such Dishonorable Aspersions and Scandalous Libels, as their Proceedings might have been truly accounted, if they had not been justify'd by an Unparallell'd *Series* of Oppression from the *Court?* For what supposable Reason did the King intermit Parliaments for above Eleven Years, but for this, because he was *hopeless of getting any* that wou'd approve of his *Measures?* For certainly the most Arbitrary Prince in the World wou'd rather have his People on *his Side* than against him.

If any reason be sufficient to justify *Resistance*, it must be when *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* are *undermin'd*; which appears to have been the Cause of the Parliaments War against this Prince. And I wou'd gladly know, *what Degree* of Violation and *Invasion* of a People's *Rights* Religious and Civil will *justify* this Resistance, if *those* made by the then-Court were not sufficient to do it? And whether, supposing the Encroachments made on each of them separately were not sufficient ground for Resistance, yet the Encroachments made

on

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As the Evils the People groan'd under were intolerable; so their Patience before they took up Arms, was surprizing; and *exceeded all* the Instances, wherein the *English* Nation ever resisted by Arms the Exorbitant and illegal Will of their Princes, for reducing it to just Bounds. For tho' the Grievances of the Nation were more in one Year of this King's Reign than in both the Reigns of *Edward* 2*d* and *Richard* 2. (*i.*) (as the Reader may be fully satisfied by comparing their several Histories) whom their Subjects resisted, yet in this Case they waited 16 years till things grew daily worse; and after all, the Subject drew not the Sword untill of *three branches* of the Supreme Legislature they were *directed and headed by two of them* to rescue the Nation from utter Confusion and Ruin; and until the greatest if not the only Barrier of their Liberties, viz. *That all Subjects whatsoever, even the greatest Ministers of State are accountable to and Punishable in Parliament*, was flatly, frequently, and without hopes of Recovery any other way deny'd 'em; and until he refus'd to put the Executive Power into such hands as the Parliament durst *confide* in for the *safety* of their *Lives* to *Sit* and do *business*. And that their fears and jealousies were not groundless, appears by the King's Letters to the Queen intercepted by the Parliament, and publish'd in their Account of the breaking up of the Treaty with him (p. 74.); wherein he discovers his Designs of filling these Places with Persons recommended by her Councils, and imparts to her his other Projects; and therefore 'twas no great wonder, that several of those who follow'd the King shou'd say (as *Coke* observes) (*k*) *They as much dreaded the King's overcoming the Parliament-Party, as they fear'd to be overcome by them.* That Author farther says of him, (*l*) 'The first fifteen years of his Reign were 'perfectly *French*, and such as never before were seen or heard of in 'the *English* Nation. This brought on a miserable War in all the three King-

(*i*) as *Coke* assures us Detect. Part 1. p. 397. (*k*) *Ibid.* p. 396, (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 205.

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'Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and Deſtruction upon 'the King, when as it was not in the Power of thoſe who firſt rais'd 'the War againſt him to ſave his Life, which they wou'd have done. '----- And let any Man read the ſhort Paſſages of his Reign (*ſays he*) '(*m*) and judge if the Imminent Ruin of the Nation were not *from 'himſelf within*, as well as *without*. No human proſpect (*ſays he*) (*n*) 'cou'd have foreſeen where the Tyranny of K. *Charles* I's Reign 'wou'd *have ended*, if the *long Parliament* in 1640. had not put a *full 'ſtop* to it.

The true end of a lawful War is, that an injur'd Party may preſerve or recover by the Sword ſome Right which he can't recover or preſerve any other way; and therefore a War ſhou'd ſtill be the laſt Remedy. To apply this to the Caſe in hand: The points in Debate and in danger of imminent Ruine, namely, *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* are *valuable* Rights, worthy of all Endeavors for their Preſervation and Reſtitution; but theſe cou'd not be *preſerv'd* or *reſtor'd* by any other Method, than the ſubjects defenſive Arms. *No* Laws, *no* Petitions, *no* Remonſtrances, *no* Eſſay us'd, *no* Patience exercis'd *did prevail* upon the Court; and therefore what cou'd the Parliament and other Subjects do, but either *reſiſt* by Arms or *tamely ſit ſtill*, and ſee the good and Happineſs of Society intirely ruin'd and ſacrific'd, which Mr *Hoadly* thinks a *greater Contradiction to the Will of God than any oppoſition can be, as being a tacit Conſent to the Ruine and Miſery of Mankind, whoſe public Peace and Happineſs is the end of Government.*

What other reaſons can be given fot reſiſting the late King *James*, than thoſe which juſtify'd the Reſiſting of his Father? 'Tis true, King *James* was a Profeſt Papiſt: But ſeeing the *Bill of Excluſion* was rejected; his being a Papiſt, as it cou'd not keep him out, ſo it cou'd not *legally* turn him out, nor juſtify Reſiſtance *merely* on that ſcore: and therefore it muſt be his illegal attempts upon Religion, Liberty and property, that juſtify'd the *Revolution*: and the very ſame do equally juſtify the Commencement of the War againſt his Father. And yet the People of *England* waited 16 Years before they reſiſted the Father; tho' their Patience was quite tir'd out, before

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 292. (*n*) Part 2, p. 469.

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fore they had waited 5 Years under the Son. They resisted not the Father till *both Houses of Parliament declar'd for it*, and press'd 'em to it. They resisted the *Son* without looking upon themselves oblig'd to *wait for any such Formality*. After they had resisted the Father, they *petition'd* him as their *lawful Prince*, treated with him, begg'd him to return to his Parliament, and Govern according to Law; and after they had quite subdu'd and rooted all his Forces, and so had Power to do what they pleas'd, yet they *voted* his Concessions *satisfactory*, and to be sufficient Ground for a Treaty; all which shew'd that they carry'd on a War with *no design* to *Dethrone* him, or declare him to have *abdicated*; But they had *no sooner resisted* the Son, but they declare his Throne vacant; Entertain not the least thoughts of repossessing him of it, but take *all Methods* possible to put it out of his Power to come at it. Were all those *Glorious Steps* of *Resistance* to K. *James* built upon the *Impregnable* Foundation of *Equity*, *Justice* and the *public Good*; and to be espous'd and cordially maintain'd as the *Essential* and *Honorable* Principles of the late *HAPPY REVOLUTION*? And shall a *lesser* and MORE LIMITED Resistance to K. *Charles* 1. tho' supported by the same Reasons, which warranted a greater and more Absolute one to his Son, be justly tax'd with Rebellion?

Upon the whole, I leave it to the Reader, to form a Judgment for himself, whether the Presbyterians were Guilty of Rebellion, in taking part with the Parliament in their War; and tho' I won't give my own Judgment as to the Merits of the Cause, yet I shall adventure to say, that they had a *great deal to say* for themselves; especially considering, that in the Parliament (at the beginning of that War) there were not *ten Members*, who were profess'd Presbyterians, as my Lord *Clarendon* confesseth, and therefore if the Presbyterians were Rebels, they were INVITED and COMMANDED to be such by their BRETHREN OF THE ESTABLISH'D CHURCH, and by those who were sitting in a Legal Parliament, and acting for the rescuing of the *violated Sinking Liberties* of the Nation: And the Act of *Oblivion* hath laid a just Foundation for removing all Grounds of Reproach upon *that Account*. The King's Party as well as the Parliament's needed such an Act.

Before I come to the second Crime objected against Presbyterians during this Reign, I must take notice of our Author's Objections against *three* Petitions of the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland*

to

to the *General Assembly*. While he is answering the Challenge of the Author of the *Parallel*, which is to *shew the Rebellions, the Associations) Factions &c. which the Dissenters of Ireland ever rais'd against their Prince, tho' they shou'd go back to the Year* 41, 48. *and* 60. He refers to the Acts of the General Assembly for 'Three Petitions from the 'Dissenters of the *North of Ireland* to the General Assembly of 'Scotland: The first in *July* 1642. sent by *James Gordon* and *Hugh* 'Campbel: The second was dated *August* 5. 1643. The 3*d* in *May* '1645. from *Belfast*, deliver'd by *William Mc Hennah* Merchant. In 'all which Petitions you will plainly discover *(says he)* what their 'Temper and *Disposition* then was both to the King and Royal Party '(p. 15.). Part 2.

In all these three Petitions (which I have carefully perus'd) I don't find the least Syllable relating to the King, or his Name so much as mention'd except once; and 'tis in the last of them, in these Words; *We are nothing shaken in our minds, with the odious Aspersions of Sedition, Combination against the King &c.* And seeing they disown any Combination against the King, by giving it the Name of an *Odious Aspersion*, I think 'twill be pretty hard from thence to conclude any thing against their Loyalty. I confess I am at loss to find out the *least Consequence* from any of these three Petitions, to prove what our Author *Alledgeth* from 'em; & until he shall think fit to form an Argument from 'em (which I don't find he has once attempted) I shan't think my self much concern'd with them.

The Prayer of those Petitions being for a *Mission* of *Ministers* of their own Persuasion to supply the poor distress'd Remnant of *Presbyterians* in *Ulster*, who had surviv'd the Bloody Massacre of 41; they mention in their several Narratives the Severities formerly us'd against them by the Prelates in *Wentworth*'s Government; but where the *Sedition*, the *Rebellion*, or *any other Fault* of this was, our Author proves not. Because they speak against the Tyranny of some of the then-Prelates, must they therefore be disloyal? What's very observable is, That as our Author quotes these Petitions for a purpose which they no way tend to advance *viz. Disloyalty against the Government*, so he intirely passeth the Sufferings and Oppression of *Presbyterians* mention'd in them, without any Remark. And indeed he had great reason to do so, considering the Illegal and Arbitrary Imposition of the Oath commonly call'd the *Black-Oath* in *Ireland* upon all Per-

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sons of the *Scottish* Nation of the Age of 16 years and upwards, who were then Inhabitants in *Ireland*, upon severe Penalties. The *want* of *Parliamentary Authority* and *Sanction* to the said Oath was a sufficient Reason (even tho' the matter of it had been unexceptionable) to justify any one's refusing it. But the Presbyterians refus'd it not only for its being Illegally impos'd, but because of the *Pernicious* Tendency of the matter of the Oath it self to destroy *Liberty* and *Property*: For it oblig'd 'em to Swear in the following Words, 'I will 'not bear Arms, or do any Rebellious or Hostile Act against ANY 'OF HIS (*i. e.* the Kings) ROYAL COMMANDS, but submit my 'self in all due Obedience thereunto; and that I will not enter into 'any Covenant or Band of Mutual Defence or Assistance against *any* '*Person whatsoever* by Forces, without his Majesty's Sovereign and 'Regal Authority. And I do Renounce and Abjure all Oaths, Co-'venants, and Bands whatsoever, contrary to what I have herein 'Sworn, profess'd and promis'd. So help me God in Jesus Christ.

They look'd upon this to be a *dangerous Insnaring* Oath; because it might be interpreted as an Approbation and Assenting to the *slavish Doctrine* of the *Unlawfulness* of *Resistance* upon any *Pretence whatsoever*. The *Royal Commands* are to be *limited* by the *Constitution* and *Laws* of the Kingdom; and if the King shou'd Command the Subject to join in the Destruction of Religion, Liberty, and Property, and in the Overthrow of the *Municipal* and *Fundamental Laws*, and Essential Privileges of Free born Subjects, they cou'd not consent to divest 'emselves, upon Oath, of their Right of Self-Defence, without a manifest betraying of the Liberties of the Nation which they durst not Swear to do, having always testify'd an Inviolable Regard for them. The Principles of *Strafford* and his Party (the Contrivers and Imposers of this Oath) leading to Arbitrary Government, were, according to the Rules of all Casuists in such Cases, consider'd in order to the Understanding of the Oath fram'd by them for serving the Court-Designs of that Reign.

This Oath, tho' illegal not only for its matter as tending to *subvert* the *Civil Constitution*, but also for want of a due Authority to impose it, was violently urg'd by a High-flown Party in *Ireland*, headed by *Wentworth* in Conjunction with the *Laudensian* Faction in *England*. For refusing it, Multitudes of *sincere* Protestants were banish'd, and miserably persecuted: By *which means* the remaining part of the Protestants

teſtants of *Ireland* became a more *eaſy* Prey to the Bloody Papiſts, who ſoon improv'd the Advantage given to their Cauſe, by ſo remarkable a Blow as the *Proteſtant* Intereſt had got by theſe violent Courſes. Part 2.

And 'tis very obſervable, that as the Moderation of the Government towards Presbyterians was the great Means of Planting *Ulſter*, ſo Perſecution weakned the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtant* Intereſt, and was the direful Forerunner of the Bloody Rebellion in 1641. Yet Divine Providence by removing the Presbyterian Miniſters out of the Kingdom before the Rebellion (being driven away by *Wentworth*'s Perſecution and the Black-Oath) kept them alive, and *reſerv'd* them for farther Service to their Flocks, who receiv'd them again with great joy and Comfort, when their Perſecutors had either periſh'd, or been driven away by the Common Calamity. And thereby a door was open'd for the replanting of the Goſpel in theſe Presbyterian Congregations, whoſe Miniſters had been baniſh'd by the *High-Church-Faction*. Why may not this be told, without any ground for that Cenſure which our Author places upon the Presbyterians (p. 19.) 'Is not this (*ſays he*) a wondrous mark of their Tenderneſs & Protection of the Loyal Epiſcopal Party at that time, when their Baniſhment by the *Papiſts* was reckon'd by theſe Charitable Brethren the *Opening a Door* (as they ſay there) *for the planting of the Goſpel*, as if they reputed them *Infidels*,' the Presbyterians never call'd their Brethren of the Epiſcopal Church *Infidels*, nor ever gave any juſt Occaſion to believe that they *reputed them* to be ſuch. Nay they believe (and always did) That there are of that Communion many worthy Proteſtants and good Chriſtians, tho' they conform'd to divers things in the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, which were *againſt* the *Conſciences* of Presbyterians. And therefore the widening of the Breach among Proteſtants to that unaccountable Degree, as to perſuade the World (as our Author does) that one part of them reputes the other to be *Infidels*, is Diſſerviceable to our Common Chriſtianity: Eſpecially, when there is nothing in the Expreſſion he quotes, to ſupport the Charge founded upon it.

But I come next to conſider the ſecond Crime charg'd upon Presbyterians during this Reign *viz.* That the *Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly of Scotland* oppos'd Duke *Hamilton*'s Undertaking in 1648; who went into *England* with an Army to *fight for the King*; That

Part 2. they did so, is very true: But our Author falsifieth the History of it in divers Material Circumstances and Insinuations. 'This Declaration of the Assembly *(says he* p. 6.*)* was made to the Estates, who had by an Act of Parliament, rais'd an Army to go into *England*, to rescue the King out of the hands of the Sectaries; which Expedition the Assembly of the *Kirk* Oppos'd, Declam'd against, and afterwards did excommunicate the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the whole Army for engaging in that Expedition against the Consent of the Assembly' He falsely insinuates, That the Assembly had no mind to have *had the King rescu'd out of the hands of the Sectaries*, as if their Opposition to Duke *Hamilton* had flow'd from that Spring; Whereas *no Persons* were *greater* Enemies to the *Sectaries* than they, and less fond of their Usurped Power, and by all Methods proper for them resented the ill usage of his Majesty's *Royal Person* at that very time, 'We cannot but ABHOR *(say they)* (o) the Purposes of any who mind the Subversion of *Monarchical Government*, which we *heartily wish* to be preserv'd and continu'd in his Majesty's Person and Posterity; and we do no less *dislike* the Practices of those who deal so hardly with his Majesty's *Person*, earnestly desiring that he were in the Condition he was in by the Advice of both Kingdoms before he was taken away by a Party of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army.

The Commission of the General Assembly in their humble Advice and Petition to the Honorable Estates of Parliament *June* 10. 1648, do clear themselves from any Disloyal Design or Principle in opposing the *Duke*'s Engagement, while they assure their Lordships with an awful Solemnity in these Words, (p. 18.) 'We call to Record the *Searcher of all hearts*, the *Judge* of the *World*, that our not concurring with your Lordships Proceedings hitherto, hath not flow'd from want of Zeal against Sectaries, for the Suppression of whom, and for the Advancement of a Work of Reformation, we are ready to *hazard all in a lawful way*; Nor from *any Remissness* in that which concerns his Majesty's *true Honor and Happiness*, and the *Preservation of Monarchical Government* in him and his Posterity, 'nor

(o) *vide* a Declaration and Exhortation of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, to their Brethren in *England*, Acts Assemb. p. 409.

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' nor from any want of tenderneſs of the Privileges of Parliament; nor from want of Sympathy with our afflicted and oppreſs'd Brethren in *England*; nor from Partial or Siniſtrous reſpect to any Party or Perſon whatſoever within the Kingdom; but from meer Tenderneſs in the Point of Security of Religion, and the Union between the Kingdoms, and from the Unſatisfactorineſs of the Grounds of your Lordſhips Declaration, as hath been expreſs'd more at length in our Repreſentation.

The true Reaſons why the Church of *Scotland* look'd upon that undertaking to be unlawful are repreſented at large in the Papers of the Aſſembly and their Commiſſioners, of which our Author has not taken any Notice, tho' they are all in Print. It wou'd be too tedious to recite them all; but what I am to mention ſhall be under three Heads. That Expedition was unlawful. 1. Becauſe the Parliament of *Scotland* neglected to treat with *England*, when they might have done it, for preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. 2. As *matters then ſtood*, 'twas dangerous to the Intereſt of Religion. 3. It was carried on by *unlawful means*.

As to the firſt, the Aſſembly give us their Senſe in the following words, (*p*) ' We are commanded if it be poſſible and as much as lyeth in us to ' have *Peace with all Men*, Rom. 12. 18. to *ſeek Peace and purſue it*, ' *Pſal.* 34. 14. War and Blood-ſhed is the *laſt Remedy* after *all the* ' *Ways and Means of Peace* have been us'd in vain. The intended War ' of the *nine Tribes* and a *half* againſt the *two Tribes and half was prevented* by a Meſſage and Treaty of Peace, *Joſh.* 22. The like means was ' us'd by *Jepthah* (tho' not with the like Succeſs) for preventing of ' War with the King of *Ammon. Judg.* 11. The very light of Nature ' hath taught Heathens not to make War, till *firſt all* Amicable ways ' of preventing Bloodſhed were tried; yet this War hath been driven on *without obſerving* any ſuch Method of Proceeding, except by a ' Meſſage wherein not ſo much as one breach was repreſented. Yea, ' tho' theſe Two Kingdoms are ſtraitly united in Covenant, yet theſe ' who have carried on this War did *not only neglect* to deſire a Trea-

' ty

(*p*) *Ult. July* 1648. A Declaration of the General Aſſembly concerning the preſent Dangers of Religion, and eſpecially the Unlawful *Engagement* in War, &c. In the Acts of the General Aſſembly p. 388.

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'ty, *but also slight* an offer of a Treaty made from the Parliament *of England*, upon the Propositions of both Kingdoms.

The Committee of Estates of Parliament made and publish'd *some few observations upon the Declaration of the General Assembly*, and they reply to what has been offer'd from that Declaration, in these Words, (p. 5.) 'To the third, because *there hath been no Treaty*, That is de-'nied, because our Commissioners did for a long time represent 'Wrongs, and seek Repiration, as is mention'd in their Papers giv-'en unto the Parliament of *England*, and approven in this Parlia-'ment; also a Messenger with our just and necessary Demands, was 'sent to their Houses in *April* last; yet, by the Prevalency of *Sect-'aries*, no Satisfaction is return'd thereunto.

The Commissioners of the General Assembly *August* 15. 1648. publish'd their answer to the *Observations of the Committee of Estates*, wherein they defend the Assembly's Declaration against the *Engagement*; and in Answer to *that exception* of the Committee of Estates which I have recited, they say (p. 12, 13.)

'The Argument in the Assembly's Declaration was to this sense: 'Whatsoever Engagement in War is undertaken without *first essay-'ing* the *lawful, possible and ordinary* Means of preventing Bloodshed, 'is *unlawful* and *sinful*: But the present Engagement is such; Therefore, '&c. 'Tis to be observ'd that their Lordships do not deny the *Propo-'sition*, but only the *Assumption* of this Argument; The Reasons of 'their Denyal are two, 1. Because the Commissioners at *London* did 'represent Wrongs and seek Reparation. 2. Because a Messenger 'was sent with the Demands of the Parliament of this Kingdom to 'the Kingdom of *England*. But here 'tis not to be forgotten, that 'neither the Commissioners at *London*, nor the Messenger here 'meant of, did make known to the Parliament of *England* the breach-'es found & declar'd by the Parliament of this Kingdom in their De-'claration to the Kingdom concerning the Grounds and Causes of 'the present Engagement. How can it then be suppos'd that all 'the Means of preventing Bloodshed were sufficiently essay'd, seeing 'the very Grounds and Causes of the War found by the Parliament 'of this kingdom, *were not so much as made known* to the Parliament 'of *England*, that their answer thereunto might be heard; and whe-'ther there is some other Mystery in the not making known those 'Breaches to the Parliament of *England*, time may peradventure dis-

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'cover. 2. Their Lordships are pleas'd here to pass in silence that 'which seemed most strange to the General Assembly, that the offer 'of a Treaty upon the Propositions of both Kingdoms being made by 'the Parliament of *England*, was YET SLIGHTED and not em-'brac'd by the Parliament of this Kingdom. 3. Was not the Town 'of *Berwick* seized upon (which Act now their Lordships own in this 'Paper of their *Observations*) before the Messenger was sent with 'the demands to the *Houses* of *Parliament*? from all which laid toge-'ther, it will quickly appear that *this Ingagement* was undertaken '*without first Essaying those Amicable and Peaceable ways, which might* 'and ought to have been used for preventing of Bloud-shed.

The SECOND head of reasons I propos'd to insist upon for show-ing the unlawfulness of that *Engagement*, is taken from this; because, *as matters then stood*, it was dangerous to the Interest of Religion; which the Assembly in the above-mentioned Declaration expres thus p. 386, 387.

'The Wars of God's People, are called the *Wars of the Lord*, '*Numb.* 21, 14 2 *Chron.* 20. 15. And if our Eating and Drinking, 'much more our engaging in War, must be for God and his *Glo-'ry*; 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. *Whatsoever we do in Word or Deed, we are com-'manded to do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus*, and so for his Glory, 'Col. 3. 17. The Kingdom of God and the *Righteousness thereof is to* 'be sought in the first place, and before all other things, *Matth.* 6. 33. 'It was the best Flower and Garland in the former Expeditions of 'this Nation, that they were for God and for Religion Principally 'and Mainly. But if the Principal end of this present Engagement 'were for the Glory of God, how comes it to pass that *not so much* 'as one of the desires of the *Kirk*, for the Safety and Security of Re-'ligion in the said Engagement, is to this day satisfied or granted? 'but on the contrary, such Courses taken as are destructive to Reli-'gion. And if God's Glory be intended, what meaneth the *employ-'ing* and *protecting* in this Army so many *Blasphemers*, *Persecutors* of 'Piety, *disturbers* of Divine Worship, and others Guilty of Notori-'ous and crying Sins? Again how can it be pretended that the Good 'of Religion is principally aimed at, when it is proposed and decla-'red that the King's Majesty shall be brought to some of his Houses 'in or near *London*, with Honour, Freedom and Safety, *before* ever 'there be *any Security* had from him, or *so much as any Application* 'made

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'*made to him for the Good of Religion*? What is this but to Postpone 'the Honour of God, the Liberties of the Gospel, the Safety of God's 'People to an Human Interest, and to leave Religion in a condition 'of *uncertainty*, *unsettledness* & *hazard*, while it is strongly endeavor'd 'to settle and make sure some what else'.

The Committee of Estates of Parliament in *their Observations &c*, reply to the above reasons in the following words p. 2, 3. 'We Answer, by 'acknowledging & believing that all the Wars of the People of God, 'shou'd be the Wars of God undertaken at the Command of these who 'have lawful Authority under God, as were the Wars by the Command 'of *Moses*, *Joshua*, the *Judges* and Kings of Judah, And as undertak-'en by Warrant from Gods Vicegerents, so for an honest Cause, 'for the Glory of God: But whereas it is assumed that this En-'gagement is not such, we deny it, because it hath the Warrant of 'Lawful Authority, The Estates of Parliament; and the Cause be-'ing honest to do a duty Commanded of God to our Prince, *God is* 'Glorified by doing that duty, The relieving of our King out of Pri-'son is a duty, *John* 18. 36. *If my Kingdom*, says our Lord, *were* 'of this world, then wou'd my servants fight that I shou'd not be deliver-'ed to the Jews, Our Lord supponeth it was a common duty, that 'Subjects shou'd *fight* to *prevent* the *Captivity* of their King, And if 'a war be lawful to prevent Captivity, is it not Lawful to deliver 'him from that *base Captivity*; are we less obliged in duty to our 'Native Prince, than *Abraham* to his kinsman *Lot*? who engaged 'in a war for rescuing him, notwithstanding *Lot* had associated 'himself in war with Wicked Men, the *Sodomites*. Gen. 14. Are 'we less obliged than *David* and his Associates to their Captive 'wives, who ingaged in war for their freedom, 1 *Sam.* 30.?

'As for the Duty of honor, for performance whereof we have en-'gaged our selves, We believe it is a duty commanded by God 'himself in the *fifth* Commandment, *Prov.* 24, 22. 1 *Pet.* 2. 16, 17. 'We are forbidden to use our Christian *Liberty as a Cloak of Malici-'ousness*, for withholding or withdrawing duty. Yea *Pagans* by the 'light of Nature, reading the Law of Nature, which is from the 'God of Nature, do use all honor to their Kings. Yea, holy *Sa-'muel* undoubtedly Zealous of Gods Honor notwithstanding he knew 'certainly by Divine Revelation, that God had rejected *Saul*, yet 'honored him before the People. 1 *Sam.* 15, 30, 31.

But

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But let us hear the Defences made againſt the above Exception by the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, *Auguſt* 15*th*. 1648, Wherein they ſay *p*. 3, &c.

'The ſubſtance of the Argument uſed by the Aſſembly was this, 'In all Lawful Wars of the People of God, the end principally in-'tended and driven at, is that wherein the Glory of God is chiefly 'concerned: But in *this preſent* War, the end principally intended and 'driven at, is not that wherein the Glory of God is chiefly concern'd; 'Therefore 'tis not a Lawful War of the People of God. Their 'Lordſhips do not deny the propoſition of the Argument: —— 'As to that which their Lordſhips ſay concerning the Aſſumption 'of the Aſſemblies Argument, we *Anſwer* 1ſt, Their Lordſhips ſay 'nothing to it as it ſtands in the Aſſemblies Declaration with the 'Proofs thereof, but paſſing all this they form another Aſſumption 'which they deny, and bring ſome reaſon for their denyal of it. The 'Aſſembly did clearly prove in their Declaration, that the end prin-'cipally intended and driven at in this Engagement is not that where-'in the Glory of God is chiefly concern'd; and this was proved by 'the Parliament's not ſatisfying of the deſires of the Kirk concern-'ing the ſafety and ſecurity of Religion. —— But all this their 'Lordſhips are pleaſed *to paſs in ſilence*; And, *as if* the Aſſembly *had 'denyed* all duty to the King, they go about to prove, that 'tis a du-'ty incumbent on Subjects to undertake a War for his Majeſties free-'dom and honour (we know not why their Lordſhips omit his ſafe-'ty.) And ſeveral Texts of Scripture are cited by their Lordſhips to 'this end; Whereas they touch not the point in Controverſy, *viz*. 'Whether *Religion being in ſo great danger by his Majeſties Oppoſition 'thereunto*, it be the Subjects duty to make War for his Majeſties 'Freedom and Honour, *before Security ſought and had from him for 'Religion*.

'2. Their Lordſhips inſtead of weakning the *Aſſemblies* firſt *Ar-'gument*, do indeed add no ſmall ſtrength to it; For while they are 'anſwering that very *Argument* which Challengeth the neglect of 'the Glory of God, and of Religion in this Engagement, they men-'tion *nothing of Religion*, but only the King's Freedom and Honour as 'the Cauſe of undertaking the preſent War.

3. 'The Kirk of *Scotland* hath *ever been*, and is moſt willing to 'reſent *any Injuries* done to his Majeſty, and to perform every duty

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'for his Majesties Freedom and Honour in the Right Way and Order; 'that is, giving to God in the *first Place* what is God's: But it hath 'not been the mind of *Kirk* or *State* in this Land to make War for 'his Majesty in an *Absolute Way*, and without *any Qualification*, or to 'the Detriment and Hurt of Religion. For in the Year 1643, this 'Kingdom was Solicited with his Majesty to undertake War for him, 'but because he was engaged in a course against Religion and the 'Liberties of the Kingdoms, therefore all giving of Assistance to 'him was Declin'd, although at that time the Kingdoms were not joined 'in Covenant: How much less is it the Subjects Duty, after such a 'Covenant and after so much Bloodshed by the means of his Majesties 'opposing the Covenant and Reformation, and his Majesties adhering 'still to his former Principles, yet notwithstanding of all this, to en-'gage in a War for him, and to espouse his Quarrel *before Security* 'desired and had from him for Religion.

4. 'The three Scriptures alledged by their Lordships *John* 18. 36. 'Gen. 14. and 1. *Sam.* 30. do in no wise help their Cause, or Militate 'against the *Assemblies Argument*; For there are four great differen-'ces which will Marr the *Application* of those Scriptures to the pre-'sent Engagement in War. 1*st*, *Christ's* cause against the *Jews*, *Lot's* 'Cause against the 4 Kings, who had taken away him and his goods; '*David* and his Men, their Cause against the *Amalekites* who had 'taken their Wives Captive, was without Controversy a good and 'honest Cause, and no wise to the prejudice of Religion. 2. The In-'struments and Managers were without Exception. 3. The Parties to 'be relieved were also without exception, so far as can be known 'from Scripture, 4. None of the three Texts cited by their Lordships 'doth hold forth a War undertaken for a human Interest, with *ne-'glecting and postponing* the Glory of God, and therefore come not 'home to the point of the *Assemblies Argument*. When their Lord-'ships shall prove *their Cause to be as good*, the Managers and Parties 'to be *as much without exception*, the Glory of God to be *as lit-'tle neglected* in this Engagement, as in the example Cited; 'then may their Lordships apply those Scriptures in reference to this 'Engagement, but not otherwise. 5. Whatsoever be the Duty of Sub-'jects towards the relief of their King, which in the *due order* and '*Subordination* to the Glory of God and Security of Religion, *is not* 'denyed, we cannot see how the Text *John* 18. 36. proveth it: see-'ing that Scripture holdeth forth a common Custom of the World,

rather

'rather than a duty of Subjects, and sheweth what Men us'd to do, Part 2.
'rather than what they ought to do. *And* this Sense may be plainly
'drawn from the Text it self, *If my Kingdom were of this World*, that
'is, as the Kingdoms of this World are, and use to be, *then would my*
Servants fight for me: Least of all was it our Lord's meaning to allow
'fighting, and making War in a Cause prejudicial and hurtful to Re-
'ligion. *And* whereas their Lordships say in their next Citation, that
'*Lot* had *Associate* himself in War with wicked Men the *Sodomites*:
'*As* hereby they Tacitly intimate the Lawfulness of Association in
'War with Men as wicked as the *Sodomites*, so we shall humbly be-
'seech their Lordships to observe here how necessary it is for their
'Lordships to search more accurately into these Scripture-*Arguments*,
'for there is *no such thing* in the Scripture as is cited in *their Observa-*
'*tions*. We read indeed of *Abraham*'s (not *Lot*'s) Confederacy with
'*Aner*, *Eshcol*, and *Mamre*; but that these three were either Idola-
'ters, or wicked Men is more than can be prov'd. 6. The following
'Paragraph is as wide from the point, proving what no body denies,
'*viz.* the duty of Honoring Kings. We wish their Lordships may
'seriously ponder two things join'd with this duty in the first Text
'cited by themselves, one is *fear God* and this is put in the first place,
'another is, *meddle not with them that are given to Change*: whereby
'we are warned that under *colour of doing for the Honour of Kings*, we
'may not join with those who fall of from the Cause and Ways of
'God.

'To press any duty concerning the King's Honour, with the ne-
'glect or prejudice of the Honour of God, is indeed to *use Liberty as*
'*a Cloak of Maliciousness*; so that this falleth back upon them who
'charge it without Cause upon others. The Text 1 *Sam.* 15. 30, 31.
'Is no better applyed, For when *Samuel* yielded to Honour *Saul* before
'the People, and to turn again with him, It was upon his Confession
'and acknowledgment of his sin, and withal, *Saul* was so honored
'before the people that *Agag* was cut in pieces.

To illustrate this Argument, all the Circumstances hinted by the Assembly and their Commissioners must be taken into the Account. The Kings Aversion to their Constitution, his former practices against it and against the Liberties of their Country, the effects of his evil Counsellors upon his Royal Judgment, the Oppression they had groan'd under formerly by the *Scots* Bishops, of which *Clarendon* and *Burnet* give a clear account, which the Reader will find in the fol-

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lowing Chapter of this Book; his refusing to give them *any sufficient Security* against the like evils for the future; all the Countenance he gave and continued to give to *profest Papists*, of which I have given a short Narrative in this Chapter, his countenancing and designing to employ so many thousands of Papists out of all the three Kingdoms for carrying on *this very Engagement*; besides the barbarous Highlanders and those of the *Scots* Nation who had but lately before this carried on a Civil War in *Scotland*, to the ruin and destruction of many good people, and who were *all to be employed* in this Engagement. Compare all these things duly, and they strengthen the Assemblies Argument, for proving that as *matters then stood*, that *Engagement* was dangerous to the Interest of Religion.

For if we consider the Temper and Disposition of *these Engagers*, we may argue thus: we must suppose that either they would overcome the Forces of the Parliament of *England*, or be overcome by them: If the first, then what must the three Kingdoms have expected, but the repeating of all these Miseries and Grievances, they had lain under during this whole Reign. The King was not then come to any Terms with his Parliament in *England*, and had he in *these Circumstances* entirely routed their Forces, what cou'd all the Asserters of the Liberty of their Country have expected, but that both Religion and Liberty wou'd have been in a worse Condition, than they were in at the Commencement of the Civil War? and all the struggles of the Church of *Scotland* for her just Rights & Constitution must have ended in the utter ruin and subversion of the whole. On the other hand, shou'd these Engagers be overcome by the *English* Forces (as eventually they were) then the *Power* of the *Sectaries* must be advanced, *disorders* both in *Church* and *State* must be multiply'd every day, Monarchy must be exchang'd for *Usurpation* and *Anarchy*; and *Religion* be succeeded by *Enthusiasm* and all the wild Errors of *Sectarian* Frenzie. We know that all this happen'd accordingly, and that the Engagers instead of doing service to the King, hastened his ruin (though not designed by them) and brought a flood of Calamities upon their Country; whereas had they first treated with the Parliament of *England*, and insisted on farther Security for their Religion from the King, *all true Friends* of Religion, Monarchy, and Liberty, would have united *upon that foot* against the *Sectaries*; that Scheme (by the Blessing of God) might have afforded them some Rational Pro-

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ſpect of ſerving both their King and Country, and the Church of *Scotland* would have moſt cheartfully and cordially concurr'd with it.

The third Head of Reaſons I propos'd to inſiſt upon for ſhewing the unlawfulneſs of *this Engagement*, was becauſe 'twas carry'd on by *unlawful Means*. What theſe unlawful Means were, the Aſſembly diſcovers to us in theſe Words (*q*) 'The Engagement is carry'd on 'by ſuch Means and Ways, as *tend to the deſtroying of Religion*, by en-'ſnaring and forcing the Conſciences of the People of God with *un-'lawful Bands and Oaths*, and oppreſſing the Perſons and Eſtates of 'ſuch as have been *moſt active* and Zealous for Religion and the Co-'venant. All which is ſtrengthen'd and Authoriz'd by Acts of Par-'liament, appointing that all that do not obey, or perſuade others 'not to obey the Reſolutions of Parliament and Committee anent 'this Engagement, or who ſhall not ſubſcribe the Act and Declara-'tion of the 10. *June*, 1648. impos'd upon all the Subjects, ſhall be 'holden as Enemies to the Cauſe and to Religion, and have their 'Perſons ſecur'd, and their Eſtates intromitted with.

The General Aſſembly enlarge farther upon this Head (*r*) in theſe Words,———'Which Subſcription the Aſſembly cannot other-'wiſe look upon, than as a ſnare for the People of God to involve 'them in Guiltineſs,———For that Subſcription were an *approving 'ſome Acts of Parliament*, which they have *never yet ſeen* nor known, 'they not being all publiſh'd.———were an acknowledging of 'this preſent Engagement in War, in all the Means and Ways for 'promoving the ſame, to be the moſt fit and neceſſary *Remedies* of 'the by-gone and preſent Evils; whereas ſo many Petitions to the 'Parliament, from Committees of War, Synods, Presbyteries and 'Pariſhes have made it appear, that they are no way ſatisfy'd there-'with in point of Conſcience;———were an approving of an Act 'made for the *reſtraining the Liberty of Printing* from the Kirk, yea 'and of all the Acts of the Committee of Eſtates, to be made in time 'coming, till *March* 1650; which by Act of Parliament are ordain'd 'to be obey'd; were an allowing of acts for ſecuring of the Per-'ſons

(*q*) *vide* the Aſſembly's Anſwer to the Paper ſent from the Committee of Eſtates of the 24th of *July* 1648. in the Acts of the General Aſſembly p. 375.
(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 376. &c.

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'sons, and intromitting with the Estates, of such as themselves shall 'not obey, or persuade others not to obey Resolutions concerning '*this Engagement*, and for *protecting Persons* under Kirk-Censures, & 'so an *infringing and violating of the Liberties and Discipline of the Kirk* 'Establish'd by the Laws of the Land, and sworn to in the National 'Covenant to be defended, under the pains contain'd in the Law of 'God. And in all these, such as do subscribe, do bind themselves not only 'to active Obedience in their own Persons, but to the urging of 'Active Obedience upon all others, and so draw upon *themselves all* 'the Guiltiness and sad Consequences of the present Engagement;

I don't find that the *Committee* of *Estates* have taken any Notice of this Objection in *their Observations*, nor can I imagine what can be answer'd to it. Upon the whole, I wou'd humbly recommend it to the Reader to compare the *three Heads* of Reasons against this Engagement, which I have extracted from the Papers of the Assembly and their Commissioners, and by which he'll perceive the Opposition made to it by the Church of *Scotland* was not founded upon the *least Disloyalty* to their Prince, but upon the *Sinfulness* of the Engagement it self.

The Assembly did not actually excommunicate Duke *Hamilton* and his whole Army, for engaging in this Expedition, as our Author alledges p. 7. But what they did was this; first the Commissioners of the Assembly of 1648. did by their Acts of the 6*th* of *October* and 4th of *December* that Year, appoint Church Censures to be inflicted on those who had been concern'd in that Engagement, in order to bring them to Repentance. And the following Assembly of *July* 26. 1649. approv'd what these Commissioners had done, and farther appointed such of the Engagers as remain'd Obstinate and Impenitent, after due Process in the Ecclesiastical Judicatories, to be *excommunicated*. But this differs much from the Account our Author gives of that Affair. And tho' it shou'd be granted that the *Assembly* carry'd the matter of their Censure *too high*, that wou'd infer nothing against their Loyalty. I won't take it upon me to determine whether the Extravagancies, Rapine, Oppression, and many Outrages committed by many of the rude Soldiers that went on that Engagement, did not justify *the highest Censure*; or whether the *Assembly* being highly provok'd, did not make their *Act* a little too general, without making all the necessary Distinctions, and taking all suitable Precaution to prevent

vent the Excommunication of some who might be concern'd in this Engagement from Principles of Conscience tho' misinform'd, and tho' they might persist in that Error of their Judgment. Part 2.

Shou'd it be granted, that their *Act* had some unguarded Expressions in it, and which if not Moderated a little in the Execution might bear too hard upon some Men otherwise Sober and Inoffensive, which is the most that can be made of it; all this amounts to no more, than that it was *somewhat of the Rigor* of Discipline; which is very much extenuated from the Intolerable Oppression and Miseries, which were brought on their Country, by that sinful *ill advis'd* Expedition.

But the THIRD and GREAT Crime objected against *Presbyterians* under this Reign, is the Murther of K. *Charles* I. They acknowledge this to be one of the blackest and foulest Pieces of Villany, but on good grounds deny themselves to be in the least *guilty of that barbarous Regicide*. Our Author says (p. 11) 'I think it 'needless for me to mention any of the Words of K. *Charles* I. his 'Injuries and Blood cry louder than the noise of Thunder' The *greater* the Crime any Person or Party stands charg'd with, the *fuller* ought the Proof to be: but our Author is so far from observing this Rule, that tho' this be the most heinous and odious Crime he impeaches *Presbyterians* of in all his Pamphlet, and which they all deny *to a Man*; he has not thought fit to oblige his Reader with one single Evidence of their Guilt, unless *Salmasius*'s fable (mention'd by him p. 17) may deserve that name.

'If a Robber (*says he i. e. Salmasius*) surprizing a Traveller in a 'Wood shou'd disarm him, rob him, strip him, & tye him to a Tree, & 'a wild Beast of the Forest, coming upon him thus bound shou'd fall 'upon him, tear him in Pieces, and *devour* him, *which* of *these* pro-'perly speaking, wou'd be the cause of this Man's Death?' Our Author applies this fable thus. ''Tis most certain (*says he*) that the *In-'dependents* were actually the Murderers of King *Charles* I. but 'tis 'as certain, that the *Presbyterians* first murdered him in his Politi-'cal Capacity, as a Prelude to the Murder of his Person; they 'compell'd him to give up all his Power to them, and then did, as '*Dugdale* observes, worse than Murder him in the manner and Cir-'cumstances of his confinement, before the *Independents* pull'd them out 'of the Saddle, and forc'd the King out of their hands. And were the 'actual Executioners of that *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Presbyterians* had 'in effect condemn'd.

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Hence let the Reader obſerve that our Author has fairly acquitted the *Presbyterians* from being the Actual Murderers of K. *Charles* 1. The *Sectaries* who all ſhelter'd themſelves under the name of *Independents* (tho of quite different Principles from the ſober Party of that Denomination) were the true Criminals. He likewiſe confeſſeth that *thoſe* pull'd the *Presbyterians out of the Saddle*, and forc'd the King out of their hands; which plainly ſhows that they cou'd not have *compaſs'd* the King's Ruine and the Subverſion of Monarchy, but upon the *Ruines* of the *Presbyterian Intereſt*; and that the *Presbyterians* did not deliver the King into the hands of the *Sectaries*, but he was forc'd *out of their hands*, and themſelves pull'd out of the Saddle to make way for that *fatal Violence* upon his Royal Perſon.

How the *Long Parliament* was by Military force turn'd into the *Rump*, and reduc'd to a ſmall Party of Factious Members, who in Concert with the *Army* hatch'd that barbarous Tragedy, is ſo univerſally atteſted by Hiſtorians of all ſides, that he muſt be altogether unacquainted with thoſe times who do's not know it. For the Parliament, who propos'd no other end in their War than to keep the Prerogative within it's juſt Limits, and preſerve the Nations from the unjuſt Invaſions had been made upon them by evil Counſellors, under Color of Royal Authority, having upon a Treaty obtain'd ſuch Conceſſions from the King as they voted ſatisfactory for the ground of a Treaty, were proceeding to accompliſh *that great* and *Noble work*, until the Sectarian Party in the army (that then had conquer'd the Commanding part of it) ſubverted and overturned all: The Members (*ſays Coke* (*ſ*) met upon the firſt of *December* (*viz.* 1648) and vote the King's Conceſſions to be a ſufficient 'ground for Peace. And then adjourn for a Week, but when the 'Members were to meet again, they found *all the Avenues to the 'Houſe beſet with Soldiers*; who *exclude all*, which were not of *their 'Faction*, from entring the Houſe; which were not one fourth part, 'and make the Reſidue Priſoners. So FAREWEL PRESBYTE-'RY &c.

My Lord *Clarendon* not only recites the ſame Story at great length, but tells us how barbarouſly this *Military Rump* treated the Members they

(*ſ*) Detect. part 1. p. 413.

they excluded by the Army (*t*), and yet after all they met with a brisk Oppoſition by ſome who had got in notwithſtanding of the Guards; and therefore they were reſolv'd to prevent the like again, and ſuffer none of the excluded Members to ſit until the Vote they had paſs'd in their Abſence (*viz.* for Declaring the King's Conceſſions unſatisfactory, contrary to their former Reſolution) were ſubſcrib'd by them: 'And that they might find no more ſuch Contra-'diction hereafter (*ſays he Ibid.*) They committed to ſeveral Priſons 'Major-General *Brown* (tho' he was then Sheriff of *London*) Sir *John* '*Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Maſſey*, and Com-'miſſary-General *Copley*, who were the *MOST ACTIVE Members in* '*the Houſe of the PRESBYTERIAN PARTY.*

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Let any Man of Common ſenſe Judge from hence, whether the Presbyterians were the Conſtituent Members of the *Rump*: for if they had, why ſhou'd Presbytery have been oppos'd by them? Why ſhou'd they have impriſon'd the *moſt Active of the Presbyterian Members*? And why ſhou'd Presbyterians give always ſo much Oppoſition to the Rump, and all their Proceedings? And yet 'twas this very *Rump*, that erected the pretended High-Court of Juſtice for trying the King. The Excluded Members Print a Proteſtation againſt the Proceedings of the *Rump* as void and null in themſelves, for which they were perſecuted by 'em.

And the Reader may judge whether a *Rump* from which the Presbyterians were excluded, wou'd appoint Presbyterians Judges to try the King; or whether Presbyterians were fit Tools for executing that Villany which they had with ſo much danger and Prejudice to themſelves oppos'd; let the Characters of all the King's Judges be try'd, many of whom were the chief Sectarian Officers of the Army, who had given Birth to the whole, and then let us ſee whether they were Presbyterians or no.

While they are proceeding to the King's Tryal, the Presbyterians proteſt againſt it. *Bates* giving an Account of that Tryal ſays

(*t*) *vide* his Hiſt. Vol. 3: part 8. B. 11. p. 238, 338 in 8vo.

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(*u*) ‘ In the mean time Opposition is given to it by *almost all the* ‘ *Presbyterian Ministers* of the City of *London*, and by *many more* out ‘ of *many Provinces*, and even by *some of the Independents*, in their ‘ *Sermons* from the Pulpit, *Conferences*, *Letters* of Admonition, *Sup-* ‘ *plications*, *Protestations*, and *Remonstrances* publish'd to the World. ‘ They obtest 'em, that they won'd not embrew their Hands and ‘ involve the Kingdom in the Guilt of the Royal Blood, against the ‘ *tremendous Obligations* of so many Oaths, against the *Public* and *Pri-* ‘ *vate Faith* confirm'd with Declarations and Promises, against the ‘ *Laws* of *Nations*, and the *Sacred Dictates* of the *Holy Scripture* and ‘ *Religion*; and against the *profit* of the *Common-wealth.*

I shall here insert some Parts of three of those *Remonstrances* or *Declarations* of the Presbyterians, adducing one out of each Kingdom, from which the Reader may judge of the rest. For *England*, let the following part of a *Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about* LONDON, *from the unjust Aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to Capital Punishment &c.* be duly consider'd.

——— ‘ When we first did engage with theParliament, (which ‘ we did not till call'd thereunto) we did it with *Loyal Hearts* and ‘ *Affection* towards the King and his Posterity; *not intending the least* ‘ *hurt to his Person*, but to stop his Party from doing farther hurt to ‘ the Kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to Justice (as some now ‘ speak) but to put him into a better *Capacity to do Justice*: *To remove* ‘ *the Wicked from before him, that his Throne might be establish'd in* ‘ *Righteousness*; not to *Dethrone* and *Destroy* him, which (we much ‘ fear) is the ready way to the destruction of all his Kingdoms.

‘ That which put any of us on at first to appear for the Parlia- ‘ ment was, *The Propositions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in* ‘ *Parliament* (*June* 10. 1642.) for bringing in of Mony and Plate ‘ &c. Wherein they assure us, that whatsoever shou'd be brought in

(*u*) *vide* Elench. p, 11. ‘ Reclamant interea Ministri Præsbyteriani, *Londinenses* ‘ fere omnes, et ex plurimis *Provinciis* plures, imo ex Independentium partibus ‘ nonnulli, Concionibus e suggestis, Colloquiis, Literis Monitoriis, Libellis Suppli- ‘ cibus, Protestationibus et Remonstrantiis publice divulgatis. Obtestantur, ne contra

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' in thereupon, ſhou'd not at all be employ'd upon any other Occa-
' ſion than to maintain *The Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority,*
' *his Perſon and his Royal Dignity, the free Courſe of Juſtice, the Laws*
' *of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parlia-*
' *ment, againſt any force which ſhall oppoſe them.*

' And in this we were daily confirm'd and encourag'd more and
' more, by their many ſubſequent Declarations and Proteſtations,
' which we held our ſelves bound to believe, knowing many of them
' to be godly and Conſcientious Men, of Public Spirits, zealouſly
' promoting the Common Good, and laboring to free this King-
' dom from *Tyranny* and *Slavery*, which ſome *evil Inſtruments* about
' the King *endeavor'd* to bring upon the Nation.

' As for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*, ſince the time that ſo
' many of the Members were, by force, ſecluded, divers impriſon'd
' and others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons, (&
' there not being that Conjunction of the two Houſes as heretofore)
' we are WHOLLY UNSATISFY'D *therein*, becauſe we conceive
' them to be ſo far from being warranted by ſufficient Authority,
' as that, in our Apprehenſions, they tend to an Actual *Alteration*
' (if not Subverſion) of that which the Honorable *Houſe of Commons*,
' in their *Declaration* of *April* 17. 1646. have taught us to call *the*
' *fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which
' they therein aſſure us, (if we underſtand them) they wou'd ne-
' ver alter.

' Yea, we held our ſelves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the
' King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profeſs before God, Angels
' and Men, that we verily believe that which is now ſo much fear'd
' to be in Agitation, *the taking away the Life of the King*, in the pre-
' ſent way of Tryal, is not only, *not agreeable to any Word of God*, the
' *Principles of the Proteſtant Religion, (never as yet ſtain'd with THE*
' *LEAST DROP OF THE BLOOD OF A KING) or the FUN-*

' contra tot juramentorum horrendas Obligationes, contra fidem publicam, priva-
' tam, Declarationibus, Pollicitationibus Communitam, contra leges Co[illegible]m,
' contra Sacræ ſcripturæ & Religionis Sanctiora Dictamina, imo contra Reipublicæ
' Utilitatem manus ſuas & Regnum Cruore Regio commaculent. Scoti per
' Delegatos facta Proteſtatione contra nituntur.

'*DAMENTAL CONSTITUTION* of this Kingdom; but contra-
'ry to them, as also to the *Oath of Allegiance*, *the Protestation of*
'*May* 5. 1641. and the *Solemn League and Covenant*; From all
'which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth, able to
'absolve us or others.———

'Therefore, according to that our Covenant, we do in the name
'of the Great God, (to whom all must give a strict Account)
'WARN and EXHORT ALL who either more immediately be-
'long to our respective Charges, or any way depend on our Mi-
'nistry, or to whom we have administred the said Covenant (that
'we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly
'provoking sin of Perjury) to keep close to the Ways of God, and
'Rules of Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their constant
'maintaining the true Reform'd Religion, the Fundamental Consti-
'tution, and Government of this Kingdom, (not suffering them-
'selves to be seduc'd from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the
'late *Models*, or *Agreement of the People*; Declar'd by both Houses
'(for the Substance of it) to be *destructive to the being of Parliaments*
'*and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom*, in *December*
'1647. yea condemn'd heretofore by the *General*, and his *Council* of
'War) ———— And to pray,——that God wou'd restrain
'the Violence of Men, that they *MAY NOT DARE to draw up-*
'*on themselves and the Kingdom the BLOOD OF THEIR SOVE-*
'*REIGN.*

The Commissioners of *Scotland* entred their Protestation against the King's Tryal and Murder, the following part whereof I shall here insert,——'We understand, that after many Members of
'the House of Commons have been imprison'd and secluded; and
'also *without*, and *against* the Consent of the house of Peers, by a single
'Act of yours alone; Power is given to certain Persons of your own
'Number of the *Army*, and some others to proceed against his
'Majesty's Person; in order thereunto, he was brought upon *Sa-*
'*turday* last in the afternoon, before this *new Extraordinary Court*;
'Wherefore we do in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for
'their Vindication from false *Aspersions* and Calumnies; Declare,
'that tho' they are not satisfy'd with his Majesty's Concessions in
'the late Treaty at *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in the
'Matters of Religion, and are resolv'd not to crave his Restitution

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'to his Government, before Satisfaction be given by him to his Kingdoms, yet they do all UNANIMOUSLY WITH ONE VOICE *(not one Member excepted)* disclaim the least knowledge of, or accession to the late Proceedings of the army here against his Majesty; and sincerely protest, that 'twill be a great Grief into their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they shall see their trusting of his Majesty's Person, to the Honorable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be made use of to his Ruine so far contrary to the Declar'd Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the Kingdom of *England*, and to the end it may be manifest to the World, how much they abominate and detest so horrid a Design against his Majesty's Person; We do in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, *hereby declare THEIR DISSENT from the said Proceedings, and THE TAKING AWAY HIS MAJESTY'S LIFE*: and Protest, that as they are altogether free from the same, so they may be free from all Evils, Miseries, Confusions, and Calamities that may follow thereupon to these distracted Kingdoms.

January 22. 1649.

Lothian.
Jo. Chiesly.
William Glendoning

Besides the above Protestation in Name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, the General *Assembly* of that Church, in their Letter to King *Charles* 2, dated August 6. 1649. *fully* and *feelingly* express'd their Detestation of the barbarous Murder of his Royal Father; The Letter it self will be inserted at large in the next Chapter, to which the Reader is referr'd.

As for *Ireland*, the Presbytery of *Belfast* read in their several Pulpits a Paper which they had fram'd *Feb.* 15. $164\frac{8}{9}$. Intitul'd, a *necessary Representation of the present Evils and Imminent Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, arising from the late and present Practices of the Sectarian Party in ENGLAND and their Abettors*; the following part whereof I shall here transcribe,—— 'Again it's more than manifest, that 'they seek not the *Vindication*, but *Extirpation* of Laws and Liberties; 'as appears by their *seizing* upon the *Person* of the King; and at their 'Pleasure *removing* him from place to place, not only without the

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'Consent (if we mistake not) but against a direct *Ordinance* of 'Parliament; Their violent surprizing, *imprisoning* and secluding 'many of the most Worthy Members of the *Honorable* House of 'Commons; directly against the declar'd Privilege of Parliament; an 'Action certainly without a Parallel in any age, and their Purposes 'of Abolishing all Parliamentary Power for the future, and establish-'ing a *Representative*, as they call it, instead thereof.

'Neither hath their fury stopt here, but *without all Rule or Exam-'ple*, being but private Men, have proceeded to the Tryal of the 'King; against both the Interest and Protestation of the Kingdom 'of *Scotland*, and the former public Declarations of both Kingdoms; 'and (besides their violent haste, rejecting any Defences) with *Cruel 'Hands they put him to Death*: An Act so HORRIBLE, *as no* HIS TO-'RY DIVINE or HUMAN, *ever had a* PRECEDENT *of the like*.

'These and other Detestable Insolencies may abundantly convince 'every unbyas'd Judgment, that the present Practices of the Secta-'ries and their Abettors do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties 'of the Kingdom; root out all Lawful and Supreme Magistracy (the 'just Privileges whereof we have Sworn to maintain) and introduce 'a fearful Confusion and Lawless Anarchy.

'When we seriously consider these things, we 'cannot but declare and manifest our Dislike and *Detestation of such 'Unwarrantable Practices* directly subverting our Covenant, Religi-'on, Laws, and Liberties; and as Watchmen seriously to *warn all 'the Lovers of Truth*, and the well-affected to the Covenant, careful-'ly to avoid Complyance with, or not bearing Witness against such 'horrid Insolencies; lest partaking with them in their Sins, they 'be also Partaker with them in their Plagues.

The Representation of the Presbytery of *Belfast* had been adduc'd by the Author of the *Parallel* to prove the Innocence of the Dissenters in *Ireland*; to which our Author makes a very singular Reply, such as I believe, few but himself won'd have thought of; 'There 'were also (*says he* p. 17) in the very same Year several more made 'in *England* and *Scotland*, by the Presbyterians to the very same pur-'pose, and with as great Virulency against the *Sectaries* in *England* 'for their Proceedings, and particularly for their Murdering the King 'But I can by no means conclude with that Author, that the *Presby-'tery* of *Belfast*'s Disclaiming that Fact and Railing at the *Sectaries*, is any

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'any Argument at all for their not being *concern'd in the Counsels of* 'those Times. Because the same Argument is full as strong for the 'Presbyterians of Scotland and England, who in the very same Year 'made their Representation to King *Charles* II. to the very same pur- 'pose; ——— Thus it is evident, That the *Presbyterians* thro' 'the three Kingdoms did with one voice loudly Declaim against the 'Sectaries, as Authors of the King's Murder.

If by the *Councils of those times* our Author means the Councils for Murdering the King and the Subversion of Monarchy; the Argument fully proves that neither the *Presbyterians* of *England*, *Scotland*, nor *Ireland* were concerned in them; but that they all oppos'd 'em to the utmost of their Power. But if he means the *Councils* us'd in the Parliament's defensive war against the King, that's nothing to the Purpose; for it was never pretended that the *Presbyterians* were not concern'd in these Councils, for they own it, and look'd upon their concern in those Councils to be lawful and Justifiable for the Reasons above mentioned; indeed the Presbyterians in *Ireland* had other work to do, than to embroil themselves in the Debates between the King and Parliament; for while the greatest heat arose and was a carrying on in *England* between the *Royalists* and *Parliamentarians*; the *Presbyterians* in *Ireland* had the Bloody *Irish* Rebels to fight against: and were willing to take assistance from either the King's or Parliament's Forces against the Common Enemy; and this is the Reason of that assertion of the author of the Parallel which our author do's so much mistake and quarrel with, *viz.* that the *Dissenters in* Ireland *were left as a Sanctuary, to which the Duke of* Ormond *and the Loyal Party retreated* &c. Against this assertion he produceth the Declaration of the Presbytery of *Bangor*, *anno* 1649 Remonstrating against the Duke of *Ormond* and my Lord of *Airds* their taking Commission from King *Charles* 2*d* (of which afterwards) which is quite another case and does not in the least disprove what the Author of the *Parallel* intended; for he speaks of the Assistance given by the *Presbyterians* in *Ireland* to *Ormond* and the Royal Party against the *Irish*, in the time of King *Charles* I.

The Author of the *Parallel* had alledged *Milton*'s abusing the Presbytery of *Belfast* for their Representation, as a farther confirmation of their Innocence, and our *Author* gives the same Reply to it as to the former, *viz.* that *Milton* abus'd the *Scots* Assembly *as much as he*

did

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did them (p. 118); and is not that still a good Proof of his looking on the *Assembly* and *them* too to be Enemies to the *Rump* and their Proceedings against the *King*?

Our Author, with a design probably to invalidate these Arguments, seems to please himself with a Quotation of *Dugdale*, whom he introduceth speaking thus, (p. 17.) 'I cannot deny but as soon as this hellish Murther was committed, many of the *Presbyterians* did loudly 'Declaim against it, seeming as much to wash their hands of the guilt 'as *Pilate* did, from the Death of our Saviour." 'Tis plain from the above Accounts that the Presbyterians oppos'd the first Projects of this hellish Murder, and therefore 'tis base in any to offer to insinuate the contrary; and seeing they did not Sentence the King to Death, as *Pilate* did our Saviour, but with *all their might* oppos'd his being brought to Tryal, the Comparison is too odious to be made or countenanc'd by any Christian, or Man of knowledge. If then the Presbyterians must be *excluded* the Parliament, before the King's Judges cou'd be appointed, if the King's Judges *were not Presbyterians*, and if the Presbyterians had *no hand in the Sentence* against the King nor its *Execution*; but did openly and *boldly remonstrate* against *every step* that was taken to effect that horrid Murther, where Prisons, Reproaches, and ruine were all the Reward they cou'd expect from the furious Army and Party that Govern'd those hellish Councils: can any thing but either the height of Malice, or the greatest of Ignorance, persist in such scandalous and unchristian Libels to arraign their unstained Innocence?

But, says our Author, (p. 18) 'The *Presbyterians* first murdered 'him in his political Capacity, as a prelude to the murther of his 'Person' Our Author after his usual manner thinks it wou'd affront the self-evidence of his *Magisterial* assertions, to vouchsafe the least additional Proof in this case. The Kings *Political Capacity* is his Capacity of ruling his Subjects, and protecting them in their Religion, Liberty, and Property, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, which do at once limit his *Prerogative* and provide for their *Security*. Now if his evil Counsellors perswaded him to encroach upon Religion and the Liberty of the subject, contrary to the Fundamental Laws, and to stretch his Prerogative beyond the Laws (as I have fully proved they did) then it was THEY and not the PRESBYTERIANS, who Murdered him in his political Capacity. If the

the *Papists* and *High-flyers* under *Buckingham*, *Laud* and the Heads of that Faction, put the King out of capacity of ruling in the hearts of his Subjects, and protecting them in what the Laws gave them a right to, by advancing Arbitrary Government, and making way through all the Barriers of the Public safety and good of the Subject; they, and their Successors who abett their principles must account for that Murder, which none but themselves Committed, and which all sober Protestants of both Communions, *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian*, always oppos'd. As to the Kings Imprisonment, the General Assembly in their Declaration in *July* 28*th* 1648, express'd their Dissatisfaction with it: Let the Reader peruse their own words which I have transcrib'd. (p. 228) The Presbytery of *Belfast*, in their Representation (which I have inserted p. 245, 246.) did likewise declare against it, & it was known to have been the Act and Deed only of the *Sectarian* Party, and therefore it is very unfairly charg'd by our Author upon the Presbyterians. Part 2.

CHAP. II.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King CHARLES II.

I Shall consider this Reign. 1. From its beginning *Anno* 1648, to the *Restauration*, *Anno* 1660. and 2*dly* from thence to its Conclusion.

During the first Period, the Presbyterians are charg'd by our Author with great Disloyalty in their opposing the King's Authority, Commission and Restauration: to support the charge, he adduceth a Declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor* in *Ireland*, *July 7th* 1649. Of all the Accusations and Arguments used against Dissenters in either of his Letters, this of the *Bangor-Declaration* is set off with the *greatest* Noise, *hardest* Words and *loudest* Triumph. He has not thought fit to Insert it with his Marginal Observations upon it in that place of his first Letter, where according to the Order of time it came naturally to be consider'd *viz.* in the beginning of this Reign; but Subjoins it to the whole Letter, that the Reader may take his leave of him, full of this rare discovery; for which he must be prepared by the *distinguishing* manner wherein 'tis introduc'd in the Title-Page, and some Quotations from it and reflections upon 'em with which that Letter is stuff'd For of 22 Pages (which are the whole) 5 *viz.* the 12*th*, 15*th*, 16*th*, 19*th*, and 20*th* refer to it, with such Abusive Language as is scarce *Justifiable* even when one Speaks Truth

Truth, but far leſs when one do's ſo unluckily ſtumble into bold miſtakes. Part 2.

He thinks this Declaration ſuch an uncontеſted evidence of Diſloyalty, as effectually refutes that part of the Addreſs of the Presbyterian Miniſters in the North of *Ireland* to the Queen *Anno* 1708, which Aſſerts *their Untainted Loyalty in all turns of Government to have been the natural conſequence of their known Principles*, for which he repreſents them to be Men that *will ſtick at nothing to gain a point*, *amuſing the World with Groſs and Palpable miſrepreſentations*; calls it *a refin'd piece of Aſſurance*, *and a groſs Impoſition upon the Queen and all Mankind*, p. 16. Shou'd our Author think fit to give us the Definition of a *notorious Knave* or Villain, cou'd he give it in *more ſevere* and harſh Terms than thoſe he has beſtowed ſo Liberally upon the Presbyterian Miniſters in the North of *Ireland*? What Knave can be greater than he that *will ſtick at nothing to gain a point*? In his ſecond Letter he Repeats his Invectives againſt this Declaration and the Presbytery who made it, in divers places, they are no leſs than *Infamous Tongues and Pens* in his Account, p. 7.

He is ſo very fond of Magnifying the crime of this Declaration and three Petitions from the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland* to the General Aſſembly of *Scotland* before the year 1648 (which have been already conſidered) that *to gain that point* he has deſtroyed the greateſt part of both his Letters, and by his own Confeſſion fully acquitted the Presbyterians of any other Diſloyalty than what may be inferr'd from the aforeſaid Declaration and Petition: his words are theſe, p. 12. 'And the truth is, had it not been for thoſe 'declarations, and for what records the *Kirk* of *Scotland* hath pre'ſerved of the *Kirk* of *Ireland*, *her younger Siſter that hath no breaſts*, 'ſhe might have paſt with us now for that *Virgo Intacta*, that Un'tainted Virgin in her Loyalty which they repreſent her.' Now theſe Declarations he mentions are that of *Bangor*, and that of my Lord of *Airds*; as appears evidently by the Preceding Paragraph, and theſe records (as his Marginal Notes ſhews) of the *Kirk* of *Ireland* preſerv'd by the Kirk of *Scotland*, are the aforeſaid 3 Petitions. Hereupon one wou'd think that our Author might and ſhou'd have ſpared his pains in drawing up a Libel againſt Presbyterian Loyalty in a great many particulars that have not the *leaſt relation* to *theſe* Declarations and Petitions; for if the Kirk of *Ireland* (as he's pleas'd to

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term Presbyterians there) might have pass'd for an untainted Virgin in her Loyalty, had it not been for the Declarations and Petitions, for what reason cou'd she pass for such unless it be for this, because their can be nothing else said against her Loyalty but what is grounded upon these Declarations and Petitions? if she can be justly taxed with any Disloyalty in other points, then what our Author has Advanced here is not true; and if she cannot, then we must lay aside the rest of his Libel as groundless and calumnious.

But to come to the Declaration it self, I shall endeavor to set the whole matter in a clear light by enquiring into 4 things, 1*st*, The occasion and scope of this Declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor*, that we may see against what and against whom it was level'd. 2*ly*, The Reasons which are offer'd in the Declaration it self to justifie it. 3*ly*, The Demonstrative evidences we have of the Loyalty of the Presbytery who fram'd it, and of all the other Presbyterians, from the Murther of King *Charles* the first to the Restauration of his Son & the Royal Family, 4*ly*, The Objections of our Author against it.

As to the first, viz. The *occasion and scope of this Declaration, that we may see against what and against whom it was level'd*; we must look back into the latter part of the former unhappy Reign, wherein we'll find the Posture of Affairs in *Ireland* to have been thus. Upon the breaking out of the *Irish* Rebellion *October* 23*d*, 1641. the then Lord justices of *Ireland*, finding that the Protestant Forces in that Kingdom were unable to make head against the Enemie, wrote Importunately to *England* for a speedy supply of Men, Mony, and Arms, to oppose the Rebels, and particularly propos'd that in regard the *Scots* cou'd be more easily transported over to the North of *Ireland* than the *English*, Methods might be taken to bring forces from *Scotland* to their Assistance; whereupon, Articles and *Propositions* were assented to by King *Charles* 1*st* and the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, for transporting 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland*, to fight against the bloody *Irish*. By the *third* of these Articles it is provided 'that they 'have the command and keeping of the Town and Castle of *Carrick-* '*fergus*, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to 'enlarge their Quarters, and to go abroad in the Country upon such 'occasions, as their officers in their discretion shall think Expedient for

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' for the good of that Kingdom. And if it shall be thought fit, that ' *any Regiments* or Troops in that *province* shall join with them, that ' they *receive orders* from the Commanders of their Forces. ' See *Husbands's* Collections p. 57.

In pursuance of which Articles, 10000 of the *Scots* went into *Ireland* and were possessed of *Carrickfergus* as their Head Quarters; the several Regiments brought over their Ministers alongst with them, who being of the Presbyterian Persuasion did associate for the exercise of Discipline; and such Ministers of the same Persuasion as then remain'd in the Kingdom join'd with them and founded a Presbytery which met at *Carrickfergus*, *July* 10*th* in the Year 1642. And this was that very Presbytery which fram'd the Representation at *Belfast*, *Feb.* 15*th*, 1648 against the Murder of King *Charles* I, and the *Sectarian* courses, and who also fram'd the Declaration at *Bangor*, now under consideration. This Presbytery received Applications from such places of the Country as were of their Persuasion, and Planted Ministers in divers Congregations, and many of the Gentlemen of the Country fell in with them, of whom the Lord Viscount of *Airds* was one, and the Lord Viscount *Claneboy*, another. Both these noble Lords shew'd an early Zeal for the Interest of the Presbytery. For on the 19*th* day of *July* 1642 (which was but nine Days after their first meeting) My Lord of *Airds* sent Captain *Mc Gill* to the Presbytery then met at *Carrickfergus* with a Message to them, promising that HE WOU'D JOYN WITH THEM IN DISCIPLINE; and my Lord *Claneboy* writ 'em a Letter, deliver'd the very same day, and giving the same assurance for himself as my Lord of *Airds* had done by his Message.

After the Civil War broke out in *England* between the King and Parliament, the *British* Protestants then in *Ireland*, as well Inhabitants as Auxiliaries who came to defend them, begun to consider which side they would take Part with: And here it must be own'd, the Presbyterians were *generally* in the Interest of the Parliament, and those of the *Episcopal* Communion were *as generally* on the King's side: But for divers Years, these Parties in *Ireland* did not engage against one another; but were employed against the common Enemy, the *Irish* Rebels. But tho' those in *Ireland* who took part with the King (the Head of whom was the Noble Marquis of *Ormond*) did not for divers Years commit any Open Acts of Hostility against the *Parliamentarians* there, yet they did several things that were very disgusting and

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and prejudicial to them: the chief whereof was their *repeated Attempt* of a coalition with the *Irish*; which produc'd a *Cessation* concluded with them in 1643, and a peace in 1646, and another in 1648. The Design of the Marquiss was to have carried over into *England* a good number of the *Irish*, to strengthen the King's forces against the Parliament. The Parliament of *England* taking the Alarm from this intended *Irish* Invasion, begun to put their Party in *Ireland* upon Methods to prevent it. Their Commissioners were *Active* against *Ormond*'s Party; and the *Irish* proving Treacherous to him in breaking the Articles of the Cessation and Peace in 1646, he was not able to make a stand against the Parliamentarian Forces, and so had no choice left him, but one of two *viz:* whether he wou'd submit to the *Irish* or to the *Parliamentarians*; and he, like a wise and an honest Man, prefer'd the latter, who gave him honourable Terms: upon which he left 'em in possession of *Dublin*, and went for *England*, *Anno* 1647. After he had been in *France*, and taken the best advice he cou'd for retrieving the King's Affairs, he returns into *England*, enters into a concert with some of the *Scots* Commissioners that they should raise Forces in *Scotland* and he in *Ireland*, and that both should meet in *England* and joyn the King there: According to which Plan, the *Scots* went into *England* under Duke *Hamilton*'s Command, the fate whereof is known, and the Marquiss Lands in *Ireland* in *September* 1648, presently sets on Foot a New Treaty with the *Irish*, but cou'd not bring it to a conclusion before the 17*th* of *January*, and *then it was too late* for his purpose; for the King was Murder'd the 30*th* of the same Month. Assoon as the fatal News of the King's Death came to *Ireland*, every Party begun to exert themselves according to their several Principles.

The Marquiss of *Ormond* makes an Essay to bring his *New Confederates* into the Interest of the *young King*; but *Owen Ro O Neil* having refused to submit to the Peace, exceedingly *embarass'd* his Affairs and *perplexed* all his Measures. The Party that Commanded for the *Rump* in *England* adhered to their *Masters*, and wou'd by no means Incorporate with him and the *Irish*; the *Scots* Forces refus'd to joyn with him too, tho' they were *strenuous Assertors* of Monarchy. The Presbytery emits their Representation of the 15*th* of *February*, and endeavor to bring Sir *Charles Coot* into their Measures, but in vain, as appears by his Answer to the Presbytery dated *March* 7*th*, publish'd in *Burlas*'s History, p. 207.

They

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They Treat with Collonel *Monk* in *April*, but with small Satisfaction, the Treaty with him was Managed by a Meeting, which consisted of three sorts of constituent Members, *viz.* the chief Officers of the Army, call'd, the *Council of War*: Some Gentlemen in Name of the Country, called, the *Committee of the Country*; and a *Committee of the Presbytery*. These 3 *join'd their Councils* and conferr'd together about the Demands to be insisted on, and the Answers to be given to Collonel *Monk*. The Propositions of this Joint Meeting, and *Monk's* Answers can all be produc'd, with which I shan't trouble the Reader any farther than as they relate to the Affair in hand. He refus'd to quit the Interest of the *Rump*, upon which the Treaty broke off.

Having seriously consider'd what they were obliged in conscience and Interest to do, they concluded IO A MAN to *adhere to Monarchy*, and particularly to assert the Title of *King Charles* II, as their lawful Sovereign and natural Prince; and were deliberating about the Choice of a Commissioner to be sent to him: but in the mean time, they considered that he had all alongst asserted his Fathers cause in the Civil War, seem'd yet to pursue the same measures, & therefore they look'd upon him as being *Materially in a State of war* with his Subjects. And they were for waiting for the issue of the *Scots* treating with him, before they wou'd put themselves entirely in his hands; especially considering that all who declar'd for his coming to the immediate and full exercise of his Regal power in *Ireland*, had submitted to a *dishonorable* and *dangerous peace* with the *Irish* destructive of Religion and property, and that they must fall in with that peace, if they declar'd for the *immediate* and *full exercise* of his Regal power. In all which conclusions the Lord of *Airds* joined with them in Letters to their friends in the *Lagan* and other parts of the Kingdom, to persuade 'em to adhere to the said declaration; notwithstanding whereof the said Lord took a commission from the King to be Chief Commander of the Forces in *Ulster*, to obey the Marquis of *Ormond*, and incorporate his forces with the *Irish* Rebells.

The Presbytery being surpriz'd at this sudden and unexpected change, fram'd their Declaration at *Bangor*, for preventing the Mischievous consequences which they apprehended might ensue, to the destruction of Religion and Liberty, from the execution of that Commission which My Lord of *Airds* had taken from King *Charles* 2*d*, and from the peoples submitting to the peace in 1648, and incorpo-

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rating with the *Irish* Rebels. In the Declaration it self you have the Narrative and occasion which is short, and gives a general hint of these things I have mention'd, sufficiently intelligible to these who were then alive, and who knew the History of their own times; but I thought it necessary to explain it, by the above-account, to those who live at *such a Distance* from the times when these affairs were transacted.

After they had represented the evil tendency of that Commission and of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Peace with the *Irish*, they declare themselves in these words 'All these things make clear as the beams 'of the Sun, the unlawfulness of his Authority by such a Commis- 'sion &c. For this cause as the *Ambassadors of Christ*, we beseech 'our people in his stead not to join hands with *such a Cause*, or to 'Meddle with them who are given to change, and particularly we 'charge all who have renewed the Covenant, and have entred into a 'Declaration of the Army and Country, not to join in executing 'such a Commission, by taking charge in the Army under the pre- 'sent command, or *serving* them either as *Officers* or *Soldiers* &c. 'We do also in the Name of Jesus Christ warn the people of our 'charge to keep themselves free from all complyance with their un- 'godly course, either by speaking favorably of them, acknowledg- 'ing the Authority of the present command under the Marquis of 'Ormond, and the Lord of *Airds*, by imposing of Cess upon others 'for maintaining their unlawful power, or by constant obeying their 'orders, in paying Cess unto their Army &c.

2*dly*, I shall consider the Reasons offer'd in the Declaration it self to justifie it. And these are reducible to two heads; 1*st*, The Equity and Justice of the long Parliament's Defensive War against King *Charles* I. 2*dly*, the Illegality and Pernicious Consequences of the *Articles* of peace with the *Irish* Rebells in 1648.

As to the *first*, I must remit the Reader to the reasons formerly given from *p.* 169 to *p.* 224, for justifying the Parliament and those who sided with them in that war; which I there represented, together with the reasons on the other hand; leaving the Reader to form a judgment without giving my own opinion in that matter: All I have to do here, is to shew that the same Reasons were of equal force to justifie the *Bangor-declaration*, and that the *Declarers* went upon the same foundation, upon which the *Long Parliament*

ment justified their *defensive Arms*, which will appear by considering the following paragraph in the Declaration. 'For the first difference (*say they*) between the King and his people was touching his 'Absolute and *unlimited power in Civil things*, and his Adherence to Prelacy and Maintaining their power, for which both our late Sovereign 'and his Majesty who now is did raise arms against their Subjects, 'and to this day that same quarrel is avouched & owned by his Majesty, 'and *all his Commissions tend to the bringing him to that power, which was 'justly denied to his Royal Father.* Part 2.

If it was just to oppose the *illegal* and *Arbitrary Methods* of the *preceding* Reign, can any body blame those who *demanded* some *reasonable Security* from the young King, against their being drawn into a *Precedent* in his Reign; especially, considering that he himself had acted a part in those things, which (they apprehended) did justify their resisting his Father by force of Arms. The *Long Parliament* was carrying on a Treaty with his Father in the Isle of *Wight*, and had brought Matters to a bearing, so as to afford them a prospect of a lasting and honourable Peace, until the *Sectarian* Party over-turned all, and destroyed both King and Parliament. Now, it was the Sense of the Presbytery and of those who adhered to them, that the New King ought in all Reason to have given his Subjects that Satisfaction as to have assur'd them, he wou'd make good at least the substance of his Father's Concessions, which if he refused to do, they cou'd not but look upon themselves and the rest of the subjects to be just under the *same Pressures* and *Difficulties* under him as under his Royal Father; and consequently, that as they thought the Commissions granted by his Father, while in a State of War with his People, for subduing them and their Liberties, were *void* and not *Obligatory*, so they concluded that the Commissions granted by the Son, while in the same Circumstances and for the same ends, were also void, and might be lawfully disobeyed. And such were the Commissions granted to the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord of *Airds*: Which is plain from what my Lord of *Airds* says in his Declaration; *viz. That the King's Commission did ever procure respect and obedience until the worst of Times*; by which he meant those who disobeyed the Commissions of King *Charles* I. during the Civil War: And this makes it plain, that he accepted this Commission from King *Charles* II, on the same Terms and Principles with those who accepted Commissions

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from his Royal Father while at War with his People; and therefore the former might be as lawfully Disregarded as the latter, seeing the Commissions of K. *Charles* 2. were founded upon the *same Principles* and promoted the same designs with those granted by his Father during the War, which proves the young King to be Materially in a State of War against all those with whom his Father had been at War.

What exceedingly strengthens the Argument is, that King *Charles* 2*d* being a young Prince under the Influence of evil Counsellors who had ruin'd his Father, might (if he had come to the *immediate* and *full exercise* of his Regal Power, without any *previous Articles* with his People) have carried his Resentments so far against those who Manag'd the War against his Father and Himself, as to have destroyed a Multitude of his *best Subjects*, enslaved *all the rest*, and *exceeded* his Father in Arbitrary Power, instead of Correcting and Amending the Errors of his Reign. When the fear of all this was so well grounded, and his Commissions went upon a Foot that tended to bring it to pass, the great Law of Self-preservation will go very far to justify the Presbytery's Declaring against such Commissions, which were so full of Danger to the public safety.

Let the second period of this Reign, *viz.* from his Restauration to his Death (of which afterwards) be a witness for Presbyterians, from whence all wise men who love Religion and Liberty may be judges, whether the Presbyterians had not good reason to insist upon the King's providing reasonably for both, before he shou'd have *all thrown at his Mercy*. Let the Popish *Plot*, Popish *Councils*, Popish *Succession*, and *Encroachments* on Liberty, which were all supported by the Court, Declare whether it had not been better for *Britain* & *Ireland* that they had Insisted (as Presbyterians wou'd have had 'em) upon such terms with the young King, as wou'd have secur'd them against all those Mischiefs.

The *second* reason offer'd in the Declaration, to justify it, is founded upon the *Illegality and pernicious tendency* of the Articles of the *Peace* made with the *Irish* Rebells in 1648: for speaking of the Lord of *Aires*'s Commission, they say 'it is to receive commands 'from the Marquis of *Ormond* &c. who hath made a peace with the 'Rebells destructive to Religion; unto which peace the Lord of *Airds* 'contrary to his many professions and subscriptions has now join'd 'himself.

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Now if this Peace was illegal, destructive to Religion, Liberty, and Property; then *all Commissions* to support this Peace, and Incorporate with the *Irish* Rebels according to the Articles thereof were of themselves null and void; and therefore might lawfully without the least infringment of Loyalty and Duty be oppos'd and resisted: but such were the Commissions granted to the Marquiss of *Ormond* and Lord of *Airds*.

To illustrate this Argument, 'twill be necessary to lay before the Reader all the Articles of this peace, they are to be found at large in *Cox*'s History *appendix* 43; and abridg'd in *Burlace*, *page* 205. And becauſe there are divers things in the Articles at large which are not so much as hinted at, or but darkly expres'd in *Burlace*'s abridgment, I have transcrib'd such of 'em at large out of *Cox*, as are most Material for enlightning the present debate; and as to the rest, have contented my self with *Burlace*'s abridgment. Those transcrib'd out of *Cox* have this mark † prefix'd to them.

The Articles of the Peace. 1648.

1. 'That the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* have free exercise of 'Religion, all Penalties taken off, not oblig'd to the Oath of Supremacy, to ENJOY ALL CHURCHES AND CHURCH-LIVINGS THEY HAVE IN PRESENT POSSESSION, and the exercise of Jurisdiction therein.

† '2. *Item*, 'tis concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said Partys, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, that a free Parliament shall be held in this Kingdom within six months after the date of these Articles of Peace, or as soon after as *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costelogh* Lord President of *Connaught*, *Donnogh* Lord viscount *Muskery*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athenry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq. Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnewall* Baronet, *Jeffery Browne*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tylagh O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, and *Gerrald Fennel* Esquires, or the Major part of them will desire the same, so that by possibility it may be held, and that in the mean time, and *until* the Articles of these presents, agreed to be past in Parliament, *be accordingly past*, the same SHALL BE INVIOLABLY

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'LABLY OBSERV'D as to the matters therein contain'd, as *if they were enacted in Parliament*; And that in case a Parliament be not call'd and held in this Kingdom within two years next after the date of these Articles of Peace, then his Majestie's Lord Lieutenant, or other his Majesties chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, will, at the request of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or the major part of them, call a General *Assembly* of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom, to attend upon the said Lord Lieutenant, or other his Majesti's chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, in some convenient place for the better setling of the affairs of the Kingdom; and 'tis further concluded, accorded and agreed by and between the said Parties, that all matters that by these Articles are agreed upon to be passed in Parliament, shall be transmitted into *England*, according to the usual form, to be passed in the said Parliament, and that the said Acts so agreed upon, and so to be passed, shall *receive no disjunction or alteration here, or in* England; Provided that nothing shall be concluded by both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of his Majesties Protestant Party, or their *Adherents*, or to his Majesti's *Roman-Catholic* Subjects, or their adherents, other than such things as upon this treaty are concluded to be done, or such things as may be proper for the Committee of Privileges of either or both Houses to take Cognizance of, as in such cases heretofore hath been accustomed, and other than such matters as his Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to declare his further pleasure in, to be pass'd in Parliament for the satisfaction of his Subjects, and other than such things as shall be propounded to either or both Houses by his Majestie's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdoom for the time being, during the said Parliament, for the advancement of his Majesties Service, and the peace of the Kingdom; which clause is to admit *no construction which may trench upon the Articles of Peace, or any of 'em*; and that both Houses of Parliament may consider what they shall think convenient touching the Repeal or Suspension of the Statute commonly call'd *Poyning's Act*, Entitul'd, *An Act that no Parliament be holden in that land until the Acts be certified into* England.

3. That ALL LAWS made in the Parliament of *England* since

' since 1641. in blemish of the Catholicks, are at the next Parliament to be VACATED. Part 2.

4. ' ALL INDICTMENTS against any Catholicks since 1641. be VACATED.

† 5. ' *Item*, It is likewise concluded, accorded & agreed, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that as soon as possible may be, ALL IMPEDIMENTS which may hinder the said Roman Catholicks to SIT OR VOTE IN THE NEXT INTENDED PARLIAMENT, or to choose, or to be chosen Knights, and Burgesses, to sit or vote there, shall be REMOVED, and that BEFORE the said Parliament.

6. ' All Debts to remain as they were *February* 8. 1641, Notwithstanding any Attainder.

7. ' The Estates of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of *Connaght*, *Clare*, *Thomond*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*, be secur'd by an Act.

† 8. ' *Item*, It is further concluded &c that *ALL INCAPACITIES* impos'd upon the natives of this Kingdom or any of them, as Natives, by any act of Parliament, Provisos in Patents or otherwise, be *TAKEN AWAY* by act to be passed in the *said Parliament*; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the City of *Dublin* or elsewhere, as shall be thought fit by his Majestie's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being——— And that his Majesties Roman-Catholick Subjects ' may erect and keep Free-schools for Education of Youths in this Kingdom, *any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding*; and that all the matters assented unto in this Article be passed as Acts of Parliament in the said next Parliament.

† 9. ' *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That *places of command, honor, profit and trust* in his Majestie's Armies in this Kingdom shall be UPON PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES actually and by particular Instances conferr'd upon his Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, and that upon the Distribution conferring and disposing of the places of Command, honor, profit, and trust in his Majesties Army in this Kingdom, for the future no DIFFERENCE shall be made between the said Roman-Catholicks, and other his Majesties Subjects. But that such Distribution shall be

be made with *equal indifferency* according to their respective merits and abilities; and that all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom, as well Roman Catholicks as others, may for his Majesties service, and their own security, *arm themselves the best they may*, wherein they shall have all *fitting Encouragement*; and 'tis further concluded &c. That *places of Command, honour, profit, and trust in the Civil Government* in this Kingdom, shall be upon passing of the bills in these Articles mention'd in the next Parliament, actually and by particular instances *conferr'd upon his Majesties Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom*, and that in the Distribution, conferring and disposing of the places of Command, honour, profit and trust, in the Civil Government; for the future, NO DIFFERENCE SHALL BE MADE between the said *Roman*-Catholicks, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such Distribution shall be made with *equal indifferencies*, according to their respective merits and abilities, and that in the Distribution of Ministerial offices or places which now are, or hereafter shall be void in this Kingdom, *equality shall be us'd* to the *Roman*-Catholick Natives of this Kingdom, as to other his Majesties Subjects; and that the *Command of Forts, Castles, Garrisons, Towns, and other places of Importance in this Kingdom*, shall be conferr'd upon his Majesties *Roman*-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom UPON PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES actually and by particular instances, and that in the distribution conferring and disposal of the Forts, Garrisons, Towns and other places of importance in this Kingdom, NO DIFFERENCE shall be made between his Majesties Roman Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifferences, according to their respective merits and abilities: And that until full settlement in Parliament, *fifteen* thousand foot, and *two* thousand and *five* hundred horse of the *Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom* shall be of the STANDING ARMY of this Kingdom: and that until full Settlement in Parliament as aforesaid, the Lord Lieutenant or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon, &c.* or any seven or more of them, shall DIMINISH OR ADD unto the said number, as they shall see cause from time to time.

10. That

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10 ' That the King take 12000 *pound per Annum* in lieu of the Court of ' Wards.

11 ' No Noblemen to have more Proxies than two in parliament, and ' all blanks to be null'.

12 ' That the depending of the Parliament of *Ireland* upon *England*, ' shall be as both shall agree and stand with the Laws of *Ireland*.

13 ' That the Council-Table meddle only with Matters of State.

14 ' That all Acts forbidding the Transport of Wool, be null'd by ' the next Parliament.

15 ' That if any have been wrong'd by Grants from King JAMES, ' or since, they may Petition, and have relief in Parliament.

16 ' That divers particular Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who have ' been (as they conceive) wrong'd, shall now be righted.

17 ' That all who had their Estates taken from 'em in *Cork*, *Youghal* & ' *Dungarvan*, have Restoration or Rent.

† 18. ' *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That an Act of *Oblivion* be ' past in the next Parliament, to extend to *all his Majesties Subjects of* ' *this Kingdom*, and *their adherents*, of ALL TREASONS and Of- ' fences, CAPITAL, CRIMINAL and PERSONAL, and other Of- ' fences of what Nature, kind or quality soever, in such manner as ' *if those Treasons* or *Offences had never been committed, perpetrated or* ' *done*; That the said Act do extend to the Heirs, Children, Kindred, ' Executors, Administrators, Wives, Widows, Dowagers, or Al- ' signs of such of the said Subjects and their Adherents, who Died ' on, before, or since the 23*d* of *October* 1641. That the said Act do ' relate to the first day of the next Parliament, that the said *Act* do ' extend to all *Bodies Politick* and CORPORATE, and their RES- ' PECTIVE SUCCESSORS, & unto all Cities, Boroughs, Counties, ' Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Tithings, and every of 'em ' within this Kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the said ' Offences, or any other Offence or Offences, in them, or any of 'em ' committed, or done by his Majesties said Subjects or their Adhe- ' rents, or any of them, before, in or since the 23*d* of *Octob.* 1641.----

19. ' That no Officer of Eminency in *Ireland* farm the Customs.

20. ' An Act to pass againgst Monopolists.

21. 'That the Court of *Castle-Chamber* be regulated.

22. ' That the Acts for prohibiting Plowing with Horses by the ' Tails, and Burning Oats in the Straw, be null.

23. ' An Act for taking off the Grievances of the Kingdom.

† 24. ' *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That Maritime Causes ' may

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‘ may be determin'd in this Kingdom, without driving of Merchants or others to *Appeal and seek Justice elsewhere*; and if it shall fall out ‘ that there be Cause of an Appeal, the Party griev'd is to Appeal to ‘ his Majesty in the Chancery of *Ireland*, and the Sentence thereupon to be given by the Delegates, to be Definitive and not to be que- ‘ stion'd upon any further Appeal except it be in the Parliament of ‘ this Kingdom, if the Parliament shall then be sitting, *otherwise not*; ‘ this to be by Act of Parliament, and until the said Parliament, the ‘ Admiralty and Maritime Causes shall be Order'd, and settled by the ‘ said Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor, or Governors of ‘ this Kingdom for the Time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or ‘ more of them.

† 25. ‘ That no Rents be rais'd upon the Subjects, under pretence ‘ of defective Titles.

26. ‘ That Interest-Money be forgiven from 1641.

27. *Item*. It is further concluded &c. That IMMEDIATELY UPON ‘ PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES, the said *Thomas* Lord ‘ Viscount *Dillon*, &c. shall be Authoriz'd by the said Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, Hear, Determine, and Execute, in and through- ‘ out this Kingdom, the *ensuing particulars*, and all the *matters thereupon depending*, and that such Authority, and other the Authorities ‘ hereafter mention'd shall remain of Force without *revocation*, *alteration*, or *diminution*, UNTIL ACTS OF PARLIAMENT BE ‘ PASSED, according to the purport and intent of these Articles, and ‘ that in case of Death, Miscarriage, Disability to serve, by reason of ‘ sickness or otherwise of any the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, ‘ &c. His Majestie's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor, or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, shall Name and Authorize another in the place of such as shall be so Dead, or shall ‘ miscarry himself, or be so Disabled, and that the same shall be such ‘ Person, as SHALL BE ALLOW'D OF by the said *Thomas* Lord ‘ Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them then living.

And that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven ‘ or more of them shall have POWER TO APPLOT, Raise, and ‘ Levy means, with indifferency and equality by way of excise or otherwise, upon *all his Majesty's Subjects within the said Kingdom*, ‘ their persons, Estates & Goods, towards the maintenance of such Army

for

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‘ or armies, as ſhall be thought fit to continue, and be in pay for his Majeſty's Service, the defence of the Kingdom, and other the neceſſary public charges thereof, and towards the maintenance of the Forts, Caſtles, Garriſons and towns of both, or either party, other than ſuch of the ſaid Forts, Garriſons, and Caſtles, as from time to time, until there ſhall be a Settlement in Parliament, ſhall be thought fit, by his Majeſty's chief Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, BY AND WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* &c. or any ſeven or more of them, not to be maintain'd at the charge of the public, provided that his Majeſtie's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, be firſt made acquainted with ſuch Taxes, Levies and Exciſes as ſhall be made, and the manner of Levying thereof, and that he approve the ſame; and to the end that ſuch of the Proteſtant Party, as *ſhall ſubmit to the Peace* may in the ſeveral Counties where any of their Eſtates lyeth, have equality and indifferency in the Aſſeſsments and Levies that ſhall concern their Eſtates in the ſaid ſeveral Counties.

‘ It is concluded &c. That in the Directions which ſhall iſſue to any ſuch County, for the applotting, ſubdividing, and levying of the ſaid public Aſſeſsments, ſome of the ſaid Proteſtant Party ſhall be joyn'd with others of the Roman-Catholic Party to that purpoſe, and for effecting that Service; and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them ſhall have power to levy the Arrears of all Exciſes and other public Taxes impos'd by the Confederate Roman-Catholics and yet unpaid, and to CALL RECEIVERS *and* OTHER ACCOMPTANTS OF ALL FORMER TAXES, and ALL PUBLIC DUES, to a Juſt and Strict Account either by 'emſelves, or by ſuch as they or any ſeven or more of 'em ſhall name or appoint; & that the ſaid Ld Lieutenant or any other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall from time to time iſſue Commiſſions to ſuch Perſon & Perſons as ſhall be nam'd and appointed by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon*, &c. or any ſeven or more of them, for letting, ſetting and improving the Eſtates of all ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhall adhere to any Party oppoſing his Majeſtie's Authority and *not ſubmitting to the Peace*, and that the Profits of ſuch Eſtates ſhall be converted by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor,

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or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, to the Maintenance of the King's Army, and other necessary charges, until settlement by Parliament.

And that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall have Power to *Applot*, *RAISE* and *LEVY MEANS WITH INDIFFERENCY & EQUALITY* for the buying of Arms and Ammunition, and for the entertaining of Frigots in such Proportion as shall be thought fit by his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, *by and with the advice and consent* of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, the said Arms and Ammunition to be laid up in such Magazines and under the Charge of such Persons as shall be *agreed on*, by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them, and to be disposed of, and the said Frigots to be employ'd for his Majesties Service, and the public use and benefit of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have Power to *APPLOT*, *RAISE* and *LEVY MEANS* with Indifferency and Equality, by *way of excise or otherwise*, in the several Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of the Counties, now within the Quarters, and only upon the Estates of the said Confederate Roman-Catholics, ALL SUCH SUM and *SUMS OF MONEY AS SHALL APPEAR* to the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of 'em to be *really due for and in the discharge of the public Engagements of the said Confederate Catholicks*, *INCURR'D OR GROWN DUE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THESE ARTICLES*; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall be *authoriz'd to appoint Receivers*, Collectors, and all other Officers, for such Monies as shall be Assess'd, Taxed or Applotted, in pursuance of the *Authorities mention'd in this Article*, and for the ARREARS OF ALL FORMER APPLOTMENTS, TAXES and other PUBLIC DUES YET UNPAID; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, in case of refractorines, or delinqency may *distrain* and *imprison*, and Cause such Dilinquents to be Distrain'd and Imprison'd. And the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them, make perfect Books of all such Monies as shall be Applotted, Rais'd or Levied, out of which

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'which Books they are to make several and respective Abstracts to be 'deliver'd under their Hands, or the Hands of any seven or more of 'them to the several and respective Collectors which shall be appoin-'ted to Levy and Receive the same. And that a Duplicate of the said 'Books under the Hands of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. 'or any seven or more of them, be deliver'd unto his Majestie's Lord 'Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this King-'dom for the time being, whereby a perfect Account may be given, 'and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or 'more of them, shall have POWER TO CALL the COUNCIL and 'CONGREGATION, and the RESPECTIVE SUPREME COUN-'CILS, and Commissioners-General, APPOINTED HITHERTO 'from time to time by the said Confederate Roman-Catholicks, to 'manage their public Affairs, and all other Persons accountable, to 'an Account for all their Receipts and Disbursements since the be-'ginning of their Respective imployments under the Confederate 'Roman-Catholicks.

28. 'The Commissioners for the Catholicks that treated, agree 'upon such as shall be Commissioners of the Peace, and hear all 'Causes under ten Pound.

29. 'That all Governors of Towns, Castles and Places, made by 'the King, be with the *Approbation of the Catholick Commissioners.*

30. 'That none of his Majesties Rents be paid, until a full settle-'ment in Parliament.

31. That the Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* do try Murthers, 'Stealing, and all inferior Trespasses of that Nature.

32. 'That hereafter such differences as shall arise between Subjects, 'be Determin'd by a Court in *Ireland*, not Transferr'd to *England.*

33. 'That the *Roman Clergy*, that behave themselves according to 'the Agreement, be not molested.

'Lastly, That his majesty please to Grant *WHATEVER ELSE 'IS NECESSARY FOR THE ROMAN-CATHOLICKS.*

The Impartial Protestant reader will need little more than the serious perusal of these Articles to convince him, of their being *Illegal* and destructive to *Religion* and *Liberty*. For what law Divine or humane can justifie the putting of *so much power* into the hands of those who had *Massacred* 200000 Protestants? shall so much innocent *blood* be *shed*, and *no Inquisition* made for it? was it no injury

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to the protestant Clergy now Illegal to grant the popish rebells *all Churches* and *Church-livings* they had given in possession (which were very considerable) and the *exercise* of *Jurisdiction* therein? must *all* acts of Parliament pass'd in *England* against the Roman-Catholics since 1641 be *repeal'd* in the next Parliament, and *all* Indictmens against them since 1641. be vacated, must all *Incapacities* impos'd upon the Natives by any act of Parliament, provisos in patents or otherwise be *taken* off, popish *Inns* of *Court* and popish *Free Schools* erected? must 15000 foot and 2500 horse, *all papists*, be of the standing Army in *Ireland*, and *all Military Employments* be given *with Indifferency* to Papists as well as Protestants *immediately upon perfecting these Articles*? Must the King be oblig'd to *ask* and *obtain* the consent of the popish Commissioners to *his Commissions* for the command of Forts, Castles, Garrisons, Towns, and other places of Importance and for *making* Justices of the peace? must the Papists (I say) have all these priviledges granted them by a treaty and yet the protestant Religion be safe in *Ireland*? I confess, I think that he who can digest this Scheme so as to make it consistent with Religion, which it directly overthrows, must have a *peculiar skill* in *solving Contradictions*; an Art, which wise men in all ages have thought it reasonable to despair of.

It is observable, that these Articles are of 2 kinds. *1st*, Such as promise the *Irish* Rebells great privileges, which they were to be possess'd of upon the passing of Acts of Parliament for that purpose. *2dly*, Such as grant 'em immunitys and privileges to be enjoyed by 'em *immediately upon the perfecting* of the said Articles.

In the first, the freedom and Priviledges of Parliament are violated; while their power is so limited by the *second* Article, that there shall be *no disjunction or alteration* in *England* or *Ireland* with respect to what was concluded in this Treaty. To assume a power of obliging Parliaments, to pass acts for ratifying articles without the *least disjunction* or *alteration* is (to say no worse) a very large stretch of the Prerogative. If the Parliament themselves had been a party to the Articles, no doubt they had a power of promising to pass such Acts, but I don't find that our Constitution allows any person or persons a power of *binding* the Legislature without *their own consent*; and more especially to approve of Articles in their own *nature* destructive of *Religion and Liberty*.

But least the Rebels should be baulk'd in their expectations by a Pro-

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Protestant Parliament in *Ireland*, that might refuse to enact these articles into a Law, the 5*th* Article provides that ' *all Impediments* ' which may hinder the said Roman-Catholics to sit or vote in the ' next intended Parliament or to chuse, or to be chosen Knights ' and Burgesses to sit or vote there shall be *removed*, and that *before* ' the said Parliament. ' This gave them a moral assurance that the *Majority* in both Houses wou'd be *popish* or *popishly affected*, and consequently that they must carry their point. For the Crown was oblig'd by the articles to give the Royal Assent, and now they are made sure of carrying it in the 2 houses.

The *exorbitant* and *extraordinary* power to be put into the hands of the Rebels upon the performing of the articles, their vast superiority in numbers to the Protestants, being at least 8 to one, their having so *great* a *standing Army* of their own, and the Court on their side, cou'd not but give 'em a vast Interest in the Election of Members of Parliament; and all this was owing to these Articles of Peace, which for that reason must have had a pernicious tendency to *corrupt the whole Legislature*.

Among other *powers* granted to the Commissioners of the *Irish* Rebels, these contain'd in the 27*th* Article are very *extraordinary* being *no less than Parliamentary*, and to be justly reckon'd a high Invasion of the Liberty of the Subject. For the Popish Commissioners viz. ' The Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c or any seven or more of 'em ' have power to applot, raise and levy means with Indifferency and ' equality by way of Excise or otherwise upon all his Majesties subjects within the said Kingdom, their Persons, Estates and goods ' towards the Maintenance of such Army or Armies &c. And ' other the necessary Public charges thereof and towards the ' maintenance of Forts, Castles, Garrisons and Towns &c and for ' buying Arms and Ammunition and entertaining of Frigots &c. ' If the power of *granting Subsidies* to the Crown be not a *peculiar Parliamentary Right*, nothing is such: And if Money may be *Levy'd off the subject without his consent* in Parliament, I wou'd fain know what shadow of Liberty is left him. MAGNA CHARTA, the PETITION OF RIGHT, and all the FUNDAMENTAL LAWS of the Nation, are but meer Chimeras, if that practice be not *utterly illegal* and *unwarrantable*; and yet never any Parliament in *England*, or *Ireland* pretended to any more authority for levying Money off the Subject, than what is by this Article granted to the *Popish* Rebels.

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Another *Illegal* power, and of *dangerous consequence* is granted 'em by the said *Article*, *viz.* ' to levy Money by Excise or otherwise in ' the several Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of the ' Counties then in their quarters, and only upon the Estates of the ' said confederate *Roman-Catholicks*, *all such summ and summs of Mo-* ' *ney as shall appear* to the said Lord *Dillon* &c to be really due for ' and in discharge of the *public Engagements* of the said confederated ' Roman-Catholicks; *incurr'd or grown due before the conclusion of* ' *these Articles* &c. And to appoint Receivers, Collectors and all o- ' ther officers for such Monies &c, and in case of refractorines or ' delinquency to distrain and imprison the delinquents &c. '

That the Reader may be fully satisfied of the danger of this part of the Article, let him be pleas'd to consider that the *Irish* having by private and traiterous concerts begun their Massacre, *October* 23*d*, 1641, Found themselves considerable enough *October* 24*th*, 1642. to meet in a *National* and *General Assembly* at *Kilkenny*; which continued till the 9*th* day of *January* following, and substituted a Society with all the supreme powers of Royalty and Legislature, called, *The supreme Council of the Confederated Catholicks of Ireland*: which supreme Council manag'd all their Subsequent Rebellions, Treasons & Traiterous applications and propositions to the Pope and Foreign Popish Princes and States, for the enslaving the Nation, shaking off its dependance on the Crown of *England*, alienating it from the Royal Family, for the *establishment* of Popery, and the utter *Extirpation* of the Reformed Religion; for which purposes they laid on Taxes upon the Subject, to defray the charges of such Enterprizes; all which may be seen at large in the Historys of *Cox* (from p. 123 to p. 127 part 2. and Appendix 14) and *Burlace* (from p. 173 to p. 178) And to make all effectual they impos'd upon all the Roman-Catholic Confederates an Oath of Association, the last clause whereof is in these words (*k*) ' And for the preservation and strengthening of the ' association and Union of the Kingdom, that upon any peace or ac- ' comodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederate ' Catholics, as aforesaid, I will to the *utmost of my power Insist* upon ' and *maintain* the ensuing Propositions, *until a peace* as aforesaid be made

(*k*) *Cox's* History part 2. *Appendix* 14.

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'made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of Peace, 'be ESTABLISHED and SECUR'D BY PARLIAMENT, So 'help me God.

The Propositions mentioned in the aforesaid Oath.

'1*st*, That the *Roman Catholics* both Clergy and Laity to their 'several Capacities, have free and public exercise of the *Roman-Ca-*'*tholic* Religion and Function throughout the Kingdom, in *as* FULL 'LUSTRE and SPLENDOR as it was in the Reign of King *Hen-*'*ry* the 7*th*, or any other Catholic Kings his Predecessors, Kings of '*England* and Lords of *Ireland*, either in *Ireland* or *England*

'2*dly*. That the Secular Clergy of *Ireland* (*viz*,) Primates, Arch-'bishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-'Deacons, Prebendaries and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars and 'all other Pastors of the Secular Clergy, and their respective Suc-'cessors, shall have and enjoy all and all manner of Jurisdictions, Pri-'viledges, Immunities in *AS FULL* and *AMPLE MANNER*, as 'the *Roman-Catholic* Secular Clergy had or enjoyed the same within 'this Realm at any time, DURING THE REIGN of the late *Hen-*'*ry* 7*th* sometimes King of *England* and Lord of *Ireland*, any Law, 'Declaration of Law, Statute, Power and Authority whatsoever to 'the contrary notwithstanding.

3*ly*. 'That all Laws and Statutes made since the 20*th* Year of K. '*Henry* 8*th*, whereby any Restraint, Penalty, Mulct, Incapacity or 'Restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid upon any of the *Roman-*'*Catholics*, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, for such the said 'free exercise of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion within this Kingdom, 'and of their several *Functions*, *Jurisdictions*, and *Priviledges*, may be 'Repealed, Revoked and DECLARED VOID, by one or more 'Acts of Parliament to be pass'd therein.

'4*ly*. That all Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, 'Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Treasurers, 'Chaunters, Provosts, Wardens of Collegiate Churches, Preben-'daries and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and other Pastors 'of the *Roman-Catholic* Secular Clergy and their respective Succes-'sors shall have hold and enjoy ALL CHURCHES and CHURCH-'LIVINGS, in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant 'Clergy respectively enjoyed the same, on the first day of *October* 'in the Year of our Lord 1641. together with all the Profits, Emo-

luments

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'luments, Perquisites, Liberties and the Rights to their respective 'Sees and Churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the Pos- 'session of the Confederate Catholics, as also in all other places that 'shall be recovered by the said Confederate Catholics from the Ad- 'verse Party within this Kingdom, saving to the Roman-Catholic 'Laity their Rights according to the Laws of the Land.

Upon comparing this piece of History with the Power granted the Rebels of *Raising Money upon the Estates of the Roman-Catholic Confederates* for *all Sums* due for and in Discharge of the *public Engagements* of that *Supreme Council*, before the conclusion of these Articles: I will venture to make one Observation, which I believe will be allow'd to be very natural. It is this, That they had a Power Granted them to Raise Money become due for SUPPORTING THEIR FORMER REBELLIONS and Treasonable Designs and Practices, which I can't help thinking was a very *DANGEROUS ALLOWANCE*, not only because it gave too much Countenance to their former Bloody Councils; but because under the Notion of Raising Money due upon that Score, it gave them an opportunity of Raising Money to *Prosecute* the *same* Designs for the future; and 'tis very plain from the Propositions they had Sworn to, that it was no less than the utter ruin of the Reform'd Religion they had in view. They Swore to maintain *these* Propositions to the utmost of their Power, until the *Articles* of Peace shou'd *be ratified in Parliament*; now, they must consider that either these *Articles* wou'd be Ratify'd or Rejected in Parliament; if *Ratified*, then their raising Money in the mean time might be of great Service to them to procure farther enlargement of their Privileges; and if their former Rebellion was so well rewarded by the present Articles, they might conclude that a New Attempt might give 'em their *heart's desire*, and finish the Scheme they had laid, and now they have got power of levying Money for it. If the Articles should be *rejected* in Parliament, they had the more need of Money to *Support* their Old Trade of *conspiring* against, and *Massacring* their Enemies: And under the Notion of calling the Supreme Council to an *Account* of *Disbursements* &c. the Popish Commissioners have really a Power of Calling them together for *consultation*, and for *Hatching new Mischiefs*.

What exceedingly strengthens this Observation is the first Clause of the same 27*th* Article in these Words, *viz.* That the said Lord *Dil-*

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' *lon* &c ſhall be authoriz'd by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant to proceed ' in, hear, determine and execute; in and throughout this Kingdom, ' the *enſuing particulars* and *all the matters thereupon depending*, and ' that *ſuch Authority* and *other* the *Authorities* hereafter mentioned ' ſhall remain of force without *revocation*, *alteration* or *diminution*, un- ' til Acts of Parliament be paſſ'd according to the Import and intent ' of theſe articles ' Now in caſe the Parliament ſhould meet and reject the articles, here is directly a power by this Article to the popiſh Rebels to go on as they did before the making of theſe Articles; for it was an engagement in their National Aſſembly, to maintain the above-propoſitions ſworn to, *not until the articles of a Peace be conſidered in Parliament*, but *UNTIL THEY BE ENACTED AND RATIFIED* in Parliament. In that caſe Money becomes due by vertue of the ſaid engagement, and here a power is given to raiſe it; and all theſe authorities of Levying Money continued, not only without but againſt the Authority of Parliament; and an Aſſembly erected formerly for PROMOTING Popery and Rebellion, now CONTINU'D BY A TREATY WITH THE CROWN.

That the Rebels had this in View, is beyond Queſtion, if we may rely upon what *Cox* offers us in his Hiſtory (*l*) ' But it muſt not be ' forgotten, that the Confederates lay ſtill upon the *lurch*, and in or- ' der to keep up their dominion and power, (notwithſtanding the ' peace) they did on the 12*th* of *January* 1648. Make the following ' Order '

By the General Aſſembly.

' Whereas *the Declaration of the General Aſſembly of the Confederate* ' *Catholics, bearing date the* 28*th day of Auguſt* 1645 *and the explana-* ' *tion of the ſaid General Aſſembly thereupon dated the* 1ſt *of* Septem- ' ber 1645. *Did relate to a Settlement of Peace to be grounded on a-* ' *ny Authority, from his Majeſty as by the ſaid Declaration and explana-* ' *tion thereupon more at large may appear*, It is this day ordered and ' declared by this Aſſembly that the ſaid Declaration and Explana- ' tion *ſhall* CONTINUE AND REMAIN *in full force, and be* re- ' newed as of this time, and have relation to ALL ARTICLES for ' a ſettlement agreed on as well by Authority from his Majeſty as

(*l*) part 2. p. 205.

' from his Highness the Prince of *Wales* or both; as if the said Declaration & Explanation had been now made to all intents; Constructions and purposes.

The Declaration refer'd to was made *August* 28. 1645. Upon the occasion of their treaty with *Glamorgan*, and in *Cox Ibid. p.* 152. in these words; *The General Assembly order and declare that their Union and oath of association shall remain FIRM and INVIOLABLE, and in full strength, in ALL POINTS and to all purposes until the articles of the Intended Peace SHALL BE RATIFIED IN PARLIAMENT; notwithstanding of any PROCLAMATION OF THE PEACE* &c. ' and on the first of *September* (says that Author) they explain this ' not to import any thing inconsistent with the Peace, nor to breed ' an Interruption or Impediment of it but to further its perform- ' ance.

' And tho' this Declaration (notwithstanding any explanation they ' cou'd make of it) was *diametrically opp site* to the Nature and De- ' sign of a *Peace*, because *this* would reduce them to the Obedience ' and Condition of Subjects, and *that* wou'd still keep them up in ' the condition of a *separate state*; yet there was a deeper *Intrigue* in ' this matter, *viz*, That if they would not part with their association, it necessarily follow'd that they cou'd not part with their Army which was the *Ligament* and *support* of it; and therefore, not- ' withstanding *Glamorgan*'s Concessions, yet that *Earl* must have pa- ' tience, and wait for the expected succors until the King shall *pub- ' lickly* ratifie what his Lordship had privately done, and they did ' not doubt but the same *necessities continuing*, or rather encreasing, ' wou'd *compel his Majesty to comply with their expectations.*

A plain DISPENSING POWER with the Laws is set up in the *second article*; wherein 'tis agreed that in the mean time ' until the ' Articles of these presents agreed to be pass'd in Parliament be ac- ' cordingly passed, the same shall be *inviolably observ'd* as to the Matters ' therein contain'd, *as if they were enacted in Parliament.*

Upon the whole, if these articles of Peace were destructive of Religion, of the Authority of the Legislature, of the Liberty, and property of the Subject, and the Prerogative of the King (as I have proved they were) then the Commissions granted to the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord of *Airds* in pursuance and maintenance of them, and to oblige the Protestant Forces to Incorporate with the *Irish* Rebels,

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according to the Intent and purport of 'em, were *void* and *Illegal*; and therefore the Presbytery at *Bangor* might Lawfully declare against them. Part 2.

I am so far from charging the Gallant and Noble Marquis of *Ormond* with any design to compass those unhappy ends, which the Articles of this Peace had a tendency to promote, that I must do him the Justice on the other hand, as to declare that it seems to me from the whole of his Conduct in that Affair, that the pressing necessities of the King his Master made him yield contrary to his Inclination to such hard Terms, to enable him to retrieve the King's Affairs, and purely to do him Service. But then it must be own'd, that a *good end cannot justifie unlawful Means*, and therefore the Presbytery at *Bangor* obviate this Objection, in their Declaration in these words 'Neither can 'any necessity (*say they*) be an excuse to it, for we ought to choose 'Affliction rather than sin; to help the ungodly and to strengthen 'the hands of the wicked, is an evil worse than any suffering.' Both *Cox* and *Burlace* who offer all they can for excusing the Matter, are forced to acknowledge the Marquis's mistake, the first expresseth himself thus, Part 2. *page* 205. 'Upon this Peace *Ormond* propos'd 'to get together so good an Army, as might by Force or Treaty 'prevent the impending Fate of his Royal Master, for the undertaken *Quotas* were as followeth.

	Foot	*Horse.*
'Munster-Irish,	4000	800
'Leinster	4000	800
'Insiquin	3000	600
'Connaught	4000	800
'Owen Roe, if he wou'd 'come in had	5000	500
	20000	3500

'But he depended upon a *broken reed*; for besides that the *Irish* had 'delayed the Conclusion of the Peace too long to render it serviceable 'to the King, and had *exacted such Conditions* as wou'd rather *hasten* 'than *prevent* his *Majestie's ruin*, the Lord Lieutenant was exceedingly disappointed in his Calculation; for *Owen Roe* did not at all come

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'in till it was *too late*, and most of the rest were deficient in their promis'd Proportions of Men and Money, so that he was forced to 'borrow 800 *l.* upon his own Credit to enable the Army to March.

The other expresseth himself thus (*Burlace*, p. 228, 229) 'From 'the first hour of the Peace, the *English* and *Irish* had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the *Marquis* much 'trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and 'Submission to the Authority and Pleasure of their chief Commander, 'than united by the same Inclinations and Affections, to any public 'end. Insomuch as before the Defeat at *Rathmines*, there were many of the *Irish*, who much fear'd the Swift Success of the Army, and 'apprehended the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of *Dublin*, 'wou'd give him such Power and make him more absolute, than 'they desired to see him, and therefore were not sorry for that Mischief. On the other side the *English* were much troubled, to see 'the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Marquis so *Restrain'd* and '*Limited by the Articles*, and that the Army was neither Recruited, 'Disciplin'd nor provided, as it ought to be. *Solely by his want of* '*Power*; and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Irish*: But now upon this Defection in *Munster* there 'was a Determination of all Confidence and Trust in each other.

If we consider the State of the King's Affairs, we'll find that the first thing that Cool'd the Affections of his Subjects to him was the Influence his evil Counsellors had upon him, to encourage Popery, and by his Arbitrary and Illegal Counsels to Levy mony without consent of Parliament, as *Tunnage*, *Poundage*, *Loans*, and *Ship-Money*, and to destroy the Liberty of the Subject and the Fundamental Laws. Now I wou'd fain know, if it was a likely way to Accommodate the unhappy Differences between him and his People, which begun upon these Foundations, to give *greater Countenance* to Popery in *Ireland*, than ever he had done before, and to Authorize Bloody *Papists* there to assume a Parliamentary Power, to the destruction of Liberty and Property as well as Religion, and to do in *Ireland* under cover of his Authority *that which he had no Power to do any where*; and more especially after those Papists (who receive such an Illegal Power) had barbarously Murthered 200000 of his Protestant Subjects.

Let the demands of the long Parliament be compar'd with the *Articles* of Peace with the *Irish*; and let the World judge, whether it had

had not been more Honorable for the King to have granted the former than the latter; and whether he did not, in several particulars in the said Articles, grant more dangerous Powers, and made more ample Concessions to several of the *Irish* Rebels than he was willing to grant to the whole Parliament of *England*. This was indeed the way to hasten his Ruin, as the event prov'd, and *Cox* justly observes: which is further confirm'd by the Parliament's Intercepting *Ormond*'s Letter to the *supreme Council*, while the Treaty between him and them was in *Agitation*, and thereupon making a Demur in this Treaty with his Subjects until his Majesty wrote a Letter to the Marquiss *not to proceed any further in the Treaty with the* IRISH: notwithstanding whereof the Treaty was carried on, and the Articles sign'd *January* 17*th*, 1648 *Vide Cox* p. 204. part 2. Part. 2.

Neither can the Marquiss or the Lord of *Aird*'s adhering to the peace with the *Irish* be defended, upon pretence of serving the Interest of King *Charles* 2*d*; for the above reasons, which demonstrate it to be illegal and sinful in it self, and highly disserviceable to the Interest of King *Charles* 1*st*, are of equal force to show it's being destructive to the Interest of King *Charles* 2*d*. Nay, if there be any disparity, it consists in the Argument's being much stronger in the case of the Son, than in that of the Father.

For experience, having confirm'd it's being fatal to the Father, shou'd have prevail'd with those who made it to lay it aside, as very unhappy to the Son: which will yet further appear, if we consider that all those who were in the Interest of the Long Parliament, before they were turn'd into the *Rump*, were to the last degree disgusted by this Peace; and by adhering to it, the young King riveted in them the fears they had conceiv'd of his Resolutions to pursue the Measures of his Father's Reign; and now there was a party got up in *England* who had barbarously murdered his Royal Father, and were poisoning the Minds of the People with undutiful and disloyal Principles against Monarchy in General, and against the whole Royal Family; and nothing cou'd give them a greater handle to work upon, for deluding and misleading their fellow-Subjects, than that the young King and his Favorites shou'd adhere to the peace with the *Irish* Rebels. 'Tis true, it was a bad consequence that for these faults, Monarchy and the whole Royal Family shou'd be extirpated; but then the premisses they made use of for inferring that conclusion, were

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were so evidently true and shocking, that they wrought exceedingly (by the *Artifices* of bad Men) upon the weakness of Multitudes, who by that means were made enemies to the Royal Family, and might have been gain'd to the King's side, if he and his Counsellors had carry'd otherwise.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* who as an entire United Body adher'd to his Title, and Proclaim'd him King *February* 15*th* 1648, were so disobliged by the Peace, that he found it Convenient to Declare, that 'the Peace concluded with the *Irish Catholicks* in 1648. by Authority of the late King of ever Glorious Memory, and Confirm'd 'by himself, was *Pronounc'd* and *Adjudg'd Void*, and that his Majesty 'was Absolv'd from any Observation of it," The Marquis, to prevent the *Irish* from being Scandaliz'd by this Declaration, Writes to them, 'that (since the Declaration was by undue means obtain'd from his 'Majesty) he was resolv'd by all the means it shou'd please God to 'offer unto him and through all hazards in behalf of the Nation, to 'Insist upon and Assert the Lawfulness of the conclusion of the Peace, 'by vertue of the aforesaid Authority, and that the said Peace was '*still valid & of Force & binding unto his Majesty and all his Subjects.* (*m*)

This Declaration of the Marquis, so opposite to that of his Royal Master, produc'd no good Effect upon any Party; for such was the experienc'd Treachery of the *Irish*, in breaking the Cessation in 1643, and Peace of 1646, and delaying that of 1648 so long that had it been Lawful, it became useless for the end intended; and they so cramp'd his Power and *Embarass'd all his Measures*, that they were not to be *Sweeten'd* into Loyalty by the *Smoothest* Language he did or cou'd give 'em, and the Misfortune was that all his farther Attempts to do it Sower'd and Disgusted the greatest body of these Protestants in the 3 Kingdoms, who might be most depended upon as stanch Friends to Monarchy and the Royal Family.

Cromwel comes to *Ireland*, and carries all before him, to whose Success this *Irish* Peace Contributed not a little, as the Reader will conclude from what *Cox* says (*n*) 'In the mean time the Towns of the County of *Cork*, being Inhabited and Garrison'd with *English*men cou'd 'not endure the thoughts of joining with the *Irish* against their own Coun-

(*m*) *vide Burlace* p. 269. (*n*) History p. 12.

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Country-men; they consider'd how the Lord Lieutenant was not only *Limited in his Authority* by the Commissioners of Trust, and was but Partially and Precariously obey'd by the *Irish*: They knew the *Irish* aim'd at their destruction in the end, and continued the War to that purpose. Finally, they remembred the reasons of surrendring *Dublin* to the Parliament two years before; and they thought they had the same Motive to submit now; and therefore by the means of the Lord *Broghill*, Collonel *Courtney*, Sir *Percy Smith*, and the Collonels *Townsend*, *Jefford* and *Warden*, they revolted all at once; and about 2500 Men were drawn out of those Garrisons, and they met *Cromwel* at *White Church* not far from *Dungarvan*.

'This Revolution Dissolved all confidence between the *English* and *Irish*; and as well for that Reason, as in other respects prov'd advantagious to *Cromwel*; for otherwise he must have been forc'd to endure a long and dangerous March to *Dublin*, or to have embark'd his Men on board the Fleet, that Coasted all along as he Marched to attend him; but by this Revolt he got excellent Winter Quarters in *Cork*, *Bandon*, *Kinsale*, and *Youghal*; which last Place was made his Head Quarters.

This matter will be set in a farther Light, by considering the Petition of the Protestants of *Munster* against *Glamorgan*'s Peace, and the same Arguments contain'd in it against that Peace being of equal Force against the Peace in 1648, the Grounds upon which the Presbytery at *Bangor* proceeded are very much strengthen'd by them, and therefore I shall here Insert it.

(o) *The Petition of the Protestants of* Munster *against a Peace with the* Irish *to the Right Honorable the Lord Lieutenant General and Council of* Ireland.

Humbly Sheweth,

'That whereas after a long and happy enjoyment of the Peace 'and Prosperity under which (by his Majesties Gracious Government) this Land did lately Flourish; the *Irish* Papists of this King-

(o) *Cox*'s History part 2. *append.* 25.

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Kingdom, have on or about the three and twentieth of *October* 1641 entred into a most wicked and treacherous Conspiracy, to surprize the then Lords Justices and Council together with the City of *Dublin*, and all other her Majesties Forts and Holds within this Kingdom, Intending thereby totally and at once to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and *English Nation* from amongst them, and consequently to alienate this Kingdom from the Crown and Government of *England*. And for those ends, although they were by the Divine Providence disappointed in the main point of that Bloody and Cruel Design, have pursued the same with Indefatigable Malice into acts of open Rebellion and most Inhuman Barbarism, robbing and despoiling his Majesties good Subjects of their lives and Fortunes: Insomuch as his Majesty for the Vindication of his Protestant Subjects from the Cruel Rapines of the said *Irish* Papists, was justly occasioned to denounce and Undertake a war in this Kingdom, the managing and support whereof he was graciously pleased to recommend to and ENTRUST WITH HIS PARLIAMENT then sitting in *England*, who having piously begun the great work of Suppressing the cruelties of the aforesaid *Irish*, were by the unhappy Interposing of sundry fatal differences in *England* (*fomented*, as may be greatly doubted, *by the Rebels of this Kingdom*) diverted from the careful and provident courses requisite in so important an affair, by Means whereof his Majesty who had undertaken the War for our Defence was now constrain'd for our preservation to treat and conclude of a Cessation of Arms for twelve Months space; in which time he was MADE BELIEVE the aforesaid *Irish* Papists wou'd submit to some safe and honorable conditions of Peace. To which purpose, Agents from the aforesaid *Irish* were admitted to have access to his Royal presence, and his Majesty did not only in Manifestation of his Pious and Paternal care of his Protestant Subjects, command certain Select Persons, well vers'd and Interested in the State and affairs of this Kingdom, to attend his Royal Person, and give Information and assistance in the debate of so weighty a business, but did also give admission to such Agents as his Protestant Subjects, were able to employ in representing their particular and General Grievances and Sufferings by the said *Irish* Papists, who in Negotiation of that whole Matter, have endeavor'd to make *advantage of his Majesties necessities*, and

by

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'by Sinister and Corrupt Means with a lavish expence of that Treasure, and those Estates which your Petitioners have been despoil'd of by them, to raise a *Factious Party at the Court*, to SEDUCE and MISGUIDE his Royal Majesty, and to beguile his Judgment, with a *false opinion* of their Inclination to Peace, and feigned forwardness to advance his Service and to discountenance and suppress those whose Attendance his Majesty had required, and those Agents whom your Petitioners had employed; by which *Subtil* and *Serpentine* Courses the said *Irish* Agents having quasht and depress all opposers and Accusers, and removed all Impediments to their Devilish ends of extirpating the *English*, and before any equal Debate of the Cause, procur'd a Transmission of the whole Affair unto your Lordships, with Power and Commission further to Treat and Conclude of such Conditions as by those deceitful Courses they had gained too great hope to be confirm'd unto them, which for some Reasons was not thought fit to be done in *England*, they do now with the same Art and Subtilty study to trick your Petitioners here before your Lordships, and to compound for all their Mischiefs Multiplied upon the Heads of your Petitioners at their own Rates. And therefore at a time when neither your Petitioners, nor any from them are present, when the Agents employed to his Sacred Majesty are unreturned to this Kingdom, and whilst most of your Petitioners Evidences of their *Detestable* Treasons, and *horrible* barbarisms are remaining in *England*, they endeavor to strike up the Business with your Lordships, upon such Terms as your Petitioners who were once a considerable Part of this late Flourishing and now unhappy Kingdom, have not the Honor to be made Privy unto, or to be called or admitted to any Debate of the Business of that Main Influence upon themselves and their Posterity.

'Wherefore your Petitioners having seen how far some Persons of Honor HAVE BEEN MISGUIDED, and by Secret and Subtil Contrivances drawn to become Abused Properties and Instruments to Accomplish the Wicked Designs of the aforesaid *Irish* Rebels; and finding how they are in all likelihood in danger to be overborn by the Power and Potency of their said Adversaries; do in all Humility BESEECH your Lordships, first to call to mind that his Majesty hath by his *Royal Assent* unto an Act of Parliament, *oblig'd himself* not to grant any Pardon or Terms of Peace to the aforesaid Re-

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'bels *without the Consent of his Parliament* of *England*; and accordingly that your Lordships wou'd not suffer any part of his Majestie's Honor to be betray'd to Calumny in Assenting to such *packed Terms of Peace* as they have already contrived to draw your Lordships unto, without consent of the said Parliament of *England*, and without admitting your Petitioners to a free and full debate of the Cause; whereby they may Vindicate his Majesty and themselves from that Unnatural Aspersion which the *Irish* wou'd Maliciously fasten on them, by making the *one* the *Fautor*, and the other the *occasion* of their Rebellion, and that the matter may not be carried with *such Indulgency* towards them, as that to extenuate their Real Enormities, your Petitioners must be made Guilty of Imaginary Crimes, and *Undergo a heavier Censure for demanding Justice, than they for Perpetrating all their Treasons*; and that their Lives, Fortunes, and Posterities, and which is dearest, *their Religion may not be SOLD* or SACRIFICED *to the Malice* of the *Irish* Papists; or if this Lawful Favour shall be deny'd them, that they may have leave to protest against any such Fatal and Destructive conclusions as are in hand to be made with the aforesaid *Irish* Rebels, without consent of the King and Parliament, or your Petitioners Privity; and that their *Fictitious pretences* of assisting his Majesty, wherewith they have too long already *abused himself* and *his Ministers*, on purpose to Protract the War in *England*, may not be a sufficient *Wile* to *delude your Lordships any longer*; but that your Petitioners (and not Persons disaffected to their Religion and Nation now to be preserv'd or ruin'd) may be heard to Plead in this Cause, before any Judgment be given therein and that the examples of their former and frequent Breaches of the Cessation yet unrepair'd, may be accounted a REASONABLE CAUTION to your Lordships to expect *little better* observation of *any Peace* that shall Abridge them of their Devilish Designs.

'And your Petitioners shall Ever Pray for your Lordships increase of Honor and Happiness.

'Sign'd by the Lord *Broghill*, the Magistrates of *Cork*, *Kinsale*, *Youghall*, *and Bandonbridge*, and above Three Hundred other Persons.

I

I Conclude this Head with the Preamble of the famous *Act of Settlement*, which I shall here insert, because it doth both Illustrate and prove the Justice of those remarks I have been making upon the Peace with the *Irish* 1648 *(p)* Part 2.

An Act 14 *Caroli* 2*di*

'WHereas an unnatural Insurrection did break forth against your 'Majestie's Royal Father, of ever blessed Memory, his 'Crown & Dignity in this your Majestie's Kingdom of *Ireland* upon 'the 23*d* of *October* in the Year of our Lord God, 1641; and Ma-'nifest it self by the Murthers and Destructions of many Thousands 'of your said Majestie's good and Loyal Subjects, which afterwards 'universally spreading and diffusing it self over the whole Kingdom, 'settled into and became a form'd and almost National Rebellion of 'the *Irish* Papists, against your Royal Father of Blessed Memory, 'his Crown and Dignity, to the Destruction of the *English* and Pro-'testants Inhabiting in *Ireland*: The which *Irish* Papists being re-'presented in a General Assembly chosen by themselves and acting 'by a Council call'd by them, *The Supreme Council of the Confederate 'Roman Catholicks of Ireland*, did first *Assume*, Usurp and exercise 'the Power of Life and Death, make Peace and War, levy and coin 'Money, and many other Acts of *Sovereign Authority*, treating with '*Foreign Princes* and *Potentates*, for their Government and protection 'and afterwards acted under a Foreign *Authority*, by the said ways, 'disowning and rejecting your Royal Father's, and your Majestie's 'Undoubted right to this Kingdom, even while they *Treacherously 'used his*, and your Majesties *Names in the outward Forms of their Pro-'ceedings*; withal impiously seeming by words and shews to swear 'unto that, which by the whole series of their deeds, they denyed; 'and moreover presuming to pretend his late Majestie's Sacred *Au-'thority* even for their worst Actions; all which they did amongst 'their other designs) to frighten his good Protestant Subjects from 'their Loyalty, to *blast his Majestie's honor, And to widen the breach 'between his said Majesty* and his seduced subjects in *England*; the

'HEM, though

(p) *Burlace* Page 320.

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'which ends, by their said wicked stratagems, they did too SUCCESSFULLY and MISCHIEVOUSLY EFFECT'

Having enquired 1st, into the occasion and scope of the declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor*, and 2*aly*, into the reasons which are offer'd in the Declaration it self to justify it; in pursuance of the Method propos'd, I come next to enquire,

3*aly*, Into the Demonstrative Evidences, we have of the Loyalty of that Presbytery, who fram'd the said Declaration at *Bangor*, and of all the other Presbyterians from the Murder of King *Charles* the 1*st* to the Restauration of the Royal Family.

The Presbytery met at *Belfast February* 15*th* 1648, drew a most Loyal Representation against the Murther of King *Charles* 1*st*, and against the Antimonarchical and detestable principles and practices of the Usurping Powers who were the Authors of the Regicide, a copy whereof I have inserted p. 245. To shew they were in earnest, they wrote with all possible Importunity and strength of reason, to Sir *Charles Coot*, then at *London-derry*, to dissuade him from Complying with these Usurping powers; but he refused to come into their measures, as *Bulace* observes (*q*)

At the same meeting (viz. *February* 15*th*) they wrote a Letter to Colonel *Monk* then at *Dundalk*, to the same purpose, and sent it to him by the Reverend Mr. *Anthony Kennedy* one of their Number, who brought the Collonel's *Answer*, shewing that he was dissatisfied with their Representation, and that he urg'd them to delay the publication of it in their Churches until he shou'd come to *Lisburn*, which he soon Intended (and accordingly came thither on *March* 21*st*), but their duty to the King and their *Veneration* for the *insulted Legislature* wou'd not allow them to entertain a thought of delaying a matter so Necessary and seasonable for animating their flocks, & cherishing their Loyal Inclinations to make the earlyest appearance in favor of the Royal Family and our *happy Constitution*. Some Letters were afterwards exchang'd between the Collonel and them; but both of 'em resolutely adhering to their different Interests, *he* to the *Rump* and *they* to the *King*, all Correspondence between 'em broke off.

On the 21*st* of *March*, Collonel *Monk*, despairing of success with the

(*q*) *Page* 307.

the Presbytery, made an Essay at *Lisburn*, how far his Interest cou'd prevail with the Army and Country, the first being represented in a Council of War, and the second by the most noted Gentlemen, called the Committee of the Country. They soon perceived the tendency of his proposals; and to fortifie themselves against 'em, drew up a Declaration call'd, the *Declaration of the Army and the Country*, and prepar'd a draught of some propositions to be offered to him, as a Foundation of a Treaty with him: but before they show'd him either the Declaration or Propositions they consulted the Committee of the Presbytery, and took their advice and assistance in amending the draughts of both; and then presented them to the Collonel. Before he gave any answer to them, he deliver'd to 'em a Paper Entitul'd, *Queries given in by Collonel MONK to the Council of War at BELFAST April 9th*, 1649. the 3*d* and 4*th* Queries were these: Part 2.

'The 3*d*, Why do ye declare against the prevalent party in *England*, without order or advice from *England*, or *Scotland*, and 'thereby do in all appearance prejudice the good party oppress't, by declaring your selves sooner than *they think* it seasonable &c?

'The 4*th*, I desire to know in regard of our dependence upon *England*, whom it is we shall serve at this present?

To which Queries they return'd the following Answers in writing.

'3. To the *Third*, Albeit when lawful Authority is suppress'd an 'order be impossible to be obtain'd, yet as we are Christians, our 'duty to God and lawful Authority tyeth us to declare against the 'public Enemies of our Covenant, such as are the now prevalent 'party in *England*, who have OVERTURN'D AUTHORITY, 'from which we might have expected orders; and besides the protestations of many Members of both Houses of Parliament, the 'Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Representation of the 'Ministers, and *Apologetical Declaration of many Thousand Citizens in and about* London, all against the present courses of the Sectaries, 'may be to us in place of a *strong advice* to join with them in declaring against them also.

'To the 4th, as we have hitherto in Relation to *England* served 'the King and Parliament thereof, whose *just Power*, *Rights* and *Priviledges* we are deeply Sworn to Maintain in our Solemn Covenant, 'so we resolve *faithfully* to *SERVE* and *ADHERE UNTO THEM*, though

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'though now for a time they be *violently bereft of the Exercise of their Lawful Power.*

Of the Propositions they Presented to him the 2d. and 3d. were Conceived in these Words.

'2*d*, That he and they do Sign the Declaration to be emitted 'by the Meeting of the Army.

'3*d*. That he *shall not Obey or Execute* any Order that shall be sent 'to him from the *now prevalent* Power in *England.*

The Declaration was Calculated for the same end, it is too long to be here Inserted, but I shall Transcribe the following Paragraphs of it.

'And whereas the Sectarian Party in *England* hath of late Usurped 'an Illegal Power over both King and Parliament, and are Resolving 'an Universal Toleration in Religion, and the Subversion of LAW-'FUL GOVERNMENT by KING, LORDS and COMMONS, and 'hath taken upon them to Proclaim all the Adherers to the present 'Government in the *Person of the Present King*, to be Rebels and 'Traitors; all which their Usurping Practices they visibly pretend 'to Force upon us in this Kingdom, so soon as they can Transport 'hither to be Obeyed and Received by us contrary to our League 'and Covenant; for this Cause we do faithfully oblige our selves U-'nanimously with our ESTATES *and Lives to Resist and OPPOSE 'ANY SUCH IRREGULAR COMMANDS*, which shall proceed 'from them, and that we shall Maintain the *just Power* of *King* and '*Parliament* against all the Opposers thereof.

'And being confident that these our present Intentions will not 'want Bitter and False Aspersions and Calumnies of all sorts, and 'particularly that by this Act we intend to shake of our due depen-'dance on the Crown of *England* &c. we do hereby declare, That 'we shall really demean our selves *as becomes Faithful and Loyal Sub-'jects* to the Crown of *England*, and shall at all times give *due Obedi-'ence* to the KING and FREE PARLIAMENT thereof.

The Committee of the Presbytery prepar'd a Paper, Entitl'd, *A Vindication of the Late and Present Proceedings of the Presbytery, especially of the late Representation* &c. emitted by the Committee of the Presbytery at *Belfast*, *April* 10*th* 1649; the following part whereof is recommended to the Readers serious Consideration.

'We have not been free from the Malice of the evil affected, whose chief

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'chief Principle being to be Time-servers have Reproach'd us for our 'avowing stedfastness, and pressing the same upon our flocks, and 'have fastned upon us such uneven designs as were *farthest from our 'thoughts*, that we intend nothing but a Revolt from the Lawful Au-'thority of *England*, and to decline the Subjection of this Kingdom 'thereunto. For removing all such groundless Calumnies (tho' our 'former Doctrine, *Representation* and *constant* Practice might have 'clear'd us abundantly) We do yet Profess before God and the 'World our constant Resolutions to *Subject our selves to the LAWFUL 'AUTHORITY of the RIGHTEOUS KING* and free Parliament of 'England, and to the LAWFUL COMMANDS of such as shall 'have Power *from them*, and do acknowledge the *Interest* they have 'in, and the *Power* they have *over* the Subjects of this Kingdom of 'Ireland; which by the Grace of God, we shall continue to Witness 'in *all our Practices*, and to Teach the People under our charge to 'do the like: And we conceive there can be no better Testimony 'of the Reality of our Professions than the *Disclaiming* of the Pre-'sent Usurped Power of Sectaries in *England*, which against both the 'Laws of God and Men and our solemn Covenant, they have assumed 'to themselves whom we are resolved *NEVER TO OBEY* as the 'Lawful Authority of *England*; and do thereby approve our selves 'to be more Loyal Subjects to that Crown, than *any* who *overcome* 'with the Temptations of the Times, *Change with every Wind*; and 'for fear of Usurpers, *lay aside* the Prosecution of their Duty to 'their Lawful Magistrates, contrary to their former Vows and Pro-'fessions, and are now so inconsiderate as to return their own charge 'upon us." This Paper was Read by all the Members of the Presby-tery in their respective Churches, according to an Order of *Presby-tery*, and in a very dangerous Juncture.

This Commitee show'd a *hearty concern* for the King's Interest, in reproving those within the Bounds and under the Inspection of the *Presbytery*, who did neglect in their several Stations to Assert it, of which take the following Remarkable Instance of an Act of that Com-mittee, Faithfully Copied from their Records.

'*April* 10*th* 1649. Compeared Mr. *Forster* sovereign of *Belfast*, and 'was *rebuked* for tenoing (*i. e. holding*) the *Courts without Mentioning 'of the KING'S NAME*, contrary to the Covenant, who *promised* to *a-'mend* the same in time coming.

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When the *Rump-Party* had got more power, and found that the Presbytery were not to be wheedled out of their Loyal Principles by fair words, they begun to think of dealing with them by the more forcible Arguments of *Sequestrations, Prisons, and Banishment*, to restrain them from (what was their constant practice) praying for the King and preaching up his Title, and declaiming against the Usurpers: And accordingly Collonel *Venables* summon'd the Ministers of the County of *Down* and *Antrim* to appear before him, to answer for their *pretended Sedition* in preaching, praying, and practising against the Commonwealth of *England*, and in favor of the Royal Family.

Whereupon, some of the Presbytery fled, some absconded, and others were taken prisoners. He sent them a proposal under his hand which is an undenyable Testimony of their Loyalty and is as follows, 'Whereas the Ministers of the County of *Down* and *Antrim*, 'have been summon'd to appear in a fair way before me, & have some 'jealousies and suspitions (as I conceive) that I intended by that summons, to have entrapped them, and to have taken advantage of them 'had they come; this is to assure them, that if they come, and *give it me under their hand*, that they will not for time to come in their sermons and prayers, nor in any other private Conferences with the 'people *move them to Sedition or trouble*, or touch upon any other thing 'of state matters than what is *allowed by the State of England* that they 'shall have free Liberty to depart from me again to their several places of abode, and Charges, and to use their Ministerial Functions. 'And that although at their being with me, they shall not be convinced 'to give this Engagement, yet if they engage that they will depart this 'province and repair to *Scotland* within ten days, Wind and Weather 'serving they shall have free Liberty to do the same and to depart 'on THESE TERMS, also without Confinement or restraints, all 'which I promise under my hand this 16*th* of *June* 16[illegible].

R. VENABLES

Divers of the Presbytery being brought prisoners to Collonel *Venables*, did with Undaunted Courage and strength of Reason make so *brave a stand* before him, for their King and Country, as to challenge a peculiar remark in this Book. While they were prisoners, they reduc'd to writing the substance of their Conference with him, which from the Original Manuscript I shall here lay before the Reader;

der; Omitting such passages in it as are not Material to the business in hand, to prevent its being tedious. Part 2.

The Defences of Mr. John Dryſdaill *Minister at* Portaferry, Mr. Brutie, *Mr* Main, *and Mr* Alexander, *Ministers, Prisoners* June 1650.

——' The latter (*i. e.* the *Sectaries*) Although they might, yet they ' did not at the first publickly disturb the Ministers, notwithstanding ' of their free preaching against their Courses, till once they had ' the Enemy without sufficiently subdu'd, and these people within ' taught to carry their Yoke.

' After they had found themselves in a tolerable posture, they be- ' gan most cunningly to loaden the Ministry with reproaches (else ' their Malice and Purpose of Persecution cou'd not have been well ' enough convey'd) for say they, *the Ministers are bloody men, they are* ' *Seditious, they keep a distance betwixt you and us* (meaning the Coun- ' try) *else your Burdens wou'd not lye so heavy upon you, they in their* ' *preaching and praying are guilty of Treason against the State*; And with ' many other words, Imitating the Persecutors of our Lord and Ma- ' ster Jesus Christ, *Luke* 23.2.

' Then began they in their Councils to advise what course was fit- ' test to be taken with these men, and it was thought fit that *Sum-* ' *mons* shou'd be issu'd for them, commanding them to appear before ' the Colonel *Venables* at the Army at *Drummore* against *such a day.* ' The first summons came to us about four hours before the hour of ' our appearing: Whereupon, not long after, second summons were ' sent. These *Peremptory Summons* sent to them before that they had ' call'd 'em to a Conference, or appointed any, or had desir'd that ' the question shou'd be disputed for the satisfaction of Conscience, ' seem'd very strange unto the Ministers; as also the summons gave ' a *perfect Character* of *their* Intentions. Beside, understanding of ' the *threatning Expressions* that had passed from many of them, and ' the particular carriage of some formerly, who had publickly *drawn* ' *in Soldiers in sundry Churches*, and *oppos'd the Ministers*, yea *publickly* ' *reviled* them with base words,

' As also the very day before the summons came they had appre- ' hended Mr. *John Dryſdaill* Minister of *Portaferry* by a band of near

'80 Dragoons. All those and sundry other Considerations moved 'the Ministers to write back in answer to these summons, and desire 'a safe Conduct that so they might without trouble go and return.

'Instead of the safe conduct a Party was presently sent to bring e'very Minister by violence, these of the County of *Antrim* to *Car'rickfergus*, and those of the County of *Down* to *Belfast*.

'Of the Ministers of the County of *Down* beside Mr. *Drysdaill* for'merly apprehended, were taken Mr *James Bautie* Minister at *Bally'mather*, and Mr *Fergus Alexander* Minister at *Gray-Abbey*. Of these 'in the County of *Antrim* were apprehended Mr *Henry Main* Mini'ster at *Islemagee*, and carry'd to the common prison of *Carrickfergus*. 'Master *Archbald Ferguson*, Mr. *David Butle*, Mr *Anthony Kennedy* 'also were taken, yet were permitted to stay in their own Houses 'till Collonel *Venables* came from the *Army*; at which time we were 'all to be brought before him: For the rest of the Ministers, they 'were upon their keeping, fled to the Woods, some to *Scotland*, or 'hid themselves.

'These of the County of Down were brought to *Belfast*, and were 'imprison'd in a lodging where none of the Lord's people durst come 'to visit them, nor hear them either preach, or Joyn with them in 'prayer. The Heathen did not deal so with the Apostle *Paul. Acts* '28. 17.

'After sixteen days imprisonment of Mr *Drysdaill* and ten of the 'rest: Colonel *Venables* came from the *Army* in *Carrickfergus*, whether we were sent to observe his further pleasure.

'By the way it is to be observed that when he had understood of 'the flight of the Ministers, and their fears of his violence, a little 'to mitigate the matter he sent this ensuing paper to Mr *Ferguson* 'and Mr *Kennedy*, upon a letter of their's desiring their not impri'sonment till he himself came alongs to *Carrickferus*, at which time 'they promised to come to him' (This is the paper which I have al'redy inserted p. 288 and therefore omit it here).

'As ye may perceive by the paper, the Question was propounded 'to the seven Ministers, *Whether they won'd forbear preaching or pray'er or Conference in public and in private against the present Power and 'State of* England, except with such limitations as were then propoun'ded, unto which the Ministers return'd this following answer in 'write subscribed by their hands. *This*

(That paper being more fully set forth in their Conference with Venables, *I omit it here)* Part 2.

' This we deliver'd to Colonel *Venables*, and had before and did ' after by way of Conference give sound and valid Reasons of our An- ' swer in that kind.

' I thought best to premise what is said as an Introduction, unto the ' ensuing Reasons, which hold forth clearly to the whole World ' sound Grounds why in Conscience we *cannot Condescend unto the* ' *Command* of Colonel *Robert Venables* in that kind, to give Obedience ' thereunto.

' First, It is said by Colonel *Venables*: Ye are Subjects to the King- ' dom of *Ireland* which is a Kingdom belonging to *England*, ought ye ' not therefore to obey the Acts of the Parliament of *England*, who ' have by Act of Parliament adjudg'd it High-Treason, if any Man ' shall *own Monarchical Government* by King and House of Lords, and ' have Commanded under a Penalty to Subscribe an Engagement to ' be *faithful unto the Government*, *now Establish'd without King or House* ' *of Lords*: I will show you the Acts.

' To this we Answer. 1. That we acknowledge our selves to be ' Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and that *Ireland* is Subordinate ' unto *England*. ——— ———

——— ' But it was objected that now they were come in by the ' Sword as Conquerors and the Sword must be the Law: To ' this we Answer, That there is a necessity of Passive Obedience ' to their Power, though WE DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR ' AUTHORITY. But,

' 1. Certainly those who are conquered must, or at least ought to ' be made acquainted with the Laws of the Conqueror, by *public Pro-* ' *clamation*, and not receive them from *every private* Soldier or Co- ' lonel in an Army; which was never as yet done for any thing we ' cou'd hear.

2. ' By two several Declarations, Colonel *Venables* spoke to the ' People in this Corner in another Strain; wherein are these Words, ' That *he was come to deliver the well affected in the Country and the Mi-* ' *nistry from the Power of Malignants*; so that we are Amaz'd why he ' now speaks to us in a Dialect so far different; And he knew then as ' well, in what we were *well-affected*, as now.

' But grant that the Kingdom of *Ireland* were immediately Subject-

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'ed unto the Laws of the Parliament of *England*, and that we in 'Conscience were bound to Obey the Laws of the Parliament of 'England; (which we for our own Parts have been most ready to do 'always since these troubles, finding this Kingdom in such Posture 'by the Bloody Rebellion that from our own Parliament, wholesome 'Laws cou'd not issue: And do sincerely profess that we are all *cordially* and *willingly subject* unto the Lawful Authority of the King'dom of *England*, as ever we were and do resolve by the strength 'of God to continue constant;) yet we must be convinced that that 'Power which now Rules in *England* is the Lawful Parliamentary 'Authority of that Kingdom.

'To this Colonel *Venables* Answers, that they call themselves so.

'To this we answer, that it seems to us a strange Assertion, that 'they are a Parliament, *because they say so*; or a Power, because *they place Power in themselves*: Can Men be the Authors and Founders 'of a new Authority in themselves? Kings and other Magistrates 'are call'd the *Ordinance of Man*, because they are put into their Offi'ces by Men: But can the *same* Persons be the *Creator* and the *Crea'ture*?

'Again, It seems to be more strange to us; for it overturns the 'very *foundations* of *Order* and *Right Government*: For Men are call'd 'to the Magistracy by the Suffrage of the People whom they Govern; 'And for Men to assume unto themselves Power, is MEER TYRAN'NY and UNJUST USURPATION.

'But it may be said that they are call'd by the People.

'*Ans.* 1. We indeed conceive that the first Parliament which was 'made up of the three Estates were Orderly in their Members, E'lected and Appointed by the People, according to Law.

'But we wou'd fain understand the Nature of this Government; 'At the first sight it looks like a *Democracy*. Yet we conceive that 'in a Democracy, the Power of Government is either in the *Collect'ive Body* of the People, or in *some elected* by them, and entrusted 'therewith. But neither have the People *assumed* Government in 'their own Hands, since the Dissolution of the Old Government by '*King*, *House of Lords* and *Commons*; Neither have they *Elected any* 'new *Delegates*. There was once indeed propounded a draught, En'titled, *An Agreement of the People*; but it was not receiv'd nor was 'it Authoriz'd by them.

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'*Secondly*, If this present Parliament (as you call it) had been Elected and Author z'd by the People, how comes it that in *England* they so GENERALLY STAND OFF from Subscribing the *Engagement?*

'But we cannot be perswaded that this can be the Parliament of *England*; it looks so unlike it, from these reasons.

'1. We who are now accus'd by you were formerly call'd the friends of the Parliament of *England*. And we are in nothing chang'd from the Men we were at that very time; We walk upon these very same Principles, we Preach these very same things; so that surely if this were the Parliament of *England*, we wou'd continue in their favors. ———

'4. The Parliament of *England* and their Armies call'd us of the *Scots* Nation their Brethren, their Armies and Ours were one, Lived as Brethren, Suffered together: But we are now by your Soldiers call'd *Seditious Fellows*, our Nation a *Base and Treacherous Nation which you will e're long make a Province of*, you are in constant Jealousies with us, we are not believ'd: No, our Oaths no more accounted than the *Bark of a Dog*. All these do evidently hold forth to us, that this is not the Parliament of *England*. ———

——— *April* 17. 1646. The House of Commons declare that their true and real Intentions are, to *endeavour to Maintain the Ancient Fundamental Government of* England.

'But says Colonel *Venables*, this *Government is the ancient Fundamental Government*; *the House of Lords is only Usurp'd from Custom.*

Ans. 1. See *page* 4 of that Declaration, *April* 17. 1646. And there the House of Commons does fully explain themselves, What they mean by the Ancient Fundamental Government of *England*, in these Words,

'*They are so far from altering the Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom of* England *by* King, Lords *and* Commons, *that they have only desir'd that with the Consent of the* King, *such Power may be settled in the* Two Houses, *without which we can have no Assurance but that the like and greater Mischiefs than these which God hath hitherto deliver'd us from, may break out again and engage us in a Second and more destructive War. Whereby it plainly appears* (say they) *our Intentions are not to* change the Ancient Form of Government *within this Kingdom, but to obtain the end of* primitive Institution of all Governments.

'Look

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'Look also the Petition of the Lords and Commons *Oct.* 22. 1642. 'Many more Acts and Ordinances of Parliament might be instanc'd, 'as relating to the Covenant and Fundamental Government of the 'Kingdom of *England*, by a compound Magistracy of *King*, *Lords*, 'and *Commons*; All whereof are most *manifestly destroy'd* and over-'turn'd by this *present Power*. So that we cannot conceive *this* (so 'call'd) Parliament to be the very Parliament of *England*.

'But it was Objected by Colonel *Venables*, that the *House was 'Purg'd, for there was discover'd therein a Faction that carry'd on the* 'King's Interest, *without regard to the public Good or Liberty of the Sub-'ject*. &c.

'*Ans.* 1. They were Purg'd indeed, and so Purg'd, that the very 'SOUL, ESSENCE and BEING of a Parliament was *Purg'd from 'them*: And nothing left but some few, even the lesser part of the 'House of Commons. You know when the breath of Life expires, 'and the Soul departs to God who gave it, Man is Dissolv'd, tho' 'some of his Constitutive Elements remain: The far lesser part of 'the House of Commons remain, in whom *there can be no formal Pow-'er* but a BORROW'D LIFE from their Lord and Master, *Cromwel* 'and the Army.

2. Where was there any necessity of Purging, nothing of such be-'ing deprehended by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor by the People of '*England*, tho' alledg'd by these who had the *Sectarian* Design in hand, 'for a specious Colour for their Irregular Practices. See the Answer 'of the *Coadjutors* and *General Council* of the Army *Jan.* 3. 1648. calls 'it *Irregular*.

3. 'When the King in the first sitting down of the Last Parliament 'offer'd to Infringe the Liberties and Priviledges of the Parliament by 'secluding of the Members, how was it by these Men cry'd out up-'on, who now themselves have so violated the Privileges of Parlia-'ment, as they have cut off two Integral Parts, and the greater part 'of the third of the whole Parliament? If the Remainder have Pow-'er, the *daughter has devoured the Mother*. We cannot in reason say 'there is any Parliament now sitting in *England*, unto whom Obedi-'ence is due. For what Power they had with others in the ancient 'Fundamental Constitution of the Government, *must needs be null and 'ceased*. The Government being a mixture of three Estates, the *for-'mal Essence whereof is destroy'd*, and consequently the whole.

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'But let us go further and grant that those men were a Parliament, Whether or not ought we to obey this Command in submitting to their Authority *without King and House of Lords*? Or forbear preaching, praying or Conference in public, or in private, except with such limitations propounded by Colonel *Venables*?

'*A.* We cannot neither as we are Subjects, nor 2. As we are Christians, Nor 3. As we are Ministers of the Gospel.

'1. Then, we are under the moral tye of Subjects unto a former Establish'd Government by *King*, *House of Lords*, and *Commons*: Now *no man can serve two Masters*, therefore we cannot be subject both to the one and the other: And we conceive that THIS IS THE ONLY TRUE ESTABLISH'D AUTHORITY, as we have shewed formerly.

'2. As Christians we cannot. 1. Because we are sworn and covenanted under that Relation.

'1. In the Oath of Allegiance unto his Majesty the Supreme Magistrate in these three Kingdoms in these words; *I do swear from my heart that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.*

'2. In the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, wherein we are solemnly engag'd to maintain and defend these Interests which this Engagement takes away.

'We are *to defend the King's Person and Authority, the Privileges of Parliament, to bring Malignants to Condign Punishment &c. All these for the Glory of God, Good of the Kingdoms, the Honor and Happiness of the King.*

——— 'If it be objected, *that there is no King and therefore the matter Subject of the oath ceaseth*; We have given already sufficient reasons, and were it not we study brevity, we cou'd give many more, that the King and both Houses, in regard of THEIR RIGHT TO RULE, are YET IN BEING, or in regard of their LEGAL INTEREST; altho' they be violently thrust from it, by a power who have *made themselves*, and *usurped the seat of Authority.*

——— '*Object.* But in the Covenant you are tyed to *bring all Malignants unto Condign Punishment*; and the King himself was the head of all the Malignants.

'We desire to put you in mind how the Condition of affairs was be-

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'betwixt the King and his People, when the Government was first made and received; he was look'd upon as a Prince detained from the way of truth by sinistrous and Evil Counsel and Counsellors; and for this cause you, in your *public declarations*, held forth that ye were *only to deliver* him from them.

'2. That is a special Article conceiv'd in the solemn Covenant, wherein you oblige your selves to *preserve his Majesties Person, his Just Power and Greatness, that you shall not diminish his Authority.*

'3. It was well known what the KING THEN WAS, when the Covenant was made. And yet a DIFFERENCE *clearly put betwixt* HIM *and* OTHER *Malignants.*

——— '2*dly*, As Christians we cannot Condescend to the desire of Colonel *Venables*, for by so doing we should offend against all these Scriptures. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22 *Eph.* 5. 7. 11. *Isa.* 5. 22, 23. 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. 2 *Tim.* 3. 2, 3, 4. 5. *Prov.* 17. 15. And so justifie the ungodly; connive at oppression and wrong, yea we shou'd cooperate with it. We know not how it can stand with Christianity to have *fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness*, or with the *Throne of Iniquity.*

'But, may ye not engage a *non-acting against*, or a permissive sufferance of this power, that is, that ye shall not countenance any Insurrection among the people, but rather prevent and suppress the same?

'*Ans.* 1. We deny not but unto an usurped power there may be, in some cases & for some reason, *a present Passive Submission* in our *own* temporal things, or leaving for the time our Right in point of Liberty, Estate or the like: But to *engage for time to come* not to appear against them, *will not be Justify'd.* For

'By so doing we *wrong others* with whom we are bound in solemn Covenant, in BINDING UP OUR HANDS from their assistance, in point of Justice AGAINST USURPERS.

'2. Every Christian man in his station is bound to set himself against wicked Courses and the promoters thereof. In this case we shou'd *resist unto Blood. Heb.* 12 5. For such as keep the Law *Contend with the wicked. Prov.* 28. 4.

'3. If Lawful Authority may have a door open'd for the RESTAURATION thereof, we make our selves UNABLE TO OUR DUTY before God and Man, unto the lawful Magistrate.

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'Although our binding our selves in that kind may seem of small Importance for the present, yet it's an *indirect advancing* of the *unjust ways* of Usurpers and oppressors, and a *Confirmation* of them in their *wicked courses*.

'*Thirdly*, Neither can we as Ministers of the Gospel Condescend to the desires of Colonel *Venables*, for these reasons.

'1*st*, Of all others, Ministers of the Gospel are most strictly obliged to shew Opposition, ——— and the Advancement of equity, in their Places and Stations, 2 *Cor.* 10. *v.* 4 5. *Isa.* 58. 1.

'*Obj:* But what has Ministers to do with State Matters, let them preach Jesus Christ, and not Meddle with other things which do not concern them?

'*Ans:* We take no pleasure to move without our own sphere, Neither through the strength of God resolve we to Meddle in State-Matters, further than it becometh Ministers of the Gospel.

'*As* first, we deal not as *Statesmen* in *State-Matters*, but only bewails the *Enormities in them*, and Witnesses against their evil.

'2*dly*, In so far as they fall under the Theological Rules and Evangelical Doctrines, we dare not restrain our selves but as watchmen *set the Trumpet to our Mouth*, and cry aloud, and not fear.

About two Months after this, Sir *Charles Coot* publish'd his Declaration against the Ministers of the Presbytery, another Authentic proof of their Loyalty, the Title and latter part thereof I cannot omit in this place, without manifest Injustice.

> *A Declaration of the Right Honorable Sir* Charles Coot, *Knight and Baronet, Lord President of* Conaught, *Commander in the Army in the Province of* Ulster *and* Conaught, *and of his Council of War. August* 14*th*, 1650.

——— 'As to that of the Ministers, we Declare that we are 'heartily sorry, that we shou'd be inforc'd to that Irreverence, we 'seriously acknowledge, to persons of *their* Function; but when after 'several admonitions, private and public intimations, if they would adhere to their former Dispensation of the word without these *frequent oblique Calumnies upon that Government* and *Power* under which they 'live, rather giving the Children stones than bread, and instead of

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'Edification of Souls, SEEKING THE SUBVERSION AND RUIN OF THE STATE, and fomenting such Distempers among our selves, that cannot probably (if way were given unto it) but draw us into Factions, Diversities of Interests, and so terminate in blood: we say, out of the duty we owe to God in Preserving that Peace we enjoy amongst one another, and for preventing such Misreports as some wou'd Charge us withal; out of the Relation we stand in to the PRESENT GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WOU'D UNDERMINE, we must use all means to silence all *such Incendiary Instruments*, we being yet scarcely whole of these deadly wounds this Country receiv'd by the like contumelious practices, till which as in all sincerity we declare and desire it may be received in as friendly a belief: signed by Command of the Lord President and his Council of War.——

The Universal refusal of the Oath mentioned in Mr *Dryfdaill's* defence, call'd the *Engagement*, wherein the jurants swore to be faithful to the Commonwealth of *England*, without King and House of Lords, the Universal refusal, I say, of this Oath by the Presbytery & all those of their perswasion, was an uncontrovertible proof of their Inflexible Integrity. They were often press'd to take it, threatned and revil'd for refusing it, when others comply'd, of which I shall give the Reader a brief account. Those who took upon them the Government of the North of *Ireland* in the year 1652, & who were styl'd the *Commissioners of the Revenue*, wrote Letters to the Presbyterian Ministers in these bounds, subscrib'd by Colonel *Venables*, wherein they desire a Meeting and Conference with 'em at *Belfast*, *October* 21*st* 1652. Whereupon the Ministers met at *Cumbar* the day before their appearance at *Belfast*, and foreseeing new troubles coming upon them entred into a Concert about their Behavior before the said Commissioners, and firmly resolv'd to acquaint them, that they COU'D NOT OWN *the Government as* LAWFUL, *nor* BIND THEMSELVES *by any* OATH *or* SUBSCRIPTION to it; and subscrib'd a paper to that purpose, which they actually gave in to the Commissioners next day. The Commissioners & they debated upon it 5 or 6 hours; but the Ministers wou'd not in the least recede from their Paper, tho' they were much Dealt with both by Enticing promises and severe Threatnings. They were Dismiss'd at that time; and desir'd to appear again within six Weeks, and in the mean time to *make no Insurrection in the Country*; They promis'd

mis'd to do the *first*, but *declin'd* to give any answer to the *second*. Part 2.

When the 6 Weeks were expir'd, They met the Commissioners again, but still continu'd *immoveable* and *fix'd* in their Loyal Principles. The Commissioners being weary'd and not knowing what to do with 'em, put them off with a Proposal that they shou'd send one or two of their Number to *Dublin* to General *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers there; to try if they cou'd give them Satisfaction. The Ministers accordingly chose two of their number for that purpose (tho' they despair'd of Success) *viz.* the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, and Mr. *Archibald Ferguson*, and gave them Instructions to adhere resolutely to the *Principles*, they had *own'd* and *asserted* to the Commissioners below; and particularly discharged them, from giving any Titles to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers, *which might seem to approve of their* present Power, and appointed them to Plead that it was pure Conscience and no Turbulent Factious Humour that Influenc'd their Opinion in that Matter.

The two Ministers having gone to *Dublin*, and Discourfed *Fleetwood*, were call'd before a Meeting of the Sectarian Officers in the Castle of *Dublin*, and Interrogated, *Why they and their Brethren wou'd not take the Engagement, nor give Security to live Quietly?* To which, they gave an Answer exactly agreeable to their Instructions, and were much Upbraided and Revil'd for it. And yet they persisted in Asserting their Principles with such undaunted Courage, as very much confounded some of their Accusers; of which (among other Instances) I shall give the Reader this one. While Mr. *Ferguson* was Pleading Conscience for their Judgment and Practice, one *Allan* an Anabaptist reply'd, *a Papist wou'd and might say as much for himself, and pretend Conscience as well as you*: To which Mr. *Adair* boldly Answered, Sir, *Under favour, 'Tis a mistake to compare our Consciences with Papists; for a Papist's Conscience cou'd Digest the Killing of Protestant Kings, and so wou'd not ours, for our Principles are contrary to it.* There being divers there who had a hand in the King's Murder, all of 'em were *struck with Shame*, and *some* with *Anger*, by Mr. *Adair*'s cutting Repartee; pulling down their Hats over their Faces, and using the other Gestures that are the usual Indications of these Passions: Whereupon there was profound Silence in the Company. The Ministers were not *ask'd any more Questions*, but in a day or two were dismiss'd

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by *Fleetwood*; without giving or getting any Satisfaction, but what was the Result of their own Integrity and of a good Conscience, in giving their public Testimony against those Republican Usurpers to their very Faces.

The Commissioners of the Rump finding that they cou'd make no hand of the Presbyterian Ministers and People, but were constantly oppos'd by them, form'd a Design of clearing the North of *Ireland*, of all such obstinate Anti-republicans, by Transporting them to the South, to be Confin'd there, where they imagin'd their Commonwealth cou'd not receive so much Damage by their Opposition to it: For this purpose, in the Year 1653, they Summons'd all the Ministers and Charg'd them to bring in the Greatest and Best part of their Parishoners to *Carrickfergus*, there to take the Engagement, or give sufficient Reasons why they refus'd it.

The Ministers having *first protested* against the pretended Authority, that Summons'd 'em, *as void*; and that their appearing should not be Interpreted an *owning* or *Symbolizing* with the same, did accordingly appear at *Carrickfergus*, and were Accompanied with a vast Concourse of People; in presence of whom, and before the Commissioners then sitting, *viz.* Collonel *Venables*, Coll: *Barrow*, Coll. *Jones*, Coll. *Hill*, Major *Morgan*, and Major *Allan*, The Ministers (speaking by turns) continued for several hours, to *unfold* the *Sinful* and *Illegal Usurpation* of the *then prevalent Power* in *England*, the unlawfulness of Abjuring the King and House of Lords, whose Title they STRENUOUSLY ASSERTED; and exhorted their People with a COURAGE and STEADINESS becoming the GOOD CAUSE they Maintain'd, to be Just and Loyal to the King, and to refuse the *Engagement*.

The Commissioners heard all with great Patience, not that they approv'd the Matter of such Discourses, but that they might have the more full Proof and better Color for Practising their New Expedient of Transporting the Ministers and People to *Tipperary*, wherein they were so forward as to have at that very time a Ship lying ready in the Road of *Carrickfergus*, to carry off the Ministers instantly. But Divine Providence baffled this Design in a manner, and at a Nick of Time, which prov'd as Surprizing and Confounding to these Republican *Engagers* and to all their Abettors, as 'twas Seasonable for relieving the *Refusers*, and for Vindicating their oppress'd Innocence; for in the mean time, while the Commissioners were full of this Project, and

and just about sending the Ministers a Ship-Board, the Multitude being in Town; the public News brought an Account that *Oliver Cromwel* had rais'd the Parliament, *Dissolv'd the Common-wealth*, and made himself *Lord-Protector:* Now there was *no Common-wealth* to Engage to, and that Society, that was Erected upon the *Ruin* of the *Constitution*, had *it self* made an *Inglorious Exit.*——— This Damp'd the Commissioners, and made 'em Dismiss the Ministers and People with milder Terms and Treatment than they had design'd. Part 2.

Oliver having now thrown off the Mask, and Set up for himself; the Ministers were as brisk in their opposition to *him* as they had been to the *Commonwealth*, and for the same reasons. After his Son *Henry Cromwel* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, he being of an easie gentle temper, they Liv'd in more Peace than formerly; but refus'd *all Compliance* with his Court, and would not observe the Fasts and Thanksgivings, appointed by his Authority; for which they were troubled by him. He wrote 'em *threatning Letters*, full of *Animosity* and Resentment, and some of 'em were charg'd to appear before the Council. Mr. *Greg* and Mr. *Hart* were call'd before *Henry Cromwel* himself, and askt the Reasons why they and their Bretheren did not observe the Fasts and Thanksgivings appointed by his Authority: In Answer to which they Pleaded, *That their Consciences did not allow 'em to comply with any Power that was against the Constitution and Lawful Magistracy of the Kingdom.* He was much Incens'd against 'em by this Answer, and Charg'd 'em with Ingratitude, Meaning that they had 100 Pounds each of them, *per Annum*, from the Government. But they never look'd upon *that Salary* as any Obligation upon them to own the Government; for the Usurpers had taken the Tyths from 'em, and after some Years gave 'em *that hundred* Pounds *per Annum*; which they accepted of, *not as a Gift* from the Government, but as a *part of their own* to which they had a Prior Title, and of which they had been depriv'd by the Usurpers, as has been observ'd. But yet 'tis evident, that they were laid under a Temptation by the *Precarious* Foot upon which their *Maintenance* then stood; Notwithstanding which, they persisted in their Loyal Resolutions and Declarations, and constantly and openly Prayed in their Pulpits for the King and for his Restauration, to their great Danger from *Oliver*'s Army who heard them.

Before I make any reflections upon these papers and Historical passages,

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passages, I have adduc'd for proving the Loyalty of this Presbytery, who fram'd the *Bangor-declaration*, I am oblig'd to satisfy the Reader (which I shall here do once for all) of their being authentic and Genuine. *Monk*'s Queries, and the *Answers* to them; the *propositions* delivered to him, the *Declaration of the Army and Country*, are all kept amongst the original papers and minuts of the Presbytery; Colonel *Venables*'s Letter is publish'd from the very original yet in being, and kept amongst the said papers. Sir *Charles Coot*'s Declaration is from a Copy kept likewise amongst their papers. The *Vindication of the late proceedings of the Presbytery*, and the Committee's reproving the Sovereign of *Belfast* for not mentioning the King's Name in *fencing the Courts* is taken from the Original Minuts of the said Committee. Mr *Drysdaill's Defence* is publish'd from the Original Manuscript, all written with his own hand, known to several persons of untainted Reputation and Veracity, yet alive, who can attest it. All the papers and records from whence they are taken, have all the evidences that any papers in the world can have of their being *authentic & genuine*. And I do with the same Sincerity and Solemnity declare, as if I were upon oath, before God and the world, that I have not interpolated or added (to my knowledge) the *least Word* or *Syllable* to any of 'em; but do find from undoubted evidences that the said papers were all own'd and deliver'd by the Ministers, who were then Members of that Presbytery to their other Brethren, as genuine, and the facts therein set forth, affirm'd by them to be true with all the positiveness and particular circumstances of Eye and Ear-witnesses; divers of 'em have died several years since the late *happy Revolution* 1688, and particularly the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Mr *Thomas Hall* and Mr. *Anthony Kennedy*. Besides what all are agreed on, about the Management of the Rump-party even in *Ireland*, and what the public printed Histories relate of Colonel *Venables*, Sir *Charles Coot* and others so well quadrates with these papers, that there cannot be any shadow of Suspecting them. I have in my hands an original paper subscribed by 5 of that Presbytery to their brethren dated at *Maybole* in the *shire of Air* in *Scotland*, *November 2d*, 1653 Shewing their being banish'd for their Loyalty by that party; the 5 Ministers were, the Reverend Mr *John Greg*, Mr *Thomas Hall*, Mr *Fergus Alexander*, Mr *Anthony Shaw*, Mr *William Richardson*. The History I give of the Ministers of *Carrickfergus* in 1653 their refusing the

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Engagement was atteſted by great Numbers of eye and ear-witneſſes who ſurviv'd the Revolution, and Multitudes can be produc'd (if need be) who had it from their own Mouths. Part 2.

The Miniſters aver'd all theſe Facts mention'd in the ſaid Papers, in their Addreſs to the Duke of *Ormond* in 1662, when all that Generation cou'd have refuted them had they offer'd any Palpable Miſtakes. Theſe and all the other particulars I have adduc'd with Relation to the Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Times of Uſurpation (beſide the other Proofs already mention'd, of their being True and Genuine) are recorded in Mr. *Adair*'s Manuſcript-Hiſtory; a Book of very good Credit and Authority, as I have ſhown *p.* 165, &c.

The Inferences from theſe Papers and Hiſtorical Paſſages are *ſo Obvious*, that I ſhou'd juſtly incur the Cenſure of the Judicious Reader, ſhou'd I offer any tedious Enlargement upon 'em. What more cou'd Loyal Subjects ſay or do, than what that Presbytery ſaid & did? They *Preach'd* and *Pray'd* for their *King*, *Aſſerted* his Title upon *all occaſions*, Preſs'd *others to be Loyal*, refus'd to Abjure him, were *baniſh'd*, *revil'd*, *ſequeſtrated*, *impriſon'd* and *miſerably haraſs'd* and *oppreſs'd for him*; fac'd the greateſt Dangers with an *intrepid Gallantry*, *ſpoke* and *did* what the Uſurpers had Decreed to be *High-Treaſon*, and were *not frighten'd* out of their Integrity by an Uſurper, ſo FORMIDABLE as to awe ſome of the greateſt Crown'd-Heads in *Europe*, and to make *Foreign States* to Court his *Alliance*; And they did all this in Face of their Enemies, and atteſted by their Enemies. I am bold to ſay, that theſe were *ſuch Demonſtrative Evidences* of Loyalty as were PARALLEL'D BY FEW, and OUTDONE BY NONE in thoſe Days.

But let us take a ſhort View of the behavior of the Presbyterians in *Great-Britain* during this Period; and this is ſo well known from the public Hiſtories of thoſe days, that I ſhall ſpend but little time upon it.

In *Scotland*, they *Proclaim'd*, *Crown'd*, and *Fought* for the King; their *Country* was a *Sanctuary* to him, when he durſt not appear in any of his other Dominions; they defended him with their Lives and Fortunes until they were overcome by *Cromwel* and his Adherents; In *his Cauſe* they loſt the Liberty of their Country, and were expos'd to all the *Calamities* of a *conquer'd People*, and to all the *Malice* and *Scorn* of *Enraged Enemies*; In *face of whom*, their Clergy *Pray'd* for his *Reſtauration*, and *all Ranks* amongſt the People aſſerted his Right: where-

by

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by they ſhow'd, that, tho' their Bodies and Eſtates muſt be Paſſive to a Superior Power, they had Souls *not to be Subdu'd* by the *ſtrongeſt* Temptations to what was Diſloyal and Diſhonorable. As many of 'em had contributed out of their Eſtates for ſupplying his neceſſities, during his Exile; ſo they *all join'd* (in their ſeveral Stations) for promoting his Reſtauration; and 'tis well known that General *Monk* concerted his Meaſures *with them*, for effecting that *Grand* Deſign.

All theſe things were ſo *evidently* true and ſo publickly known, that ſome of the bittereſt enemies of the Presbyterians have freely acknowledg'd the truth of 'em: A noted Inſtance of this we have in a Book, Entitul'd, the *Hiſtory of Independency* &c. Written by *Clemens Walker* Eſquire, and publiſh'd *Anno* 1661. That Author acknowledgeth (*part* 2. *p.* 15.) that the *Scots* in their Treaty with King *Charles* 2d at *Breda* promiſed 1*ſt*, 'That his Majeſty ſhould be admitted to the Throne of *Scotland*. 2*dly*, That his Rights then ſhould 'be by Parliament recover'd from the hands of Uſurpers, and 3*dly*, 'That they wou'd *aſſiſt* to bring the *Murtherers* of his Father of 'bleſſed Memory, to *condign Puniſhment*, and to reſtore him to his 'Native Kingdom of *England*.

Upon theſe promiſes, and the Reſolutions taken upon 'em and concerted between the King and the *Scots*, he lands in *Scotland*; The Loyalty of which Kingdom was what drew upon 'em all the Miſeries, which the Sectarian Uſurpers cou'd poſſibly inflict, as the ſame Author (*Ibid.* p. 16) relates in theſe Memorable words.

'Things being at this paſs, and his Majeſty with much 'ado gotten into *Scotland*, as aforeſaid, which the *Juncto* at *Weſt-*'*minſter* having perfect intelligence of, and Weighing with themſelves *that promiſe* of the *Scots* to bring the Murtherers of the King's 'Father to condign Puniſhment, they begin to think it high time to 'provide for their own ſafety; in conſulting whereof, after much 'time ſpent, it is reſolved, the ſureſt, wiſeſt & to them leaſt chargeable 'courſe to wait on the Enemy in his own Country, whereby they carryed 'the War from home, and *not to ſtay for him* to bring it to their own 'doors.

'As a *ſtrong Motive* to this, juſt at the Inſtant, they diſcover 'that MANY OF THE PRESBYTERIANS of *England*, had by 'their Agents agreed with the *Scots* at *Breda*, to *Re-Eſtabliſh his Ma-*'*jeſty* in all his Dominions whereupon MANY EMINENT perſons

'are

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' are seiz'd on, and among them Mr *Case*, Mr *Jenkins*, Mr *Jackson*, Mr *Love* &c. Which Mr *Love*, together with one Mr *Gibbons*, ' SUFFERED DEATH together on *Tower-hill*, at the *earnest suit* of ' *Cromwel*, protesting he would not March into *Scotland* unless they ' were cut off.

The same *Author* having given an Account of *Monk*'s Intention of making an Expedition into *England*, for bringing home the King; acquaints us with his calling an Assembly of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* at *Edinburgh*; To whom he propos'd 3 things, *viz. That in his Absence they shou'd preserve the Peace of that Nation, and supply him with Men, and Money for his Undertaking*: to which the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Chair-man of that Assembly, made such answers as were *highly satisfying* to General *Monk*, who (i. e. *Monk*) ' Endeavors to ' caress and endear them by giving the Lords and Gentry power to ' arm themselves, by SATISFYING THEM PRIVATELY IN ' THE DESIGN OF HIS EXPEDITION, and accepting of their ' Years Taxes. Hereupon he resolves now to dally no longer than ' his supplies of Men and Money come in ' (Ibid. p. 77) This makes it plain, that the *Scots* were made privy to *Monk*'s design of bringing home the King, *Anno.* 1660; And that they gave him *all possible* Encouragement and Assistance for making it practicable.

But let us next review the behaviour of Presbyterians in *England* during this period, and there we will find 'em preaching, praying and suffering for their King. The Reverend Mr *Love* was condemn'd and executed as a Traitor for espousing his quarrel, and the *English* Presbyterians join'd with the *Scots* Commissioners at *Breda* in their promises and propositions in favor of the King and Royal Family, as *Walker* observes, in one of the passages I have quoted from him; for *which reason* they were the objects of the most Inveterate malice of the *Rump* and their Adherents; as will appear by 2 Instances which that *Author* hath Recorded in his History. For the two projects that wicked Party had fram'd for destroying Presbyterians, whose Loyalty was likely to *obstruct* their Designs, were a *Massacre*, and the Severity of the High *Court of Justice.*

As to the first, *Walker* gives us the following Account of it in these Words (*Ibid.* Part 3. p. 11.) ' The first endeavour of all Tyrannical ' Usurpers is to lessen the number of their Enemies, either by Flatte- ' ring and Deceiving them; or by violently extirpating and rooting

'them out. *And* such have been the attempts of our new *Cromwellian* Statists, ever since (without any calling from God or the people) they took upon them the Supreme *Authority* of the Nation, subverted our well-mixed Monarchy and created themselves a free State. 1*st*, They endeavor'd to sweeten and allure to act with them, as many of the *secured* and *secluded Members*, Ministers, and *other Presbyterians*, as they cou'd, to the end that *ex post facto* being guilty of their Sins, they might be engaged in one common defence, and go *halfs* with them in their Ignominy and *Punishment*, though not in their *Power*, profit and *preferments*, in which the Godly will admit no Rivals, but (like their Patron the Devil) cry *all's mine*: But this DESIGN FAIL'D FOR THE MOST PART. 2. Their second endeavor was how to diminish the number of their *opposites*, *Royalists* and PRESBYTERIANS, by a *Massacre*, for which purpose *many dark Lanthorns* and *Poniards* were provided last Winter, 1649. But fame prevented this plot: which coming to be the common rumor of the Town, put them in mind of the *danger*, *infamy* and hatred that wou'd overwhelm them. So this was laid aside.

As to the second Project, the Author having prov'd the Illegality of the Oath call'd the *Engagement*, and having commended the Loyalty of those who refus'd it, and particularly the reasons of the *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* Ministers in their *Plea for non Subscribers* (for the Presbyterians Universally refus'd that Oath through the three Kingdoms) proceeds to Treat of the *High Court of Justice*, and shows, *first*, the Authority by which 'twas Constituted. 2*dly*, the *Judges*, 3*ly*, the manner of their Proceedings; and then he adds (*ibid. p.* 43)

4*ly*. 'And lastly, I am to consider, to what end and purpose this 'New invented *High Court* is constituted and appointed? Concerning which see a Letter dated 6 *June* 1550. *Stilo Vetere*, from the 'Hague, (suppos'd to be *Walter Strickland's*, the Parliament's Agent 'there) as I find it in *Walter Frost's* brief Relations of some Affairs 'and Transactions, *&c*, from *Tuesday June* 11, to *June* 18. 1650. 'Wherein the Epistoler hath these Words, "One piece of the Cure "(*viz.* of the dangers that threaten your new State must be *Phle-* "*botomy*, but then you must begin before Decumbency, and then it "will be facile to prevent danger *&c.* they are here most of all afraid "of your *High Court of Justice*, which they doubt may much Dis-

"cour-

" courage their Party, they wish you wou'd not renew the Power " thereof, but let it expire: then they think that after *Michaelmas* " they may expect assistance with you, and indeed that Court is of " *almost as much use to you as an Army:* And will prevent the raising " of as many Enemies as the other would destroy, only you must be " sure to *Execute Justice there with all Severity.* A few of the first " stirrers taken away, by the Power thereof, without respect to " Cousin or Country will keep all the rest quiet. But whosoever " that Court Condemns, let them be as already Dead *&c.* But let " them be most free in cutting the *Vena Cæphalica* (that is, the PRES- " BYTERIAN PARTY) for the *Basilica* (or *Royal Party*) will be " latent. *The Median* (or Levellers) wou'd be spared as much as " may be, That the Body be not too much Emaciated. Besides, the " *BLOOD IS MOST CORRUPT* in the *Cæphalicks* (or *PRESBYTE-* " *RIANS*) and is the very *causa continens* of your Disease. You need " not fear to *take freely of this Vein*, &c. Part 2

According to the above Scheme, the Sectaries did bend their thoughts and apply themselves in the most effectual manner they cou'd, to the suppressing and ruining of the *English* Presbyterians; and yet 'twas not in their Power to make them abandon their Loyal Principles and Dutiful Affection to the Royal Family: For the Presbyterians, a little after *Oliver*'s Death, made an *open* and *bold attempt* for the King's *Restauration*, which will ever be remembred to their Honor. The *Rump*, who had still entertain'd their Resentments against *Oliver* for deposing 'em and Dissolving their Common-wealth, finding that his Son *Richard* had not his Father's Parts, nor cunning to Maintain himself in the *Protectorship*, found means to get *once more* into the Saddle, and set up their *Republick* again. How the Presbyterians in *England* behav'd in *this turn of Government*, I shall relate in the words of the Author of *the Continuation of Sir* Walter Raleigh's *History* p. 143. ' *Richard* (says he) retir'd to his former Obscurity, *Henry Cromwel* gave ' up *Ireland*, and the Commonwealth was Re-establish'd. During ' this Revolution, the Royalists had not been Idle, they had formed ' a Conspiracy for a general Insurrection; and we must do the Pres- ' byterians the Justice to own, that MOST OF THE CONSPIRA- ' TORS were of THEIR PROFESSION, as the Lord *Willoughby* ' of *Parham* who was to seize *Lyn*; General *Massey*, who was to ' do the same by *Gloucester*, and Sir *George Booth* in *Cheshire*, who actu- ' ally

'ally Rose, was Defeated by *Lambert* at *Winnington*-bridge and ta-'ken in disguise in *New-port-Pagnel*.

This Loyal attempt, tho' it was not Successful at that time, prov'd very *Serviceable* to the *King's Interest* by the Influence it had upon others and particularly upon the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of which *Burlace* takes special Notice, calling it a *Noble Attempt*, *p.* 316. 'and the Af-'fairs of *England* (*says he*) growing every day full of change, *Ireland* 'understanding what Sr. *George Booth* had NOBLY ATTEMPTED 'in *England*, grew thence early in its dutiful Address to his Majesty.

The *English* Presbyterians not being discourag'd by the unsuccessfulness of the former attempt, for the Restauration of the Royal Family, did most CHEARFULLY CONCUR with *Monk*, and the Parliament *Anno* 1660, for bringing home the King. And here it ought to be observ'd, that the way was *Pav'd* for his Restauration, by the *Readmission* of the Secluded Members and Presbyterian Party into the House, of which *Walker* gives the following Account (*Ibid.* part. 4. p. 92. &c.)

——— 'He (i. e. *Monk*) procures a Conference between some 'sitting Members of the House, and some of the *Honorable Gentlemen* 'and WORTHY PATRIOTS that were EXCLUDED from it; 'at which himself being in person present, and weighing *judiciously* 'the Reasons and Arguments formed on both sides, which he heard 'with a deep and reserved silence, after all were withdrawn, he 'concluded with himself, upon result from the whole, that the '*pretended settlement* proposed by the House, was of *Compass too nar-'row*, and too weak of Foundation to bear up the Nation, and re-'pair its breaches: he resolved therefore to *withdraw all manner of* '*force* from the House, and to admit men of *more sober*, *moderate* 'and *less by-ssed Judgments*, whose Spirits being more apt for public 'Good, wou'd establish the Kingdom upon Terms comprehensive of 'every considerable Interest therein: hereupon, on the one and 'twentieth day of *February*, meeting the secluded Members at *White-'hall* and expressing himself to them in a speech not delivered by him-'self but by his Secretary, Wherein he commended to their care, *1st*, 'Religion ——— *2dly* the State. ———

'The Secluded Members being thus admitted, *fall immediately to* '*Work*, *where they were abruptly forced* to break off in *December* 1648.

'Confirming

'Confirming their VOTE MADE THEN by ANOTHER *now*, 'that the *Concessions of the late King were a sufficient Ground to proceed on* 'for settling the Peace of the Kingdom; hereby not only Vindicating 'themselves, but as it were at once disannulling all that had been 'done Dissonant thereto, during the whole time of their Recess. Part 2.

It is very observable of the two CHARLESes, that the FIRST cou'd not be Murthered until the Presbyterian Members were first cast out of the House of Commons, and that the *SECOND* cou'd not be restor'd, until the same Members were brought in again: And then Sectarian Usurpers were effectually depos'd, a *Wise* and *Faithful* Council of State set up, and the *Militia* put into Loyal and Trusty Hands. A free Parliament is Call'd, and Presbyterians in the mean time us'd their utmost Interest for the King, and particularly those eminent Divines, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and the other Presbyterian Ministers of *London* animated the Affections of that Great City, as Mr. *Baxter* observes in the *History of his Life and Times* (p. 214). Upon the last Day of *April* 1660, the Parliament kept a Fast for imploring Divine Blessings and Direction in their Affairs; Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Baxter* were employed to Preach and Pray before the House of Commons that Day, and publickly told the House that they were *agreed to be Loyal to their King* (*Id Ibid.* p. 217;) and the very next Morning after this Fast, the Parliament Vote home the King, *Nemine Contradicente*; Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Bowles* (with divers others) went immediately to *Holland* to wait upon his Majesty, who gave them a Gracious Reception, and a great Character. For in his Declaration *concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*, he says, 'When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by *many Grave* 'and *Learned Ministers* from hence, who were look'd upon as the most 'able and *Principal Assertors of the Presbyterian Opinions* -------- and to 'our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them PERSONS FULL 'OF AFFECTION TO US, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church 'and State". And when his Majesty came to *London* as he pass'd through the City towards *Westminster*, the *London*-Ministers attended him in their Places with ACCLAMATIONS, and by the Hands of old Mr. *Arthur Jackson* presented him with a rich adorn'd Bible, which he receiv'd, and told them *it shou'd be the Rule of his Actions.* (*Id. Ibid.* p. 218) and Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Case*, were made his Chaplains (*Id Ibid* p. 229)

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Part 2.

The Great Sir *Matthew Hale*, and the Learned *Conformist* in his *second Plea for the Non-Conformists*, do the Presbyterians the Justice, as to own their Zeal in promoting the Restauration, the *latter* quoting the *former* with just Applause, in these Words; (p. 65.)

'They who are punish'd (*i. e. the English Non-Conformists*) are as 'Orthodox Holy Christians as *any in the World*, out of our own Church. 'They are *profitable* and *peaceable* Subjects, notwithstanding many 'discouragements and *provocations* from Fellow-Subjects, and hidden 'Traitors; more particularly, many of them have deserved well 'from the Church and State, which in human Probability HAD NE-'VER BEEN RESTOR'D, but for THEIR LOYALTY, *Religion* 'and *Conscience*. This made the most Renown'd Sir *Matthew Hale* say '(whose sense may be as soon taken as *most Men's alive*, for his Wis-'dom, Loyalty and Integrity, and Impartiality in all Acts of Judg-'ment) "Many of the *Non-Conformists* had MERITED HIGHLY "in the business of the *King's Restauration*, and at least deserved, that "the Terms of Conformity shou'd not be made stricter than they were "before the War.

Upon the whole, let the World judge, whether the Presbyterians be fairly Treated by our Author, when they are represented by him as Enemies to the King's Restauration; which had they oppos'd, as Matters then stood, the Issue of all other endeavours that were us'd to promote it had been at best very Dubious, if not wholly unsuccessful; of which the King himself was very sensible, when for *that very reason* he urg'd the House of Lords in his first Parliament, to hasten the *Act of Oblivion*, in the following Words; '*My Lords* (said he) if 'you do not join with me in extinguishing those Fears, which keep 'Mens Hearts awake, and apprehensive of *Safety* and *Security*, you 'keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, *I'm 'persuaded neither you nor I had been here.* I pray let us not deceive 'those who *brought* or *permitted* us to come together.

Having thus Illustrated. 1. The *Scope* and occasion of the *Bangor*-Declaration. 2. The Reasons that justifie it, and 3. The Loyalty of the Presbytery who made it, and the Loyalty of the *British* Presbyterians from 1648 to 1660; In Pursuance of the Method I propos'd,

I come 4*thly*, to answer what is objected by our Author against this Declaration of the Presbytery of *Bangor*. And here I must observe, that the Substance of all he advances has been already refuted, while

I have demonstrated that the Presbytery were for owning King *Charles* 2*d*, asserting his Title, opposing his Enemies, and promoting his Restauration. But our author makes one objection, which I shall further consider. Let the Reader take it in his own words in his *second Letter*, p. 9, 10. 'However to give you a perfect view of the 'Principles upon which the *Northern* Presbyterians proceed in this 'period let us Compare one Paragraph of this *Bangor*-Declaration 'in 1649, With a Paragraph of a Letter writ to King *Charles* 2*d*, 'from the General Assembly in *Scotland*, Dated the very same year 'and recorded in the *Acts of the General Assembly*. Part 2.

'In the Declaration of *Bangor*, they say, *He* (i e the Lord of 'Airds) *has now cloath'd himself with a Commission from his Majestie, 'who as yet refuses to give any satisfaction in Religion to the just demands 'of the Kingdom of* Scotland. Now what those demands were, to 'which that Presbytery of *Bangor* referred in their Declaration, we 'find summ'd up in that Letter to King *Charles* 2*d*, before mention-'ed in these words, viz.

'*That your Majesty do humble your self under the Mighty hand of God*, '&c. These are the just demands of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* to which 'the Presbytery of *Bangor* refers; and which, you may observe 'they make the SOLE CONDITION of their Allegiance and Sub-'jection. This I Judge sufficient for a specimen of the *Untainted 'Loyalty* of the Dissenters of *Ireland*, and their singular merit from the 'Crown and Church in the second period.

Our Author, to make his Argument good, ought to have prov'd two points, *viz.* 1*st*, That the demands which the Assembly made were unreasonable; and 2*dly*, That they were the *sole condition* of their allegiance to the King: And because he reflects heavily upon the Assembly's Letter, while he quotes but a part of it; and that not only Justice may be done to the Assembly, but also the weakness of our Author's reasoning upon their Letter compar'd with the *Bangor* Declaration, may further appear, I shall here Insert the whole Letter, which runs thus:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

(r) 'We your Majestie's most Humble Loyal Subjects, the Commissioners

(r) *vide* Acts of the General Assembly p. 480.

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missioners from all the Presbyteries in this your Majestie's Ancient Kingdom, and Members of this present National Assembly, having *expected* to find at our Meeting a Gracious and *satisfactory return* to those humble Representations, made to your Majesty at the *Hague* by the Commissioners of this Kirk, cannot but express our great Sorrow, and Grief, that your Majestie's Goodness has been so far abused, as that not only the *just* and *necessary* desires presented by them to your Majesty, which so much concern the *Glory* of God your own honor and happiness, the Peace and Safety of your Kingdoms are *utterly frustrated*, as we perceive, by the paper delivered in Answer to them; but also this Assembly hath not received so much as any signification by letter of your Majestie's mind: which Princely *condescention had not wont* to be wanting in your Royal Father, to former General Assembly's, even in times of greatest distance. Our Witness is in Heaven, and record on high, that we *are not Conscious to our selves of any Undutiful thought or Disloyal Affection*, that might have procur'd this at your Majestie's hands; And that as we do from our hearts *abominate* and *detest* that HORRID FACT of the *Sectaries* against THE LIFE OF YOUR ROYAL FATHER, our late Sovereign; so it is the unfeigned and *earnest desire* of our Souls, that the ANCIENT *Monarchical Government* of these Kingdoms may be *Established* and *Flourish in your MAJESTIE'S PERSON* all the days of your life, and be continued in your Royal Family; which by Divine Providence hath without Interruption Reign'd over us and our Predecessors for so many Generations, since the time that we were a Kingdom; and that *there is nothing*, under the Glory of God, and cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, for which we do *more heartily* solicite the Throne of Grace, or wou'd more *heartily expose unto hazard* ALL THAT IS DEAR to us in the World, than for THIS. And now though this very great discouragement might encline us to hold our peace at this time, yet the tenderness and uprightness of our *Affection* and *Love* to your Majestie's happiness (which *many Waters cannot quench*) together with the Conscience of our duty, which our Lord and Master has laid upon us in this our place and station, constraineth us, yea and your Majestie's own Goodness and Gracious Disposition, whereof the late Commissioners have given us so large a Testimony doth much encourage us, to renew our Addresses to your Ma-

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'jesty in this humble faithful Representation, both of the great and 'growing dangers to your Royal Person and Throne, and of these 'duties, which the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings calls for from 'you, as you wou'd look to find favor in his eyes, and to be deliver-'ed out of your deep distresses.

'Our hearts are filled with fears and troubles in your Majestie's 'behalf, when we look upon the sad Calamities which have been 'already produced by such ways and courses as we perceive your 'Majesty is entered and in danger to be further led away into by the 'prevalency of evil Counsel, upon your tender Age: particularly, your '*refusing* to *give Satisfaction* to the *just* and *necessary desires* of the Peo-'ple of God, for advancing the Work of Reformation of Religion, 'and Establishing and Securing the same in your Majestie's Dominions, 'which is nothing else but to Oppose the Kingdom of the Son of 'God, *by whom Kings do Reign*, and to refuse that he should Reign o-'ver you and your Kingdoms, in his pure Ordinances of Church-'Government and Worship; Your Cleaving to these Men as your 'Trustiest Counsellors, who as they never had the Glory of God, 'nor good of his People before their Eyes, so now in all their Ways 'and Counsels, are *seeking nothing* but their *own Interests*, to the haz-'ard of the *Utter Subversion* of your Throne, the ruin of your Roy-'al Family, and the Desolation of your Kingdoms; Your owning the 'Practices, and entertaining the Person of that Flagitious Man, and 'most justly Excommunicated Rebel, *James Graham*, who has exer-'cised such horrid Cruelty upon your best Subjects in this Kingdom; 'which cannot but bring upon your Throne, the Guiltiness of all the 'Innocent Blood shed by him and his Complices: And ABOVE ALL, 'that which we cannot think upon without *trembling* of *Heart* and '*Horror* of Spirit, your settling of late such a Peace with the *Irish* Papists, 'the Murderers of so *many thousands* of your Protestant Subjects, 'whereby not only they are *owned* as your *good Loyal Subjects*, but 'also there is granted unto them, (contrary to the *Standing-Laws* of 'your Royal Progenitors, contrary to the *Commandment* of the Most 'High God, and to the high Contempt and Dishonor of his Majesty, 'and evident danger of the Protestant Religion) a full Liberty of 'their abominable Idolatry; which cannot be otherwise Judged, but 'a *giving of your Royal Power* and *strength unto the Beast*, and an *Acc-*

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'*cession* to *all that Blood* of your good Subjects, wherewith those Sons
'of *Babel* have made that Land to Swim.

'We do in all Humility beseech your Majesty to consider and lay
'to Heart what the Mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken of all
'the Accounts of People, Nations, Kings and Rulers against the
'*Kingdom* of his Son, that they *Imagin a vain thing*, and that *he that*
'*sitteth in Heaven will have them in Derision*, and *vex them in his fore*
'*Displeasure*. Consider, how he hath Blasted and Turned upside
'down these Years by past all the Devices and Plots of those Men
'that *now bear the Sway* in your Majestie's Councils: Consider,
'how the Anger of God has been kindled even against his dearest
'Saints, when they have joined themselves to such Men as he Hateth
'and has Cursed. Consider, how severely he hath Threatned and
'Punished such Kings as have Associate with Idolaters, and leaned to
'their helps. Surely, Great is the Wrath of God, whereof you are
'in danger; and yet the Lord in the riches of his Goodness, *forbear-*
'*ance and Long Suffering*, is waiting to be Gracious to your Majesty,
'*To day if ye will hear his Voice, harden not your Heart*, but *humble your*
'*self under the mighty hand of God*; Lamenting after him as for the
'Iniquities of your Father's House, especialy the Opposition against
'the Reformation of Religion and Cause of God, the permitting and
'practising Antichristian Idolatry in the Royal Family it self, and
'the shedding of so much Blood of the People of God, so also for
'your *own entering* to walk in the like Courses in the *beginning* of
'your Reign. It is high time to fall down before the Throne of Grace,
'seeking to get your Peace made with God through Jesus Christ,
'whose Blood is able to wash away all your sins, to *walk no longer in*
'*the Counsel of the ungodly*, nor cleave to such as seek their own things
'and not the things of Jesus Christ, nor the Welfare of your Sub-
'jects and Government; but to set your Eyes upon the faithful in
'your Dominions, that such may dwell with you, and be *the Men of*
'*your Councils*, to serve the Lord in Fear, and *kiss the Son of God*, by
'a sincere and cordial Contributing your Allowance and Authority for
'establishing in all your Dominions, the Reformation of Religion, in
'Doctrine, Worship and Government, as it is now agreed upon ac-
'cording to the clear and evident Warrant of the word of God by
'the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the General Assembly
'of this Church; and also laying aside that *Service-Book*, which is so

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'stuff'd with *Romish* Corruptions, and conforming your own Practice and the Worship of God in your Royal Family, to that Gospel simplicity and Purity which is holden forth from the Word of God in the Directory of Worship, and not only to grant your Royal Approbation to the Covenant of these three Kingdoms (without which your People can never have from you sufficient security either for Religion, or their just Liberties) but also your self to join with your People therein, as the greatest security under Heaven for your Person and just Greatness, and to cause all of them stand to it by your Royal Command, according to the Practice of that Gracious King *Josiah*, to whom we wish your Majesty in these your Younger Years, and this beginning of Your Reign, to look as to an ensample and Kingly Portrait approven of God. These things *if your Majesty do*; as we are well assured, that the Hearts of all your Good Subjects in these Kingdoms will be *enlarged* with *all Chearfulness* to Embrace your Person, and submit unto your Royal Government, so we dare promise in the Name of our Lord, that you shall find favour with God, Peace and *joy unspeakable* and full of Glory to your Soul, and deliverance out of your sad Afflictions, and deep Distresses in due Time. But if your Majesty shall *go on* in *refusing to hearken to* wholesome Councils; we must for the *discharge of our Conscience*, tell your Majesty in the Humility and Grief of our Hearts, that the *Lord's Anger is not turned away*, but his Hand is stretched out still against you and your Family.

'But we hope and shall with all earnestness and constancy pray for better things from, and to your Majesty: and whatsoever misconstruction (by the malice of those who desire not a right Understanding and Cordial Conjunction between your Majesty and this Kirk and Kingdom) may be put upon our Declaration; Yet we have the Lord to be our witness, that our purpose and Intention therein is *no other* but to warn and keep the people of God committed to our care, that they run not any course which wou'd bring upon themselves the guilt of *highest perjury* and breach of Covenant with God, and cou'd not but prove most dangerous to your Majesty and involve you in shedding the blood of those, who are *most desirous* to preserve your Majestie's Person, & *just Rights in all your Dominions*. And now we do with all earnestness beseech your Majesty, that you will follow the courses of truth & peace & that when

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'there is a door open'd for your Majesty to enter to your Royal 'Government over us, in Peace, with the favor of God, and cordial 'love and Enbracings of all your Good Subjects; You will not 'suffer your self, to be so far abused and misled by the Councels of 'Men, who *delight in war*, as to take a way of Violence and blood, 'which cannot but provoke the most high against your Majesty, & *alienate from you the hearts of your best Subjects*, who desire nothing more 'than that your Majesty may have a long & happy Reign over them: 'and that they may live under you *a peaceable and quiet Life in all 'Godliness and honesty.*

'*Edinburgh.* 6. '*August.* '1649.

'*Your Majesties most Loyal Sub-* '*jects and humble Servants,* '*the Ministers and Elders con-* '*vened in this National As-* '*sembly of the Kirk of* Scot-'land.

THere cannot be more solemn Protestations nor more Pathetical Expressions, of an Inviolable Regard to Monarchy, a Loyal and dutiful Affection to the Royal Family and the person of their Prince, than these contain'd in the beginning of the above Letter, which therefore is a strong Argument for 'em instead of being matter of reproach. And tho' in the latter part of it they make demands in favor of the Covenant, and against Episcopacy, *Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, yet they don't make these things the *Condition* of their *Allegiance* to him: and our Author's reasoning proceeds upon this *Fundamental* mistake, upon which the whole strength of his Argument is built, and with which it falls; *viz.* That he do's not rightly distinguish between the *desires* which the Assembly of *Scotland* made to the King, and the *Conditions of their allegiance* to him; but whenever he finds any thing proposed by them to his Majesty, he presently concludes that to be the *sole Condition* of their Subjection to him. His Right to be their King was the condition of their Allegiance; But then I see no reason why they might not desire him to do some things, which they were not for making the essential and sole Condition of their allegiance, but propos'd them only as their *earnest desires*, insinuating that his granting these things wou'd exceedingly encourage them, to pay their allegiance to him, with more chear-

cheatful affection, and esteem of his Royal Government: and this is all they say, when they tell him, *these things if your Majesty will do, we are assur'd that the hearts of your Majestie's Subjects will be enlarg'd*, &c. Part 2.

As to the Matter of these desires, it wou'd quite lead me off the design of this Book, to enter into the controversie about *Episcopacy* and *Liturgies*; 'tis enough for my purpose to observe that the Church of *Scotland* had a right by the Laws of the Kingdom, to demand from the King, a sufficient security for the preservation of their own Constitution against both; and that in their Circumstances they had a great deal to say for their using some expressions against Prelacy & Ceremonies, which may seem *harsh* to people who know not the History of the troubles and confusions brought on that Church and State by the furious *Laudensian* Prelates of that age; of which I shall here give the Reader a brief account, in the words of two Historians who cannot be suspected of partiality to *Scots* Presbyterians: The first is the Earl of *Clarendon* (*f*),

'It was a fatal Inadvertency *(says he)* that these Canons neither 'before nor after they were sent to the King, had been *ever seen by* 'the *Assembly* or *any Convocation* of the Clergy, which was so strict-'ly obliged to the observation of them; nor *so much as Communicated* to 'the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom, it being almost Im-'possible that any new Discipline cou'd be Introduc'd into the 'Church which wou'd not much concern the Government of the 'State, and even *Trench* upon or *refer* to the *Municipal Laws* of the 'Kingdom. And in this Consideration the Archbishop of *Canter-'bury* had always declared to the Bishops of *Scotland*, *That it was* 'their part to be sure that nothing they shou'd propose to the King, 'in the business of the Church, shou'd be contrary to the Laws of 'the Land, which he cou'd not be thought to Understand; and that they 'shou'd never put anything in Execution, without the consent and ap-'probation of the Privy Council. But it was the UNHAPPY CRAFT 'of those Bishops to get it believ'd by the King, that the work 'wou'd be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the 'Clergy and the People (which THEY COU'D HARDLY BE-'LIEVE) in order to the obtaining his Majestie's approbation, and autho-

(*f*) *vide* his Hist: Book 2d *p.* 84. &c. Edit. folio.

'Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe 'wou'd not find oppolition from the Nobility, Clergy, or people 'againſt his Majeſty's *expreſs Power* and *will*, which without doubt 'was then in *great Veneration* in that Kingdom; and ſo they did 'not, in truth, DARE TO SUBMIT *thoſe Canons* to any other 'Examination than what the King ſhou'd direct in *England*.

'It was in the next place, as ſtrange that Canons ſhou'd be *pub-* 'liſhed before the Liturgy was prepar'd (which *was not ready in a* 'year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were 'Principally for the obſervation of and punctual compliance with 'the Liturgy; which all the Clergy were to be *ſworn to ſubmit to*, 'and to pay all obedience to what was enjoin'd by it, *before they* 'knew what it Contain'd. Whereas if the Liturgy had been firſt pub- 'liſh'd with all due Circumſtances, it is poſſible that it might have 'found a better reception, and the Canons have been *leſs exa-* 'min'd.

'The *Scots* Nation, how capable ſoever it was of being *led* by 'ſome *great Men* and miſled by the Clergy, wou'd have been cor- 'rupted by neither into a Bareface'd Rebellion againſt their King 'whoſe perſon they lov'd, and *reverenc'd his Government*, nor cou'd they 'have been wrought upon towards the leſſening of the *one*, or the 'other, by any ſuggeſtions, or Infuſions, than ſuch as ſhou'd make them 'jealous or apprehenſive of a *deſign to introduce Popery*; a great part 'of their Religion conſiſting in an entire deteſtation of Popery, in 'believing the *Pope to be Antichriſt*, and hating perfectly the per- 'ſons of all Papiſts.

'The Canons now publiſhed, beſides (as hath been touched be- 'fore) that they had *paſſed no approbation* of the Clergy, or been 'Communicated to the Council, appear'd to be ſo many *new Laws*, im- 'poſed upon the whole Kingdom by the King's SOLE AUTHO- 'RITY, and contrived by a few private Men of whom they had no 'good opinion and who were ſtrangers to the Nation; ſo that it was 'thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws 'from thence, of which they were moſt jealous, and which they *moſt* 'paſſionately abhorr'd. Then they were ſo far from being confin'd to 'the Church, and the matters of Religion, that they believ'd there 'was *no part of their Civil Government un-invaded* by them; and *no* 'perſons of what *Quality* ſoever *unconcerned*, and as they thought, un-

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hurt in them&there were some things in some particular Canons, how rational soever in themselves, and how distant soever in the words and expressions from inclining to Popery, which yet gave *too much advantage* to those, who maliciously watched the occasion, to persuade weak men that it was an approach, and Introduction to that Religion, the very Imagination whereof intoxicated all men and deprived them of all faculties to examine and Judge.

Some of the said Canons Defined and Determin'd such an unlimited *Power and Prerogative to be in the King according to the pattern* (in expres Terms) *of the Kings of* ISRAEL, *and such a full Supremacy in all Cases Ecclesiastical, as hath never been pretended to by their former Kings, or submitted to by the Clergy, and Laity of that Nation*; which made impression upon Men of all Tempers, Humors, and Inclinations; *And that no Ecclesiastical Person shou'd become Surety or Bound for any Man*; *That National or General Assemblies should be called only by the King's Authority*, *That all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, who Dye without Children, shou'd be oblig'd to give a good part of their Estates to the Church, and though they shou'd have Children, yet to leave somewhat to the Church, and for advancement of Learning*; which seemed rather to be matter of State and Policy, than of Religion, *thwarted their Laws* and Customs, which had been observ'd by them; lessen'd, if not took away the Credit of Churchmen, and Prohibited them from that Liberty of Commerce in Civil Affairs, which the Laws permitted to them, and reflected upon the Interests of those who had, or might have a Right to Inherit from Clergy-Men. *That none shou'd receive the Sacrament but upon their Knees*; *That the Clergy shou'd have no private Meetings for expounding Scripture, or for Consulting upon Matters Ecclesiastical*; *That no Man shou'd cover his Head in Time of Divine Service, and that no Clergy-Man shou'd Conceive Prayers extempore, but be Bound to Pray only by the Form Prescrib'd in the Liturgy*, (which by the way was not seen nor fram'd) *and that no Man shou'd teach a public School, or in a private House, without a License first obtain'd from the Archbishop of the Province, or the Bishop of the Diocess.*

All these were New, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular and orderly People, piously dispos'd; Yet it was too strong meat for Infants in Discipline, and too much nourishment to be admi-

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'minister'd at once, to weak and queasy Stomachs, and too much inclin'd to nauseate what was most wholesome, but then, to apply the old Terms of the Church, to mention *the Quatuor tempora, and restrain all Ordinations to those four Seasons of the Year, to enjoyn a Font to be prepared in every Church for Baptism, and a decent Table for the Communion; and to direct, and appoint the places where both Font and Table shou'd stand, and decent Ornaments for either; to restrain any Excommunication from being pronounc'd, or absolution from being given without the Approbation of the Bishops*; to mention any practice of Confession (which they look'd upon as the strongest, and most Inseparable Limb of Antichrist) and to enjoyn, *That no Presbyter shou'd reveal any thing he shou'd receive in Confession, except in such cases, where, by the Law of the Land his own life shou'd be forfeited*; were all such matters of Innovation and in *their Nature so suspicious*, that they thought they had reason to be jealous of the worst that cou'd follow: and the last Canon of all provided, *that no person shou'd be received into Holy orders or suffered to Preach, or Administer the Sacraments without first Subscribing to those Canons.*

The second Historian, whom I shall quote upon this head is a Reverend Father in the Church of *England*, whose Testimony as being confirm'd by his Particular knowledge of the *Scots* affairs, and his Veneration for the Episcopal order, as well as his great Character as an Historian in General, can't with *any good Grace* be refus'd by our Author and these of his party; 'Tis the Reverend Doctor *Burnet* Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, who in his Memoirs of the House of *Hamilton* (*t*), gives the following Character and History of the *Scots* Bishops.

'Episcopacy being settled, King *James* also erected a High-Commission Court, for punishing such as offended against that Constitution of the Church. This Court was made up of Bishops and other Noblemen and Gentlemen; But the Bishops being those who kept the Diets of it best, most of the secular persons absenting themselves, often on design; and the Bishops leading all Matters in it, it was counted their Court, and the *Odium of all that passed there fell to their share.*

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(*t*) lib. 2. p. 29, 30.

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'This ſtep being made, King *James* advanced towards an Uniformity with *England* in Worſhip and other Ceremonies, moved to it, either that he might thereby make way for the *Union* of both Kingdoms, which of all things he moſt deſired, or that he might root the Seeds of *Puritaniſm* out of *Scotland*. But in this he met with greater oppoſition, and all the Progreſs he made in it was that in *one Aſſembly* it was Decreed, there ſhou'd be a Liturgy drawn for the uſe of the Church of *Scotland*; and in another at *Perth*, the five Articles that bore the Name of that place, were ſettled *not without great Contradiction*; and theſe were the *Confirmation of Children*, *private Baptiſm*, *private Communion in Caſes of neceſſity*, *Kneeling in Communicating*, *the Obſervation of the Holy days of the Nativity*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection*, *Aſcenſion*, *and Pentecoſt*. Thoſe were alſo eſtabliſh'd in Parliament *Anno* 1621, where the Marquiſs his Father was Commiſſioner, and Managed that Affair *ſo dexterouſly*, that it gain'd him an equal ſhare of *eſteem and hatred*, theſe things being *generally very odious*, As King *James* was going on warrily in this Deſign, he Died Lamented and Admired by all the World, and even thoſe who had Irritated him moſt when alive, did bewail his Death with Deep and juſt Regrates.

'He was ſucceeded in his Throne by his only Son *Charles* the *Firſt*, who was Zealouſly Conſcientious for Epiſcopacy; ſo what his Father begun *out of Policy* was Proſecuted by him out of Conſcience; the Biſhops therefore were Cheriſhed by him, with all imaginable Expreſſions of kindneſs and confidence, but they *loſt all their eſteem with the People*, and that upon divers Accounts. The People of *Scotland* had drunk in a deep Prejudice againſt every thing that ſavour'd of Popery. This the Biſhops *judged* was TOO HIGH, and therefore took all *means poſſible* to *leſſen* it, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, MOLLIFYING THEIR OPINIONS, and commending their Perſons, *not without ſome Reflections* on the *Reformers*. But this was ſo far from gaining their Deſign, that it abated nothing of the Zeal was againſt Popery, but very much *heighten'd the Rage* againſt themſelves, as favoring it too much.

'There were alſo ſubtile Queſtions ſtarted ſome Years before in *Holland* about Predeſtination and Grace; and *Arminius* his Opinion, as it was condemn'd in a Synod at *Dort*, ſo was generally *ill reported of in all Reform'd Churches*, and no where worſe than in *Scotland*, but

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' moſt of the Biſhops and their Adherents, *undertook openly* and *zealouſly* the defence of theſe Tenets; likewiſe the *Scottiſh* Miniſters and People had ever a great reſpect to the Lord's Day, and generally the ' Morality of it is reckon'd an Article of Faith among them; but the ' Biſhops not only *undertook to beat down this Opinion*, but by their Practices expreſs'd their NEGLECT OF THAT DAY; and after all ' this, they declared themſelves AVOWED ZEALOTS for the Liturgy and Ceremonies of *England*, which were held by the Zealous ' of *Scotland* all one with Popery: Upon theſe Accounts it was that ' they loſt *all their Eſteem* with the People.

' Neither ſtood they in *better Terms* with the Nobility, who at ' that time were as conſiderable as ever *Scotland* ſaw them; and ſo ' proved both *more Senſible* of Injuries, and more *capable* of reſenting ' them. They were offended with them, becauſe they ſeemed to ' have more Intereſt with the King than themſelves had, ſo that favors were mainly diſtributed by their Recommendation, they were ' alſo upon all Affairs, nine of them were Privy-Counſellors, divers ' of them were of the *Exchequer*, *Spottiſwood* Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* was made Chancellor, and *Maxwell* Biſhop of Roſs, was fair ' for the Treaſury, and engag'd in a *high Rivalry* with the Earl of *Traquair* then Treaſurer, which *tended not a little to help forward their Ruin.* ' And beſides this, they began to *pretend highly* to the *Tyths* & *Impropriations*, and had gotten one *Lermonth* a Miniſter Preſented Abbot of ' *Lindoris*; and ſeemed confident to get *that State of Abbots*, with *all* ' the *Revenue* and *Power* belonging to it, *again reſtored* into the hands ' of Churchmen, deſigning alſo, that according to the firſt Inſtitution ' of the Colledge of Juſtice, the *half of them ſhou'd be Churchmen.* This ' cou'd not but touch many of the Nobility in the quick, who were ' too large Sharers in the Patrimony of the Church, not to be very ' ſenſible of it.

' They were *no leſs hateful to the Miniſtry*, becauſe of THEIR ' PRIDE, which was cried out upon as *unſupportable.* Great Complaints were alſo generally made of *Simoniacal Pactions* with their ' Servants, which was Imputed to their Maſters as if it had been for ' their Advantage; at leaſt by their Allowance. They alſo *exacted* ' *a New Oath* of Intrants, (*beſides* what was in the Act of Parliament ' for Obedience to their *Ordinary*) in which they were oblig'd to o- ' bey the Articles of *Perth*, and ſubmit to the Liturgy and Canons.

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'They were also making *daily Inroads* upon their Jurisdiction, of which the *Ministers were very sensible.* And Universally their *great Rigor* against any that favour'd of *Puritanism*, together with their *meddling in all Secular Affairs*, and *relinquishing* their Dioceses to *wait on the Court* and Council, made them the OBJECT OF ALL MEN's FURY.

'But that which heighten'd all to a *Crisis* was, *their advising* the King to Introduce some Innovations in the Church by his *own Authority*; things had *prospered so ill* in General Assemblies, that they thought of these no more. And in the Parliament 1633. that small Addition to the Prerogative, that the *King might appoint what Habits he pleased to the Clergy*, met with Vigorous Opposition; notwithstanding the King seemed much concerned for it; those who oppos'd it being sharply taken up and *much neglected* by his Majesty, which stuck deep in their Hearts, the Bishops bearing *all the blame* of it.

'At this time a Liturgy was drawn for *Scotland*, or rather the *English* Re-printed with that Title, save that it had some Alterations which rendered it *more invidious* and *less Satisfactory*; and after long consulting about it, and another Book of Canons, they were at length agree'd to, that the *one* shou'd be the form of the *Scots* Worship, and the *other* the Model of their Government; which did TOTALLY VARY from their *former practices* and *Constitutions*: And, as if all things had conspired to carry on their Ruin, the Bishops *not satisfied* with the General High-Commission Court, produced Warrants from the King for setting up *such Commissions* in their *several Dioceses*, in which with other Assistors, Ministers and Gentlemen, all of *their own* Nomination, they might punish Offenders.

'That was put in Practice only by the Bishop of *Galloway*, who though he was a pious and learned Man, yet was Fiery and Passionate, and went so *roundly to work*, that it was cryed out upon as a Yoke and *Bondage which the Nation was not able to bear*".

From what both these Historians relate of the *Arbitrary Measures* and *Innovations* introduc'd by the *Scots* Bishops, it is evident that the Church of *Scotland* cou'd not be blam'd for *insisting* upon *good security* from the young King, for the Preservation of their *Legal Establishment.*

But I must not pass another Objection our Author makes against

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this Declaration of *Bangor*, in one of the Marginal Notes upon it in his first Letter *p.* 26 The Words of the Declaration he founds the Objection upon are these. 'For (whereas the danger of such Accidents being foreseen) an Article was Inserted in the Declaration to 'acknowledge the King's Command; he *Confirming* all the Articles 'of the Covenant, *before* he were admitted to the exercise of his Royal Power.

Upon which he remarks thus 'It seems then these *Loyal* Gentlemen 'wou'd not so much as *acknowledge the King's Commands* how Lawful 'soever, except he first should *Confirm all the Articles of the Covenant*, 'not one excepted.

Answ. That that Presbytery approved of the Covenant and wou'd gladly have procur'd the Royal Approbation of it too, is indeed evident from that part of their Declaration, last quoted: But 'tis deny'd, that they made the King's confirming all the Articles of the Covenant, the *Condition of their Allegiance.* They did indeed propose that he shou'd confirm them, before *he were admitted to the exercise of his Regal Power*; but they *do not put the case* of his Refusal to confirm them, nor offer their opinion, that they wou'd reject his Authority altogether, *if he did refuse to do it.* Nay, it is plain that their principles oblig'd 'em to own him for their King; though he shou'd not confirm nor own the Covenant: for besides, that they had all unanimously received the *Westminster* Confession, which expresly says, that *Infidelity and difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrate's just and legal Authority, nor free the people from their due Obedience to him*; Mr *Dryfdail* in his Answers to *Venables*'s objections from the Covenant which was against all Malignants (see p. 296) clears this Matter, by letting us see, that they *knew the King to be the head of that party* when they made the Covenant, yet *they put a difference between him and other Malignants*; they swore to him *not to diminish* his just power and greatness, but to preserve his Royal Person; which demonstrates, that they did not intend to make his Alteration of his principles in *that point*, any *essential condition* of their *Allegiance* and *Subjection* to him.

I shall next come to consider the behavior of Presbyterians in the 2*d* period of this Reign, *viz.* From the Restauration to it's conclusion: During which time, Our Author exhibits his Libel against 'em in his *first Letter* (p. 12.) in these Words 'I cannot at present produce a-

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'any expressions relating to them from King *Charles* the *second*; but 'let the Laws of the Land made against them in his Reign in the 'three Kingdoms, speak for him; Let the *Proclamations* from the 'Government, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but in *Ireland* speak 'for him; particularly, that from the Government of Ireland Dated 'the 30th of *April* 1662. In these words; *Whereas Indulgence to and forbearance of* Dissenters *and* Non-conforming Persons *of several Persuasions hath been long time used, and yet the event hath not answered Expectation*; *but* Recusants, Non-conformists & sectaries *have grown worse by clemency. Therefore* &c. Let these Laws and Proclamations 'speak the Prince's sense of them.

'And let the *Rye-house-Plot* in *England*, the Murder of the *Archbishop of* St. *Andrews*, and the Rebellion subsequent to it in *Scotland*, the 'Attempt of seizing the Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, in each whereof 'the Presbyterians had the greatest hand; Above all, let their oppo-'sing his Restauration both from the *Kirk Assemblies in Scotland and* '*Ireland*, as I will make appear, and the Unchristian and scandalous 'Aspersions thrown upon him in their Letter from the Assembly to 'him Dated from *Edinburgh*, which I will presently produce, speak 'for their Untainted Loyalty in that *Turn of Government*' Where he enlarges upon any of these heads in his *second Letter*, they shall be considered.

To his *first Argument* against Presbyterians, taken from the *Laws* made against 'em; I *answer*, that 'tis inconsequential, and proves nothing against their Loyalty; if ever one Protestant was persecuted by another, *it* must be own'd, that the Presbyterians were *persecuted* under a *Protestant Government* during *this* period, tho' by the *Influence of Popish Councils.* I have three remarks to offer to the sober and Conscientious Protestant Reader, which I hope will convince him that *these Laws* are no just ground of Accusation against Presbyterians.

1*st*, That the *Chief Promoters* of these Laws were either *Papists*, or *influenced* by Popish Councils, or *peevish dividing* Protestants, who out of *pique* and revenge were betray'd, though without a design on their part, into *measures* that tended to the advancement of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, or by *Temporizing* Favorites; who had no other fix'd Principle, but to please the Court and to *sacrifice all* to it.

2*dly*, That these Laws were executed against Presbyterians at *such times* and in *such a manner* as tended to the *weakening* of the Protestant In-

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Interest, *stifling* of the Popish Plot, and *entailing* the Misery and slavery of a *Popish Successor* upon the Nations.

3*dly*, That in *every Parliament* in this Reign, the House of Commons were *sensible* that these Laws were *dangerous* to Religion and Liberty: and brought in *Bills* to repeal them, & made Votes *against the* execution of them; which was done even by *that very* house of Commons that *fram'd them*, after several Years experience of *the evil* of them: and that *all Good Bills* for the uniting of Protestants were *still defeated* by the influence of the *Court* and *Popish Councils*, at *that very* time when the discovery of the Popish Plot was discourag'd, and when Arbitrary steps for enslaving the Subject were taken, and when the Union of Protestants was *most Necessary* and desireable.

If I prove these remarks to be just, the Argument will turn upon our Author: and Instead of doing any harm to Presbyterians, 'twill be an *effectual Vindication* of 'em, as *true friends* to the Protestant *Religion*, their *King*, and *Country*: and conclude them *Enemies* to *Popery*, Popish *Plots*, and a Popish *Succession*, Arbitrary *Government* in the Prince, and an Abject *slavery* in the People.

To justifie these observations, I shall lay before the Reader several passages of the *Proceedings* of the Parliaments during this Period, *Speeches* of the Honorable and Worthy Members, and of some of the most *Celebrated* Pieces written upon this Subject; placing them in that Order as may best tend to the Illustration and Proof of my *three Remarks*; and without the interruption of my own Reflections upon them, until I come, upon the whole, to *Sum up* the evidence.

The first I mention is a part of a Treatise, call'd, The *Ill Effects of Animosities*, in the *State Tracts* (*u*)

'Though all *English Protestants* have ever been at an Accord in 'all the Essentials and Vitals of Religion, yet from the very begin-'ning of the Reformation, there have been *differences* among them con-'cerning *Ecclesiastical Government* and *Discipline*, and about *Forms*, 'Rites & *Ceremonies* of Worship; and had they consulted either their 'Duty to God, or the common Interest of *Religion*, they might have 'found Ways either for *removing* the *occasions* of them; or they 'ought to have lived together as Brethren, *notwithstanding the differen-*

(*u*) Vol. 2d. *p.* 374, 375.

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'*rences* which were among them in *those* things. But how much *wiser* '*are the Children of this World*, than those of the Kingdom of God and 'of *Jesus Christ*? For, tho' the differences among the *Papists* do far 'exceed ours, both in their *Number* and in the *Importance* of those 'things wherein they Disagree, yet they do mutually *Tolerate* and 'bear with one another: The Matters wherein they differ are neither 'made the *Terms of their Church Communion*, nor the Grounds of '*Mutual Excommunications* and *Persecutions*.

'But alas, one Party among us hath been always endeavoring to '*cut or stretch others to their own Size*, and have made those things 'which themselves Style indifferent, both the Qualifications for Admis-'sion to the *Pastoral Office*, and the Conditions of Fellowship in the 'Ordinances of the Gospel: Nor is it to be express'd, what advan-'tages were hereby Administred all along to the Common Enemy; 'and what Sufferings PEACEABLE and ORTHODOX Christians 'were exposed unto from their PEEVISH and ANGRY Brethren. 'And though these things, with the *Heats* begotten *among all*, and 'the Calamities undergone by *one side*, were not the Cause of that 'funestous War betwixt *Charles* the First and the *Parliament*, yet they 'were an occasion of Diverting Thousands from the side which the '*Persecuting Church-Men espoused*; and engaging them in the behalf of 'the *Two Houses* in the Quarrel which they begun, and carried on a-'gainst that *Prince* for Defence of the Civil Liberties, Privileges and 'Rights of the People. But some of the *Mitred Clergy* were so far 'from being made wise by their own and the Nation's Sufferings, as 'upon their *Restauration* to hearken to Moderate Counsels, and to 'Decline their former Rigors and Severities; that they became the '*Tools* and *Instruments of the Court*, not only for *Reviving* but for 'HEIGHTENING and *enflaming* all the differences which had been 'formerly among *English Protestants*. For the Royal Brothers find-'ing nothing more adapted and *subservient* than this, to their design 'of *altering* the Government and *subverting Religion*, they Animated 'those WASPISH *and* IMPOLITIC ECCLESIASTICS not only to 'pursue the Restoration of all those things which had given Rise and 'Occasion to former *Dissentions* and *Persecutions*, but to lay new Snares 'for alienating many Persons of unspotted Lives and tender Consci-'ences from the Church, and of rendring them obnoxious to suffer in 'their Names, Persons, and Estates. And what a Satisfaction was it

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'to the late King and his Brother, to find the old Episcopal Clergy 'prepared through *Principles* of *Revenge*, as well as from Love of 'Domination, *Ambition* and *Covetousness*, to fall in with the design, 'not only of *Increasing* Divisions among Protestants, both by making 'the Conditions of Entring upon the Pastoral Function narrower, and 'for Screwing with the Church in her *Forms* and *Ceremonies* of Wor-'ship, into *Tests* for *Admission to Magistracy* and Civil Trusts, but of ob-'taining several Laws against Dissenters, whereby the Penalties to which 'they foresaw that People wou'd become Liable were rendered grea-'ter than they had been before, and their *Sufferings* made more MER-'CILESS, INHUMANE, and INTOLERABLE.

The next is *Coke* in his Detections (*w*) 'The Commons in Par-'liament (says he) for the first ten years of this Reign were *Tories*, 'and all their business was against the *Protestant Dissenters* from the 'Church, scarce taking notice of the Papists, till the breach of the '*Triple Alliance*; the second Marriage of the Duke of *York*, the second '*Indulgence* for *Liberty* of *Conscience*, The attempt upon the *Smirna-'Fleet*; the shutting up of the Exchequer, the King's making War 'with the *Dutch* in Conjunction with the *French* (these they succes-'sively acted) OPENED THE EYES of the *greater part* of the Com-'mons, that for their *own* and the *Nation's Safety* they became more 'numerous in the House than the *Tory-partie*, yet retain'd their Loyalty 'to the King, I verily believe, as firm as any *English* men before 'them.

The Next evidence I adduce is the Author of that Celebrated Pamphlet, *Faults on both Sides*, who speaks thus p. 7, 8.

'It may be very material also to observe to you that as these names 'of Distinction (viz. *Whig & Tory*) are taken from words signifying 'Parties differing in their Religious Sentiments, the World has been 'led into, and still persists in a mistake, as if the one sort were al-'together Dissenters, and the other included all that were true Church 'of *England*-men, whereas there has always been a great number of the '*Whig*-Party, even of the Clergy as well as the Laity, who are as 'zealous for the Episcopal Church Government as the *Tories* them-'selves: so that they are indeed more truly to be accounted Factions in

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(*w*) Part 2d. p. 268, 269.

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'the State than in the Church, nor can we have a more just Idea of the 'real difference between them, than that in the beginning, the '*Whigs* consider'd that the Duke of *York* was a Papist, and gave life 'and strength to that Party; that if he shou'd live to Inherit the 'Crown, our *Religion and Liberties wou'd be in the utmost danger*: 'that he had a great Influence over the King his Brother: that such 'Ministers were employ'd in the Administration of the Government 'as *were in his Interests*, and who were evidently inclin'd to Arbitra-'ry measures. They every where us'd their *utmost Diligence* in the 'Elections of Magistrates for Corporations, and Members for Par-'liament, to chuse such as they believ'd to be zealous for the good of 'the public, and would *oppose* the *designs of the Court* in any thing that 'might tend to the prejudice of the people in their *Religious* or Civil '*Rights*, they foresaw and endeavor'd to prevent the many mischiefs 'that have since fallen upon us, so' that *all men of Candour must Confess* '*that they were then true Patriots, and had espous'd the best Cause.*

'On the other hand the *Tories* applauded the Duke of *York*, and 'promoted his Interest all they could, they Contended for such E-'lections as shou'd then be ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO THE 'COURT; the Magistrates of that side *oppress'd* the *Whigs* with vex-'atious Prosecutions, *violently persecuted* those that were *Dissenters*, 'and went so far as by PACK'D JURIES and STRAIN'D LAWS 'to *destroy some of the BEST MEN in the Kingdom*; in short, that 'Generation of *Tories* gave themselves up to *fulfil the will and Pleasure* '*of the Court in EVERY THING that lay in their Power*, and, by 'what we have since seen come to pass, 'tis evident that they engag'd 'on the *wrong side*, and were made the very INSTRUMENTS TO 'BRING ABOUT those evil Designs of the Duke of *York*, and the 'Papists, which broke out upon the Nation in the next Reign: I will 'not yet doubt, but that many honest *well meaning* men, zealous for 'the Monarchy & the Church, were *impos'd* upon by the leaders of that 'Party, (who were all the while *playing their game* at Court prefer-'ments) and *seluded* into a *groundless Jealousy*, that the Dissenters 'were aiming at the destruction of both.

Let us next consider what is said in the *Relation of the most considerable*

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derable things handled in Parliament, relating to Religion, property, and Liberty, in the *State-Tracts* (*x*), in these words.

'*February* 26. 1672.

'The Parliament, where notwithstanding his Majesty told them 'in his speech, he wou'd stand by his *Declaration of Indulgence*, yet 'the House of Commons *February* 10 Upon reading it, resolved *that* 'penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of 'Parliament.

'But yet it appeared that the *sense* of the House was not 'against the *matter of Indulgence* pretended to be granted by that 'Declaration to Protestant Dissenters.

'For *February* 14. Resolved in the House of Commons *nemine Contradicente*.

'That a Bill be brought in for ease of his Majestie's Protestant Subjects that are Dissenters in Matters of Religion, from the Church of *England*, and the House to be in a Committee on Monday to consider the Subject matter of this Vote.

'A Bill being drawn accordingly, received no great opposition 'in the House, but was look'd upon by the Major part of the Members, as *the only Means to keep popery from flourishing in this Nation*, 'and in time to expel that Religion, whose professors have in all 'Kingdoms and nations endeavored by all ways to establish their 'superstition, and to that end and purpose, have troubled, as they 'have had opportunity, the peace of the Christian World; but had 'now, by their GREAT INTEREST at *Court*, sufficiently strengthen'd '(as they imagin'd, and *most honest Men* feared) that party, to the *o*verthrow of the Protestant Interest.

'The *Cliffordian* and *French* Designs were carried on in the Interval of this Session, in as pernicious tho' different Manner from 'their first design, whose method they were forced to Change, 'by reason that the Act of Parliament for the suppression of the Growth

(*x*) Vol. 3. page 26.

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'Growth of Popery, was so made that it *executed* it self; and the 'Means of Introducing that Religion seeming then at a stand, they 'thought of a new project that in Probability might not receive 'so great opposition, nor attract that envy as the Preferment of the '*Papists* in several great offices and places of Trust had done, yet 'the *same ends* might be More *certainly and easily*, tho' possibly not 'so soon obtained. And to this end, a Marriage between his Royal Highness, and the Princess of *Modena*, Sister to the Present 'Duke thereof, was proposed; and the better to advance the same 'and make the Match appear more Considerable, his most *Christian* '*Majesty* had declared her an Adopted Daughter of *France*, and 'wou'd give her a portion suitable thereunto; which Match was concluded without any great Difficulty, by the Earl of *Peterborough*; 'and afterwards consummated by the same Person, by his Majestie's 'Royal Consent and Authority; according to the form used among 'Princes (as His Majesty was pleased to express it).

'Hereupon the *Popish* and *French* party were grown extreamly *In-*'*solent*, having in most Men's Judgments received a *less Check* from 'the late Act of Parliament than *Encouragement* from the Marriage.

'But before his Highness cou'd arrive in *England*, the Advisers of 'this Marriage perceived that the Twentieth of *October* wou'd come, 'and that it might probably receive some Obstructions from the Parliament, and that some other things contrived at their Meeting in '*March* before, to their Prejudice, might Chance in a short time to 'be perfected; and therefore Ordered it so, that the Parliament shou'd 'be Prorogu'd till the 27*th* of the same *October*, whereby an end 'shou'd be put to that Session; and all the Business then unperfected, 'fall to the Ground, contrary to his Majesty's Gracious Assurances '& Promises, in *March* last; proposing these Consequences as certain, '*first*, thereby to prevent and remove from his Majesty all Temptations to break the intended Marriage and the *French* Alliance, knowing that the Parliament wou'd use their utmost endeavors to prevent the Consummation of that Marriage, which was likely to render both the *Popish* Religion and the *French* Alliance impregnable.

Secondly, Considering that a Bill of Ease for Protestant Dissenters '(whereby 'twas intended that the *Major part* of them shou'd have '*Liberty of Conscience*, and be capable of *Church-preferment*) had passed

'the House of Commons, and had been sent up to the Lords in *March* before, where it then remain'd, and wou'd not long stick there (as they feared) before it shou'd obtain the Royal Assent; which if once effected, they did imagine and foresee, that *this Uniting* of Interests would *tend greatly* to the Suppression of Popery; and consequently no hopes of Replanting thereof in this Nation. But if they cou'd by *any means* whatsoever prevent the passing of that Bill, they doubted not, notwithstanding all the Parliament cou'd do, to be safe amongst so many *Dissenters*, and drive on their designs underhand for the ruin and destruction of *all Parties* but their own.

Compare this with the following Passage, to be found in the *Conformist's second Plea for Non-Conformists* (p. 22.) 'That which gives strength to my Argument is this, That at the next Meeting of Parliament, which began *Feb.* 24*th*, 1672. An Act passed against the Papists, and a Bill was presented by the House of Commons to the Lords, in *favour of Dissenting*, and for Uniting *Protestants*, which (as some that have as much reason to know as any who Writ) would have passed, if they had had *time* to *Sit*; And from that time, that long Parliament, who had made the Act against *Conventicles*, how resolute soever they were against an Indulgence, *Feb.* 15*th* 1662; they saw the INCOMPATIBILITY between the *Execution of their own Law*, and the PRESERVATION of the *Protestant Religion*, and saw a *necessity* of Uniting *Protestants* at the same time, when they saw our increasing Dangers from the Increase of *Popery*. And our several Parliaments since, have reasoned upon the same Principles and Foundations once again so far as to commit a Bill to Unite all *Protestants*. And now I have prepared my self for this Argument; it is not well done, and cannot be good for the Church or Kingdom (and if not good to them, it shou'd not be thought good by *Protestants*) which that very Parliament that made the Act, and many other Parliaments thought not good for the Church and Kingdom. For some particular Magistrates, upon the Information of some self-seeking Informers, to Execute the Laws against the Sense of the *Legislators*, who shou'd (and certainly did) best know what was for our good, is to oppose a *private opinion* to a *public Deliberation*, and a private Spirit against a public. That I may draw these reasonings to a conclusion, it is not a due Execution of the Laws, except it be upon the *Persons*, and to the *ends* intended in the Laws. But if you wou'd execute

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'the Laws upon the proper Objects, you must Execute them upon *Seditious Sectaries*, *Disloyal Persons*, very *Hypocrites* that do under the *Pretence of Religious Exercises, instil Principles of Schism and Rebellion into the minds of the King's Subjects*. The Law goes upon such a supposition, and to prevent such Mischiefs; but if there be *no such Meetings*, to *such* a tendency, there are no Persons that deserve such Executions: If there be, let them be tried; if there be not, of all times, is there no time but this for Protestant Magistrates to go upon the Information of Informers, to give countenance to a Scandal, that *Protestant Dissenters*, are as pernicious to the Government, as Confederated *Papists*? and that Protestants shou'd Act *contrary* to their *Principles*, contrary to their *Interests*, to bring certain ruin upon themselves, Families and Friends, without any the least hope of Relief, or mending their Condition! A game indeed! to set Informers to find a hare, when they shou'd run down the Fox.

Let the following part of a Letter of a Parliament-Man to his friend concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons in 1675, in the *State-Tracts* (*y*), be seriously considered.

'For missing our True Footing, you see we have run in the *mistaken Notion* of being for the Church so long, till we have *almost destroyed* the State, and advanced Prerogative, so much by suppressing Non-Conformity, that 'tis well nigh beyond our Reach or Power to put a Check to it; and had not *time*, and but an indifferent Observation, shewed us how much we were *abused in this Matter*, and that a Lay-Conformist and a Fanatick can Live as quietly and neighbourly together (wou'd the *Prelates but suffer them*) as any in the World; we had ruin'd our selves past all Recovery; for by our buoying up the Bishops in their *harsh* and *irreconcilable Spirit*, instead of Healing we have so fed and *nourish'd the Discontents* throughout the Kingdom, that I think nothing keeps the Fire from flaming out a fresh, and in another Intestine War, but the bare Circumstance of Opportunity only; and how long that will be able to restrain Passions that are made wild by Oppression, is worthy a very serious Consideration; and therefore there is hardly any thing more a *wonder* to wise Men, than to see the Clergy *run at this rate* upon the Dissenters:

(*y*) Vol. 2d. p. 54, 55.

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'ters: Wherefore, since the Non-Conformists have given so *large* 'and *ample* a Testimony of their *willingness to live Peaceably*, if yet 'notwithstanding the Clergy will not suffer them to be quiet in 'their Families and their Houses, I doubt, they may at one time or 'other *drive* them *into the Field*, and then it may exceed their Di-'vine Art to Conjure them down again; for he sees but little that 'sees not the *English* Temper is better to be *led* than *driven*. And 'therefore I think it wou'd not be more a Vanity, to compel the 'Ladies to wear Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ruff, than to force the Non-Con-'formists to be dress in *her Religion*.

Let a Person of Quality be heard in his Letter amongst the *State-Tracts* (z);

'Thus our Church became Triumphant, and continued so for di-'vers years, the *Dissenting Protestant* being the *only Enemy*, and there-'fore only persecuted, whilst the Papists remain'd undisturb'd being 'by the *Court thought Loyal*, and by our Great Bishops *not dangerous*, 'they differing only in *Doctrine* and *Fundamentals*, but as to the *Go-'vernment of the Church*, that was in their Religion in the highest 'Exaltation.

'This Dominion continued unto them, until the Lord *Clifford*, a 'man of a *daring and Ambitious Spirit*, made his way to the chief 'Ministry of affairs by other and far different measures, and took 'the Opportunity of the War with *Holland*, the *King* was then en-'gag'd in, to propose the *Declaration of Indulgence*, that the *Differ-'ters* of all Sorts, as well *Protestants* as *Papists*, might be at rest, 'and so a vast number of people not be made *Desperate at home*, 'while the *King* was engag'd with so potent an Enemy abroad. 'This was no sooner propos'd, but the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, a man as 'daring, but more *able*, (tho' of *Principles* and *Interest* diametrically 'opposite to the other) presently clos'd with it; and perhaps the 'Opportunity I have had by my Conversation with them both, who 'were men of Diversion, and of free and open Discourses where 'they had a Confidence, may give you more light into both their 'designs, and so by consequence the aims of their *Parties*, than you 'will have from any other hand. My Lord *Clifford* did in expres terms

(z) Vol. 3. p. 42, &c.

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terms tell me one day in private discourse, *That the King, if he won'd be firm to himself, might settle what Religion he pleas'd, and carry the Government to what height he won'd; for if men were assur'd of the liberty of their Consciences, and undisturb'd in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in* Westminster-Hall, *to Judge the Causes of* Meum & Tuum; *and it, on the other hand, the Fort of* Tilbury *was finish'd to bridle the City, the Fort of* Plimouth *to secure the West, & Arms for* 20000 *in each of those & an Hull for the Northern parts, with some Addition which might be easily and undiscernably made to the Forces now on foot, there were none that won'd have either will, Opportunity, or power to resist* But he added withal, *he was so sincere in the maintenance of Property and liberty of Conscience, that if he had his Will, tho' he should Introduce a Bishop of* Durham (*which was the Instance he then made, that See being then vacant*) *of another Religion, yet he would not disturb any of the Church beside, but suffer them to die away, and not by his Change (how hasty soever he was in it) overthrow either of those Principles, and therefore desir'd he might be thought an honest man, as to his part of the Declaration, for he meant it really.* The Lord *Shaftsbury* (with whom I had more freedom) I with great assurance ask'd, what he meant by the *Declaration*? For it seemed to me (as I then told him) that it assumed *a power to repeal and suspend all our Laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and to tolerate Popery*; He reply'd all angry, *That he wondred at my Objection, there being none of these in the Case; for the King assum'd no power of repealing Laws, or suspending them, contrary to the Will of his Parliament or People; and not to argue with me at that time the Power of the King's Supremacy, which was of another nature than that he had in Civils, and had been exercis'd without Exception in this very case, by his Father, Grandfather, and Q.* Eliz. *under the Great Seal, to Foreign Protestants become Subjects of* England, *not to instance in the suspending the execution of the two Acts of Navigation and Trade.*——

——— ' Thus, Sir, you have perhaps a better Account of the *Declaration* than you can receive from any other Hand, ——— ' At the next Meeting of Parliament the *Protestant Interest* was run so high, as an Act came up from the COMMONS to the House of *Lords* in FAVOUR of the DISSENTING PROTESTANTS, and had passed the *Lords*, but for WANT OF TIME.

Beside

'Besides another excellent *Act* passed the *Royal Assent*, for the *excluding all Papists from Office*, in the Opposition of which the Lord Treasurer *Clifford* fell, and yet to prevent his Ruine this Session had the speedier End. Notwithstanding, the Bishops attained their Ends, the *Declaration* being cancell'd, and the *Great Seal* being broken off from it, the Parliament having passed no Act in favor of the *Dissenters*, and yet the sense of both *Houses* sufficiently declar'd against all the *Indulgence* but by Act of *Parliament*. Having got this point, they us'd it at first with seeming Moderation; there were no general Directions given for Persecuting the Non-Conformists, but here and there some of the most *Confiding Justices* were made use of to try how they could receive the *Old Persecution*, for as yet their zeal rais'd against *Papists* was so great that the worthiest and sobereſt of the *Episcopal Party* thought it NECESSARY to UNITE with the *Dissenting Protestants*, and not to divide their Party, when all their forces were little enough: In this posture the Sessions of Parliament that began *October* 27. 1673. Found matters, which being suddenly broken up, did nothing.

'The *next Sessions*, which began *Jan.* 7. following, the Bishops continued their *zeal against the Papists*, and seem'd to carry on, in Joining with the *Country Lords*, many excellent votes in order to a bill; as in particular, *That the Princes of the blood Royal* should only marry Protestants, & many others; but their favor to *dissenting Protestants* was gone, & they attempted a bargain with the *Country Lords*, with whom they then join'd, not to promote any thing of that Nature, except *the Bill for taking away Affen & Consent, & renouncing the Covenant.*

'This Session was no sooner ended without doing any thing, but the whole Clergy were Instructed to declare *That there was no more danger of the Papists*: The *Phanatick* (for so they call the *Dissenting Protestant*) is again become the ONLY DANGEROUS ENEMY; and the Bishops had found a *Scotch Lord*, and two new Ministers, or rather great Officers of *England*, who were *desperate* and *rash enough* to put their Master's business upon SO NARROW and WEAK a bottom: And that *Old Covenanter Lauderdale* is become the *Patron of the Church*, and has his Coach and Table fill'd with that Party.

'Our *Statesmen* and *Bishops* being now as well agreed as in old *Laud's* time, on the same Principles, with the same Passion, to attain their end

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'end, they in the first Place gave Orders to the Judges in all their 'Circuits to quicken the Execution of the Laws against Dissenters; 'a *new Declaration* is publish'd directly contrary to the former, most 'in words against the Papists, but in the Sense and in the Close did 'fully serve against *both*, and in the Execution it was plain who were 'meant. A *Commission* besides comes down, directed to the Principal 'Gentlemen of each County, *to seize the Estates of both Papists and* 'Phanaticks, mentioned in a List Annexed; wherein, by great 'Misfortune or SKILL, the Names of *Papists* of best Quality and For-'tune (and so best known) were mistaken, and the Commission ren-'dred ineffectual, *as to them.*

Let the Author of *No Protestant Plot* have Liberty to speak upon this Subject, who in his third part (a) reasons thus:

'Nay, so great is their (*i. e. Papists*) Interest and Power, by means 'of the Duke of *York*, and such whom he either *overaweth* or other-'wise *influenceth*, that they do not only escape the Punishments which 'they are liable unto for their Treasons; but THEY HAVE OB-'TAIN'D to have the Laws made against Protestant Dissenters, to 'be Executed with the *utmost Rigor* and *Severity*, while in the mean 'time themselves are as good as conniv'd at in the Violation of all 'the Statutes Enacted against Popish Recusancy. For this cannot be 'thought to proceed Originally from the King, being so inconsistent 'with that Princely Wisdom which he hath always Manifested, when 'not over-ruled by the Importunity of ill Men. How unlikely is it, 'that a Prince who receiveth and *indulgeth* Foreign Protestants, should 'at the same time encourage the distressing his own Subjects, that do 'no otherwise differ from the Church of *England*, than as those Fo-'reigners do? Nor can it be the Advice of *any sincere* and *true* Pro-'testant, to have the Laws Executed *at this Season* and Juncture against 'Phanaticks, it being so Apparent a weakning of the *whole Reform-'ed Interest* in those Kingdoms, and a betraying *all the Protestant* Par-'ty into the Power and Hands of their worst Enemies. And seeing 'none but the Papists can reap any benefit or advantage by it, it must 'be THEY and none else that were the first *Authors*, and continue 'to be the *Promoters* of such Councils. And as some of those Laws

(a) p. 27, 28, 29.

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‘ were procured by the means of Sir *Thom. Clifford*, Sir *Thom. Strickland* and others, who have since appear'd to be Papists; so it is not ‘ unpleasant to observe how they have endeavor'd to get them either ‘ *suspended* or *Executed*, according as *this* or *that* have lyen in an use‘ fulness to their Designs. Nor can we otherwise believe, but that ‘ as some of our Ministers obtain'd them to be dispensed with 1672. ‘ in favour of the Papists, so others pursue the having them put in Ex‘ ecution in 1682. out of friendship to the same People. Thus the ‘ Laws, which were *pretended* at first to have been made for the Pre‘ servation of the Church of *England*, have been from time to time ‘ MANAGED TO SET FORWARD the CONCERNMENTS of ‘ the CHURCH of ROME, and *advance* the *projections* of the *Pa‘ pists*. Accordingly we have held them suspended for divers Years, ‘ when both most of the *English* Clergy were earnest to have had 'em ‘ Executed, and when the Execution of them seem'd to lye in a sub‘ serviency to support the Grandess of the Church; but now when ‘ neither the Church *can be able to subsist*, nor are *any means* left to ‘ the preservation of the *Protestant* Religion, unless *Moderation* and ‘ *Lenity be exercis'd to Dissenters*, we are made daily and sad Specta‘ tors of *Oppression*, *Spoil* and *Havock* brought upon a QUIET, IN‘ DUSTRIOUS and USEFUL People, by the Execution of these ve‘ ry Laws. And we may be sure the *Papists* hug and solace them‘ selves, to find that thro' the *Ascendency which they have* over some ‘ public Persons who Influence all our Councils, they can apply the ‘ Laws to the Ruin of many *Protestants*; and in Revenge for their ‘ having escaped their Murderous and Bloody Hands, engage the Go‘ vernment and Authority of the Nation against them. Nor is it ‘ less than a matter of Triumph to them to think that when the Com‘ mons of *England* in Parliament *Assembled* had not only Read and ‘ Committed a Bill *for the Uniting his Majestie's Protestant Subjects*; but ‘ Resolved it as the Opinion of that House, *That the Prosecution of ‘ Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time Grievous to ‘ the Subject, a weakning to the Protestant Interest, an encouragement to ‘ Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom*; they should not ‘ only be able to alienate and exasperate us more from and against one ‘ another, than ever we were, but procure *one* Protestant to Prosecute ‘ *another* upon the Penal Laws, to the *Scorn* and *Contempt* of the Wis‘ dom of Parliaments, and the Proclaiming to all the World of how ‘ little esteem and value their Counsel and Advice are. The

The Ingenious *Conformiſt* in his *third Plea for Non-Conformiſts*, gives us the Character of thoſe by whom, and from whom, and through whoſe means the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* were again expos'd to Sufferings p. 8. 9, 10. Part 2.

'They are, 1. Such as cannot take it ill to be called *Addreſſers* and *Abhorrers*, but they (as far as I can look about me and ſee) particularly that have thanked the King for declaring his Reſolutions of Ruling by Law, which if any of the *Non-Conformiſts* had expreſs'd a doubt or fear of, had been a far greater Offence than their Non-Conformity.

, 2. And by Conſequence, they are ſuch as have declared a *Diſlike of the Proceedings of our late Parliaments*, and in that particular of endeavoring the uniting of Proteſtant Diſſenters, in which alone I am concern'd to take Notice of them, Act directly contrary to the Vote of the Houſe of Commons, which reſolv'd, *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, weakning to the Proteſtant Intereſt, an Encouragement of Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom*; And by the Rule of Oppoſition, they muſt in their Opinions turn this Vote backward, as if they thought that the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the preſent Laws, is not grievous to the Subject, is not a weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt, is not an Encouragement of Popery, nor dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.

'3. A Third Branch of the Deſcription of the Proſecutors. They are ſuch as *do not*, yea *cannot* underſtand the State of the Kingdom, and Religion ſo well as the Houſe of Commons did.

'1. No one Man of them can underſtaad the true State of the Kingdom, as a Grand Aſſembly of our Repreſentatives did.

'2. Nor all of them: For when the Repreſentatives of the Kingdom met, and ſaw what was inviſible to others; there was a Collection of Obſervations, and the Eyes of moſt of the Kingdom moved in that great Body, and their Debates and Reaſonings were *mature* and *full*. And tho' a Vote have not the Formality and Force of an *Act*, yet it is the *firſt matter* and *Original* of an *Act*, out of which an *Act* doth ariſe.

'3. This Vote was not of private Concernment, in which Intereſt makes Men Partial, but it was of Concernment to the Church

'and Kingdom. But *many* of the *first Movers* in the Prosecution, and 'of the Instruments in it, *Act* from a *private Spirit*, and a particular 'Interest, and find neither Concurrence from any, that *are at liber-* 'ty and *Act* as *Freemen*, nor *Approbation* from the *Standers by*; ex- 'cept the few that know not what they do, and care not what o- 'thers do, any more than *Gallio*.

'*Lastly*, the Inferior Sort, are Informers & Inferior Officers, Consta- 'bles and Church-Wardens, &c. Of these, there is not one of ma- 'ny, but what abide severe Threatnings, and heavy Fines, consider- 'ing their Estates, before they distrain. This way is contrary to 'the very common sense of Christians, and ordinary men. But the 'Informers are a Select Company, whom the long suffering of God 'permits for a time, of whom I will say but little in this place: they 'are of *no good Reputation*; for their Knowledge in the Country, 'they do not know the names, or persons of some of them that are 'molested by them, they go by report of their under servants and 'Complices; they are unknown to them that suffer by them, until 'they suffer: they come two or three Counties off, to set up this new 'trade; whether they are Papists or (nominal) Protestants, who 'can tell? they never come to Church, nor to their own Parish- 'Churches, but lie in wait and Ambush, their Estate is invisible, 'their Country unknown to many; *their Morals are as bad as the ve-* 'ry *Dregs of the Age*. These are they that direct and rule many 'of the Magistrates, and live upon the spoil of better Christians, 'and Subjects than themselves; And who go away with honest men's 'goods, honestly gotten, but they?

And the same Author in his *2d plea for Non-Conformists*, illustrates the matter thus, *p.* 23, 24, &c.

'The second sort of Arguments is drawn from the fact, for which 'the Dissenters are to suffer.

'The Crime, *prima facie*, is preaching in a manner different from 'the Church of *England*, and not according to the Liturgy, to num- 'bers above four, besides the Household. This is the Fact. The 'Proof of it, is either by Confession of the Parties, which we will 'not suppose, or the Notoriousness of the Fact, which needs fur- 'ther Proof; it all depends upon the oath of two Witnesses. What 'do they depose? they (who perhaps know not what an oath is, 'nor what a Sin Perjury is) depose that *A. B.* preached at such a time

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' time or times, in such a place or places, to such Numbers against ' the Statute. But what if the Preacher preach'd true Doctrine ? ' Exhorted to peace and Holiness, Obedience, Justice, Mercy, and ' not one word tending to Schism or Rebellion ? What if the Person ' be a Loyal Subject ? These things are *out of the Question*, out of the ' Deposition. But if these Witnesses *cannot depose* that such a Preacher ' is a Disloyal Person, his preaching to be to instil Schism or Re- ' bellion, or to move to Insurrection: then if the Execution be ' according to the Deposition, it is Execution upon Persons not ' intended by the Law, and for preaching not forbidden by the Law; ' for the Law forbids not preaching, but *to such an end*. There is ' one catching Circumstance, *it was above the Legal Number :* But yet ' one would think, that that should not be a Crime, except Rebelli- ' on and Insurrection be the Intention of the Person, and the effect of ' the thing. For many, for five hundred to hear a good Sermon, in a ' peaceable manner, is in it self no Crime; the Number, and the ' preaching, must be to an *ill Design*, in the Intention of the Law : ' For it were *impious*, to forbid preaching in it self. The Evil of it ' must be in the Evil of the *matter*, and evil of the *Design*; and by ' Consequence, only such Preaching, and such Numbers, are liable ' to the Penalty, that is, of a Destructive or Offensive Design; unless ' you punish for preaching, which is *good*, separate from the Design, ' as *evil*. This premis'd, my Argument is this ;

' It is not good but evil, to punish well doing, as if it were evil ' doing, and to punish Preachers and Hearers, that *never preach'd ' nor heard Rebellion or Sedition*, as if they were the *Highest Criminals ' in a Kingdom.*

' But to issue out Warrants, and execute them upon Persons, when ' nothing is prov'd against them, but what is good and not prohi- ' bited by the Law, as evil in it self, but as evil to an evil end *viz.* Preach- ' ing, is not good, therefore it is not good to punish them, &c.

' To punish a Fact, that in the intention of the Persons, or nature ' of the thing, hath *no tendency to Mischief*, to be prevented by the ' Law, is not good but evil : because the Execution is not directed to ' the end of the Law, and by Consequence it is no Legal Execu- ' tion.

' But to execute the Law for Preaching, and hearing, upon Preach- ' ers and Hearers, whose preaching and hearing hath *no evil tenden-*

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'cy to *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, *Insurrection*, or *Schism*, is such an Execution: therefore it is not good but Evil.

'The *Minor* is prov'd from the PEACEABLENESS of the *Nonconformists*, *Piety* of their *Principles*, from the many years Experience and effects; and Seditious, or Rebellious, or Schismatical matter, are *not the things sworn* against them, or CAN BE SWORN, but preaching to such Numbers, and hearing in such Numbers, and in a manner different from the Church of *England*, which may be, and yet *not ill*, and may not be so for all the Informers know.

———— 'It is not good, but evil, to use Dissenting *Protestants*, worse than ever *Papists* have been used.

'But to execute those Laws upon Dissenting *Protestants neither for Rebellion nor moving Insurrections*, is to use them worse than ever Papists have been used. Therefore it is not good to execute the Laws upon them.

'It is to be more rigorous towards *our Brethren*, and such as agree in one and the *same King*, *same Laws*, *same Worship* as to the Substance of Christ's Ordinances, and are *willing to unite*, than you are towards men that own *another Supremacy*, *King* and *Bishops*, are Idolatrous in their Worship, and are for rooting us out, and not taking us in, without hazard of the truth of Christ, and Hypocrisy and Eternal Life.

'To punish *Dissenters* for preaching, and other Exercises of Religion, because to *such numbers*, and not in such an Uniform manner, is to punish them *for Religion*. If Religion be the Cloak, and Rebellion or Sedition be the Mischiefs to be conceal'd and convey'd under it, then Religion is but a Pretence and that cannot excuse them from suffering, which doth highly aggravate the Sin. But if *neither be inferr'd from their Principles*, nor infused into their Exercises, then there is *no danger* to the King, in his *Life*, *Prerogative* nor *Authority*. If neither have been found in any of them, it is not Justly imputable to them; and then if their Preaching and prayer be the Fact, for which they suffer, they suffer for that which no *Papist* ever suffer'd for alone.

Let us hear the observations of 16 Noble Peers of the Realm in their humble petition and advice Delivered to the King *January* 25, 1680. State-Tracts 2 Vol. p. 129, 130.

To

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'*To the* King's most Excellent Majesty. *The Humble Petition* '*and Advice of the Lords undernam'd, Peers of the Realm.*

'*Humbly Sheweth,*

'That whereas your Majesty hath been pleas'd, by divers Speeches, and Messages to your Houses of Parliament, rightly to represent to them the Dangers that threatned your Majesty's Person, and the whole Kingdom, from the Mischievous, and wicked Plots of the *Papists*, and the sudden growth of a Foreign Power, unto which, no stop or remedy could be Provided, unless it were by Parliament, and an UNION of your Majesty's *Protestant Subjects*, in *one* mind and *one* Interest.

'And the Lord *Chancellor*, in Pursuance of your Majesty's Commands, having more at large demonstrated the said dangers to be as great, as we in the midst of our fears could imagine them, and so pressing, that our Liberties, Religion, Lives, and the whole Kingdom would be certainly lost, if a *speedy Provision* were not made against them.

'And your Majesty on the 21*st* of *April*, 1679. Having call'd into your Council, many *Honorable* and *Worthy* Persons, and declar'd to them and the whole Kingdom, that being sensible of the evil Effects of a *single Ministry*, or private Advice, or *Foreign Committee*, for the General Direction of your Affairs; your Majesty would for the future refer all things unto that Council, and by the Constant Advice of them, together with the *frequent use* of your great Council, the *Parliament*, Your Majesty was hereafter Resolved to govern the Kingdoms; We began to hope we should see an end of our Miseries.

'But to our unspeakable Grief and Sorrow, we soon found our Expectations frustrated. The *Parliament*, then subsisting, was *Prorogued* and *Dissolved*, before it could perfect what was *intended* for our Relief and Security; and tho' another was thereupon called, yet by many Prorogations it was put off, till the 21*st* of *October* past; and notwithstanding your Majesty was then again pleas'd to acknowledge, that neither your *Person*, nor your *Kingdom* could be safe, till the *Plot* was gone thorow, It was *unexpectedly Prorogu'd* on the 10*th* of this *Month*, before any sufficient order could be taken therein; all their *Just* and Pious *Endeavors* to save

'save the Nation, were *overthrown*; the GOOD BILLS they had 'been Industriously preparing to UNITE all your Majesty's *Pro-* 'testant Subjects brought to nought; the Discovery of the *Irish* Plot 'STIFLED, the Witnesses that came in frequently more fully to de- 'clare that, both of *England* and *Ireland*, DISCOURAGED. Those For- 'eign Kingdoms & States, who by a happy Conjunction with us might 'give a check to the *French* Power, *disheartned*, even to such a Des- 'pair of their own Security against the *growing greatness* of that 'Monarch, as we fear may induce them to take new Resolutions, 'and perhaps such as may be fatal to us: The *Strength* and *Cou-* 'rage of our Enemies both at *home* and *abroad* encreas'd: and our 'selves left in the utmost danger of seeing our Country brought in- 'to utter Desolation.

'In these *Extremities*, we had nothing under God to Comfort us, 'but the hopes, that Your Majesty (being touch'd with the Groans 'of your Perishing People) would have suffer'd your Parliament to 'meet at the Day unto which it was Prorogued: And that no further 'Interruption should have been given to their Proceedings, in Order 'to their saving of the Nation. But that failed us too: For then we 'heard that your Majesty by the private Suggestion of some *Wicked* 'Persons, FAVOURERS of POPERY, *Promoters* of FRENCH DE- 'SIGNS, and ENEMIES to your Majesty and the Kingdom, with- 'out the Advice, and as we have good reason to believe against the 'Opinion, even of your *Privy-Council*, had been prevail'd with to *Dis-* 'solve it, and to call another to meet at *Oxford*, where neither Lords 'nor Commons can be in Safety, but will be daily expos'd to the 'Sword of the *Papists*, and their Adherents, of whom *too many* are 'crept into your Majesty's *Guards*. The Liberty of Speaking accord- 'ing to their Consciences, will be thereby destroy'd, and the vali- 'dity of all Acts and Proceedings consisting in it, left *Disputable*. The 'straitness of the Place, no way admits of such a Concourse of Per- 'sons as now follows every Parliament; the *Witnesses* which are ne- 'cessary to give Evidence against the *Popish* Lords, such Judges, or 'others whom the Commons have Impeach'd, or have resolved to 'Impeach, can neither *bear* the *Charge* of going thither, nor trust 'em- 'selves under the Protection of a Parliament, that is it self evidently 'under the Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*.

'The Premisses considered, We your Majesty's *Petitioners*

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'out of a just abhorrence of such a dangerous and *pernicious* 'Council (which the Authors have not *dar'd* to avow) and the 'direful Apprehensions of the Calamities and Miseries, that 'may ensue thereupon; do make it Our most Humble Pray- 'er and Advice, that the *Parliament* may not Sit at a place, 'where it will not be able to Act with that *Freedom*, which 'is necessary; and especially to give unto their Acts and Pro- 'ceedings that Authority which they ought to have amongst 'the People, and have ever had, unless impaired by some 'Awe upon them, (of which there wants not Precedents:) 'And that your Majesty would be Graciously pleas'd to Or- 'der *it* to Sit at *Westminster* (it being the usual place, and 'where they may Consult and Act with *Safety* and *Freedom*) And Your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

Monmouth	*Salisbury*	*Shaftsbury*	*Grey*
Kent	*Clare*	*Mordant*	*Herbert*
Huntington	*Stanford*	*Evers*	*Howard*
Bedford	*Essex*	*Paget*	*Delamer.*

Let us next hear what past upon this Subject in *Two free Conferences between Father* La Chese, *and four considerable* Jesuits *in the* State Tracts 3 Vol. *p.* 414. &c.

Sir *John Warner:*

——'Let me beseech Your *Reverence* to suffer me to give you in 'short our Account how the Interests in *England* are divided; to do 'which, I must be forced to look back to the Year 1660. You know 'well, how much all wise and good Catholicks did apprehend, upon 'the King's return that those HAPPY DIFFERENCES between the '*Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Parties would have been composed. The '*King's Declaration* made us think that he saw *his true Interest*, and 'would pursue it. And one would have thought that the Conten- 'ders, should have grown wiser, and used the true way for the fu- 'ture to avoid those animosities which had *cost them so dear*. But 'it was *so happily ordered*, that the *most discreet and hottest* of the

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Episcopal Clergy were entrusted with the management of this affair; who being *full of Revenge* for what they had suffer'd, did not bring with them that Temper which was necessary to the good Conclusion of such a business. Some alterations were made in the *Liturgy*, but such as gave *no* satisfaction; & soon after, an *exact Conformity* upon harder Terms, than *ever*, was required under the Severest Penalties. And Informers were every where encourag'd to a *severe* puting of those Laws in Execution. Every *mercenary Pen* was employ'd against them. The People were taught that *Rebel* & *Presbyterian* were *Synonimous* Terms; and that it was Impossible to be a Dissenter from the *Ceremonies* of the Church, and *not* be Factious and Seditious; altho' they have *no Dependance* one upon another. In the Universities the Youth were taught to look upon those as the *worst of men*, who would not come up to *every Title* of what *Laud* in the late King's Reign would have introduc'd. Nay, they went so far, as that some of the Dignified Clergy told the World in Print, that *to reject any of the enjoyned Forms or Ceremonies, was a greater sin than to commit the greatest Immoralities*. Nor were they content to represent these as the worst of *Villanies* unless they made them the greatest of *fools* too. And therefore the most *Scurrilous Pens* were chosen out to dress them up in as Ridiculous a sort as they could devise. I mention those things to your *Reverence*, because they were the OCCASION and ENCOURAGEMENT, whereupon WE VENTUR'D to attempt the Regaining of that Kingdom. We observ'd how deep a discontent this sort of Behaviour towards them had fixed in the hearts of all the oppressed Party, and we did conclude they were men, and would resent it, when they had Opportunity, and we did insinuate as much as we could, their fears into the minds of the *English* Clergy. At Court WE REPRESENT their numbers as dangerous, whilst the *Episcopal* Party were as busie in representing their Principles as *Intolerable*. And we were sure to have THE MINISTERS ON OUR SIDE: For a great many of the most *wealthy*, *Sober*, and *observing* men, being of *that* Persuasion; that alone was sufficient to make them obnoxious and hated, in a *luxurious Court*, where mony will ever be wanting; and no way to get it, be look'd on as unjustifyable. The King was no less displeased with them, for when by our Interest with the *D.* and the Lord *CL.* we had procur'd the Declaration

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'tion of Indulgence to be set out in the year 167[illegible], the *Presbyterians* presently SUSPECTED THE KINDNESS, and, like wise men, closed with the *Conformists* and *refused the Bait*; however specious it seem'd, when they saw the *Hook* that *lay* under it. This thing did highly exasperate the King against them.——

'(Sir *Thomas Preston*,)

——'You see *what Invitations* we have to attempt what I propose, which if Joyn'd with Common Discretion and Ordinary Diligence, will *without doubt* be very Successful. If we would set up some in *London*, or near it, to present *Petitions* for putting the Laws in Execution against *Dissenters*, upon account of their late Insolent (as *it must be called*) *Petition*, or by burning the Rump again, or some such other public reviving the Resentment of the *Court* against the Actions of the late times, where we should Revenge their *Petitioning*, and their *Burning of Popes*, and prevent them for the future. Or if we could but get these things done, either by OUR FRIENDS AT COURT, or *any how*, so they were done, we might make very good use of them, especially if as Preparatory thereunto, some *Reformation* were made upon the *Benches* at *Westminster*, and in the *Country*, and all *Courts* of *Judicature* were filled with men of *warm Tempers*, who have malice enough to the *dissenters*, to execute the Laws in good earnest against them. The Imprisonments and Fines, and the Banishment from Corporations, would so pursue both the Preachers and the People, that it would be easy, *with good management*, to provoke them or at least some of the meanest, who are usually most zealous, to *no little Excesses*.

'(*Father Conyers*)

'The King once more set right in their good opinion, and the Persecuting of the *Presbyterians* Justify'd, as being only the Consequence of a Resolution in his Majesty to regain the honor of the Government by an effectual and impartial execution of the Laws, THEN it may be a SEASON to think of a *Parliament*. Then 'twill be fit to dissolve this, from whom no possible good can be expected, and to summon a New one. For by that time all the *Presbyterians*

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'will be under the lash of the Penal Laws, SEVERELLY EXECUTED and under suspition of horrid Conspiracies, by the METHODS 'PROPOSED; and consequently will not dare to pretend to be elected, or to Interpose at Elections, and so we may once more have 'a *Parliament* like the last *Long one*. And if we can once again 'get such a *Parliament*, then the *Presbyterians* themselves will look 'upon a General Act of oblivion as a Grace, and consequently thereby all our Friends may be set at liberty.

I conclude this head with the Humble Address of the Commons in Parliament assembled, presented to the King Munday *November* 29*th*. 1680. in answer to his Message about *Tangier*, wherein the Reader will find a most comprehensive History of the Managements of the Court in that Reign. It is in the *State-Tracts*. 2 *Vol.* p, 104. &c.

——— 'To that part of your Majesty's Message which expresses a 'Reliance upon this House for the support of *Tangier*, and a Recommendation of it to our speedy care, we do with all humility and 'reverence give this answer, that although in due time and order, we 'shall omit nothing incumbent on us for the preservation of every 'part of your Majesty's Dominions, and advancing the Prosperity '&Flourishing Estate of this your Kingdom; yet at this time when a '*Cloud* which has LONG THREATNED THIS LAND is ready to '*break upon our heads* in a storm of Ruin& Confusion, to enter into any 'further Consideration of this matter; especially, to come to any 'Resolutions in it, before we are effectually secured from the IMMINENT and APPARENT DANGERS arising from the Power 'of *Popish Persons* and *Councils*, We humbly conceive will not consist 'either with our *Duty* to your Majesty, or the trust reposed in us 'by those we represent.

'It is *not unknown* to your Majesty how restless the Endeavors 'and how bold the Attempts of the Popish Party, for many years 'last past, have been, not only within this, but other your Majestie's 'Kingdoms, to *introduce* the *Romish*, and utterly to *extirpate* the true '*Protestant* Religion. The several Approaches they have made towards the Compassing this their design (assisted by the Treachery 'of *perfidious Protestants*) have been so *strangely successful*, that 'tis 'matter of Admiration to us, and which we can only ascribe to an 'Over-ruling Providence, that your Majesty's Reign is still continued

over

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over us, and that we are yet Assembled to consult the means of our Preservation: This *Bloody* and *Restless* Party not content with the great Liberty they had a long time enjoy'd to Exercise their own Religion privately amongst themselves, to partake of an *equal freedom* of Persons and Estates with your Majestie's Protestant Subjects, and of an Advantage above them, in being exempted from chargeable Offices and Employments, hath *so far prevail'd*, as to find Countenance for an open and avowed Practice of their Superstition and Idolatry, without Controul in several Parts of this Kingdom. *Great Swarms* of Priests and Jesuits have resorted hither, and have exercised their Jurisdiction, and been *daily tampering* to pervert the Consciences of your Majestie's Subjects. Their Opposers they have found means to *disgrace*, and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them TURN'D OUT OF COMMISSION: And in Contempt of the known Laws of the Land, they have practised upon People of all Ranks and Qualities, and *gained* over divers to their Religion; some *openly* to profess it, others secretly to espouse it, as most conduced to the Service thereof.

'After some time they *became able* to INFLUENCE MATTERS OF STATE and Government, and thereby to destroy those they cannot Corrupt. The *Continuance* or *Prorogation* of Parliaments has been *Accommodated* to *serve* the purposes of that Party. Money rais'd upon the People to supply your Majestie's extraordinary Occasions, was by the PREVALENCE *of* POPISH COUNCILS imployed to *make War* upon a *Protestant State*, and to *advance* and *Augment* the Dreadful Power of the FRENCH KING, though to the *Apparent hazard of this, and all other Protestant Countries.* Great Numbers of your Majestie's Subjects were sent into, and continued in the Service of that King, notwithstanding the Apparent Interest of your Majestie's Kingdoms, the Addresses of the Parliament, and your Majestie's Gracious Proclamations to the contrary. Nor can we forbear to mention, how that at the beginning of the same War, even the MINISTERS of ENGLAND were made Instruments to Press upon that State, the acceptance of one demand among others, from the *French* King for procuring their Peace with him, that they *should admit the public exercise of the Roman-Catholic Religion in the United Provinces*, the CHURCHES THERE *to be DIVIDED, and the Romish Priests* MAINTAIN'D OUT OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

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'At home, if your Majesty did at any time by the Advice of your Privy Council, or of Your Two Houses of Parliament, Command the Laws to be put in Execution against Papists, even FROM THENCE they gained Advantage to their Party, while the *Edge of those Laws was turned against Protestant Dissenters*, and the Papists escap'd in a manner untouch'd. The Act of Parliament, enjoining a Test to be taken by all Persons admitted into any public Office, and intended for a security against Papists coming into Employment, had so little Effect, that either by Dispensations, obtained from *Rome*, they submitted to those Tests, and held their Offices themselves, or those put in their places, were *so favourable to the same Interests*, That Popery it self has RATHER GAINED THAN LOST GROUND SINCE THAT ACT.

'But that their business in hand might yet more speedily and strongly proceed, at length a Popish Secretary (since executed for his Treasons) takes upon him to set a Foot and Maintain Correspondencies at *Rome* (particularly with a Native Subject of your Majesty's, promoted to be a *Cardinal*, and in the Courts of other Foreign Princes (to use their own Form of Speech) for the *Subduing that Pestilent Heresy, which so long domineer'd over this Northern World*; that is, to root the Protestant Religion out of *England*, and thereby to make way the more easily to do the same in other Protestant Countries.

'Towards the doing this great Work, (as Mr. *Coleman* was pleas'd to call it) Jesuits, the most dangerous of all Popish Orders to the Lives and Estates of Princes, were distributed to their *several Precincts* within this Kingdom, and held Joint Councils with those of the same Order in all Neighbour Popish Countries: Out of *these Councils* and Correspondencies was hatcht that Damnable and Hellish *Plot*, by the good providence of Almighty God brought to light above two Years since, but *still threatning us*; wherein the Traitors impatient of longer delay, reckoning the prolonging of your Sacred Majesty's Life (which God long preserve) as the great Obstacle in the way of the Consummation of their Hopes, and having in their prospect a *Proselyted Prince* immediately to succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, resolved to begin their Work with the Assassination of your Majesty, to carry it on with Armed Force, to destroy your Protestant Subjects in *England*; to execute a second Mas-

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'ſhere in *Ireland*, and ſo with eaſe to arrive at the ſuppreſſion of our Religion, and the ſubverſion of the Government.

'When this Accurſed Conſpiracy began to be diſcover'd, they began the *ſmothering* it with the *Barbarous Murder* of a Juſtice of the Peace, within one of your Majeſtie's *own Palaces*, who had taken ſome Examinations concerning it.

Amidſt theſe Diſtractions and Fears, Popiſh Officers, for the Command of Forces, were allowed upon the Muſters by *ſpecial Orders* (ſurreptitiouſly *obtain'd from your Majeſty*) but Counterſign'd by a Secretary of State, without ever paſſing under the Teſts Preſcrib'd by the forementioned Act of Parliament. In like manner above FIFTY NEW COMMISSIONS were granted about the ſame time to known Papiſts, beſides a GREAT NUMBER of *deſperate Popiſh Officers*, though out of Command, yet *entertain'd at half pay*. When in the next Parliament the Houſe of Commons were prepared to bring to a legal Tryal the Principal Conſpirators in this Plot, That Parliament was *firſt Prorogued* and *then Diſſolved*. The Interval between the Calling and Sitting of this Parliament was ſo long, that now they conceive hopes of covering all their paſt Crimes, and gaining a ſeaſonable time and advantages of Practiſing them more effectually.

'Witneſſes are *attempted to be Corrupted*, and not only promiſes of Reward, but of the *favour* of your Majeſtie's *Brother*, made the Motives to their Complyance. Divers of the moſt conſiderable of your Majeſtie's Proteſtant Subjects have Crimes of the *higheſt nature* FORGED AGAINST THEM, the Charge to be ſupported by *SUBORDINATION* and *PERJURY*, that they may be *DESTROYED* by *FORMS OF LAW AND JUSTICE*.

'A Preſentment being prepar'd for a Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, againſt your Majeſty's ſaid Brother the Duke of *York*, (under whoſe Countenance all the reſt ſhelter themſelves) the Grand-Jury were in an *unheard of* and *unprecedented*, and *illegal* manner diſcharg'd; and that with ſo much haſte, and fear leſt they ſhould finiſh that Preſentment, that they were prevented from delivering many other Indictments by them at that time found againſt other *Popiſh* Recuſants. Becauſe a *Pamphlet* came forth Weekly, called, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which expoſes *Popery* (as it deſerves) as ridiculous to the *People*, a NEW and ARBITRARY *Rule of*

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Court was made in your Majesty's *Court of King's-Bench* (rather like a *Star-Chamber* than a Court of Law) that the same *should not for the future be Printed by any Person whatsoever.*

'We acknowledge your Majestie's Grace and Care in Issuing forth divers Proclamations since the Discovery of the Plot, for the Banishing Papists from about this great City, and Residence of your Majesty's Court and the Parliament; but with trouble of mind we do humbly inform your Majesty, that notwithstanding all these Prohibitions, *great numbers* of them, and of the most *dangerous sort* to the Terror of your Protestant Subjects, do daily resort hither and abide here. Under these and other *sad Effects* and Evidences of the *Prevalency of Popery, and its adherents*, We Your Majestie's Faithful Commons found this your Majestie's Distressed Kingdom, and other Parts of your Dominions *labouring*, when we Assembled.

'And therefore from our *Allegiance* to your Majesty, our *Zeal* to our Religion, our *Faithfulness* to our Country, and our Care of Posterity, We have lately, upon mature Deliberation, proposed *one* Remedy of these Great Evils, without which (in our Judgments) *all others* will prove vain and fruitless, and (like all deceitful Securities against certain Dangers) will rather expose your Majestie's Person to the greatest hazard, and the People, together with all that's valuable to them as Men or Christians, to utter Ruin and Destruction. We have taken this Occasion of an Access to your Majestie's Royal Presence, Humbly to lay before your Majesty's Great Judgment and Gracious Consideration this MOST DREADFUL DESIGN of Introducing Popery, and, as necessary Consequences of it, *all other Calamities*, into your Majestie's Kingdoms. And if after all this, the *private Suggestions* of the *Subtile Accomplices* of that Party and Design should *yet prevail*, either to Elude or Totally Obstruct the faithful endeavors of Us Your Commons for an Happy Settlement of this Kingdom, we shall have this Remaining Comfort, that we have freed our selves from the Guilt of that Blood and Desolation which *is like to ensue*. But our only hope, next under God, is in Your Sacred Majesty, that by Your Great Wisdom and Goodness, We may be effectually secured from Popery, and all the Evils that attend it; and that *none* but *Persons of known fidelity* to your Majesty, and *sincere Affections* to the Protestant Religion, may be put into any employment Civil or Military; that whilst we shall

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'give a ſupply to *Tangier*, we may be aſſured we do not Augment 'the ſtrength of our Popiſh Adverſaries, nor encreaſe our own dan-'gers. Which deſires of your faithful Commons, if your Majeſty 'ſhall graciouſly Vouchſafe to grant, we ſhall not only be ready to 'aſſiſt your Majeſty in defence of *Tangier*, but do whatſoever elſe 'ſhall be in our Power to enable your Majeſty to protect the Prote-'ſtant Religion and Intereſt, at home and abroad, and to reſiſt and 'repel the Attempts of your Majeſtie's and the Kingdom's Ene-'mys.'

I muſt put my Reader in mind that I have adduc'd all theſe evidences, to prove three Remarks I made (p. 325) upon the *Laws* made againſt Diſſenters in this Reign, and upon the proſecution of 'em, according to theſe Laws. And I ſubmit it to the judicious, whether theſe 3 Remarks be not made evident, from the Teſtimony of many Noble Peers; from *both Houſes* of Parliament; from *Votes* and *Addreſſes* of the Houſe of *Commons*; from the *beſt Pieces* extant, that were written in that Reign, for Liberty, and property, and for the ſafety of the Proteſtant Religion; as well as from ſome later Authors. And my *Remarks* being but the very *Marrow* and *Abridgement* of theſe Collections, I ſhan't ſpend the Readers time (and my own) in making any ſummary Recapitulation of the heads of what has been Inſerted at large, inſtead of which I ſhall only repeat the Remarks themſelves.

Remark 1ſt, That the *Chief Promoters* of theſe Laws were either *Papiſts* or *influenc'd* by popiſh Councils, or *peeviſh dividing* Proteſtants, who out of pique and *revenge* were betray'd, though without a deſign on their part, into meaſures that tended to the advancement of Popery and Arbitrary power; or, by *Temporizing* Favorites, who had no other fixed Principle, but to pleaſe the Court and to ſacrifice all to it.

Rem. 2d. That theſe Laws were executed againſt *Presbyterians* at *ſuch times* & in *ſuch* a Manner as tended to the *weakning* of the Proteſtant Intereſt, *ſtiffling* of the Popiſh Plot, & *entailing* the Miſery and ſlavery of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* upon the Nations.

Rem. 3d. That in every Parliament in this Reign, the Houſe of Commons were *ſenſible* that theſe Laws were dangerous to *Religion*, and *Liberty*, and brought in *Bills* to *repeal them*, and made Votes againſt the execution of them; which was done even by *that very* Houſe

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of Commons that *fram'd them*, after several years *Experience* of the *evil* of them; and that *all good bills* for the *uniting* of Protestants were still defeated by the influence of the *Court* and *Popish* Councils, at that very time when the discovery of the Popish Plot was *discourag'd*, and when Arbitrary steps for enslaving the subject were taken; and when the Union of Protestants was *most necessary* and desireable.

Having thus demonstrated that the Laws in *England* made against the Protestant Dissenters, are no Argument against their Loyalty; it is easie to apply what has been said, to the Declaration of the Parliament of *Ireland* in 1661. and to the Proclamation of the Government and privy-Council there, in 1662, both which are quoted by our Author in his *second* Letter p. 10, 11. But seeing much harder and more severe Treatment in *England* did not prove 'em Disloyal, but flowed from another spring: these Actings of the Parliament and Council of *Ireland*, which were but in compliance with the Court of *England*, can prove nothing to our Author's Purpose; tho' he endeavor's to make it out by a very unfair Method: for he adduceth *Ware's Annals*, and quotes him in these words, 'Note (says 'he) *That Indulgence to Dissenters was published by the Government* 'May 1662. *And that they conspired to seize the Duke of* ORMOND May 1663.

Any one who is disposed to take this Quotation upon trust, wou'd imagine that the Author (from whence it's quoted) had wrote not only the *very words* recited here, but in the *very order* recited here; but by consulting the Book it self we'll find the Contrary. For in *Gesta Hibernorum* p. 184 (the very page he refers to) we have these words 'Anno 1662 An Indulgence to Dissenters publish'd by the Lords 'Justices' After these words, an account is given of 5 several particulars, which have no connexion with the said words, and after these 5 heads in the next page, we have these words 'Anno. 1663. 'The Plot of *Jepson*, *Thompsons*, *Blood*, &c. To seize on the Castle 'of *Dublin*, was discovered, and prevented; and 4 persons execut-'ed.'

Our Author has *jumbled* together these two passages, as if they had stood connected in his Author; and *alter'd* the Words, as if the *Plotters* had been as extensive as the *Party* Indulged, or rather the *fame* with them; and thereby perverted the Sense of his Author, to favor this Calumny.

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Our Author's next Objection against the Presbyterians during this Period, is the *Ryehouse-Plot* in *England*. But I'm perswaded, all sober Men who will give themselves leave *impartially to reflect* upon the Transactions of those days, will think our Author very unwary in making this Objection; by which he falls in with the Papists, who *forg'd* that Plot, as they did divers others, to cover their own Popish Plot, and to destroy under the *colour* and *forms of Justice* some of the best Men in *England*. The above mentioned Conferences between Father *Le chese* and the 4 Jesuits is a Demonstration of it, of which I must lay the following part before the Reader, *vide* State-Tracts Vol. 3. p. 414. &c.

'Sir *John Warner*:

'' 'Tis known how dexterously we have laid our Design, how certainly the Guilt of the *King*'s Death, would have been laid on the *Presbyterians*, if we had succeeded in that Attempt. And I am still of Opinion, that there is no other means to divert the storm from the Catholicks, but by *contriving some way* to make the *Presbyterians* Guilty, or at least *seem so*, which does OUR BUSINESS altogether as well.——

——'A Gentleman of good Quality who came lately to *Paris* assures me, That if a stranger were to hear the Sermons and Discourses of the Generality of the Dignify'd Clergy, he would indeed guess, that there had been discover'd of late a horrid Conspiracy against the King and Government, but he *would never guess* that the Catholicks had been accus'd of it. Consider, if you please, the numerous Party we have there *ready* to receive *every Impression* to the Disadvantage of *Presbyterians*.

'A Numerous Party are longing for some Evidence of a Guilt, which is found only in their desires. Heaven does not only inspire us with this project, but assists and instructs us in it. Let us therefore go on with our *usual diligence* and Constancy. Every day *DEVISE NEW TALES* to encrease the Jealousy against the *Presbyterians*. Let us whisper abroad the *greatness* of their Numbers, the *INCORRIGIBLENESS* of *their Principles*. Let us, when things are got to a little more Maturity, *strengthen* that Evidence which we have *ALREADY PREPAR'D* against them.——

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'*Warren*, I am perfectly of Sir *John Warner*'s Opinion, That *no greater happiness* could be wish'd in this Juncture, than to be able to fix any *seeming Plot* upon the *English Phanaticks*. It would be like fresh Game started, and would certainly tempt the *hot-headed hunters* to leave the old Chace of the *Papists*, as they call us, and pursue the new Discovery. I know very well that it would be a *very great weakning* of the Common Enemy, and make *another Civil War* amongst Protestants. I know, however their Learning be despis'd by the pretended Church of *England*, That yet that *Severity* which they keep up in their *Manners*, and so *constantly Press* on their Disciples, has in an *extraordinary manner OBSTRUCTED* the Advancement of the *Catholic Religion* in *England*, by hindering that general Debauchery and Corruption of Manners, amongst those Hereticks, which would have let them in upon us so easily. As may be demonstrated by *OUR SUCCESS IN THE COURT*, and other places where *none* of those *Intractable Whining Stoicks* come. I am not ignorant that *any* Reconciliation betwixt us and them is *Impracticable*. There have been *Bramhalls*, and *Lauds*, and *Grotiuses*, and *Lloyds*, have fancied it possible to reconcile *other sort of Protestants* to us, but there never was yet a Man so fond as to hope for any Union between the *Catholicks, and the Disciples of Calvin. I am also very sensible* that NO SORT OF MEN have been so INDUSTRIOUS in ruining our late hopeful Contrivances, nor none so jealous of us; and consequently, so careful to Watch in what shape the designs of the Society will next appear. But let us put your *Reverence* in mind, that it would be ever fatal to us, to set on Foot such an attempt at such a time and fail in it.

——— 'We have more than once attempted the same thing, and have been Defeated. Sir *John Warner* mentioned to your *Reverence* the ill Success of the Design upon *Claypole*, but he forgot to tell you of the later Detection by *Dangerfield*.

'Sir *Thomas Preston*,

'I agree with *Father Warren* (said Sir *Tho. Preston*) that it's of absolute necessity that we should not suffer *Parliaments* to Sit, but I must add with Sir *John Warner*, that it is no less necessary for us to fix some *Conspiracy* upon the *Presbyterians* immediately. Take the Counsels of both the *Fathers* together, and we cannot fail of Success. Our COUNTERFEIT PLOT will be discover'd, if the PARLIAMENT

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'LIAMENT SIT. And the *Parliament* muſt needs ſit in a little time; if we cannot charge a *Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*. (By *Presbyterians*, I do not mean thoſe only that are really, but we muſt Order it as Arch-biſhop *Laud* did, who called every one a *Puritan*, who was not for his ſort of Government in *Church* and *State*.) Notwithſtanding all that *ſera in fundo parſimonia*, that new good Huſbandry taken up at *Court*, the want of Money will encreaſe ſo faſt, that it will be impoſſible to hinder the K. from Calling the Parliament together in a little time, if you do not make him afraid of them; and that can be done by no other means than by perſuading him that they are generally *Presbyterians* in the *Houſe of Commons*, and that the *Presbyterians* are at this Inſtant *contriving* againſt his Crown. ——— 'Nay, what is it we can deſpair of, after we have ſeen Mrs. *C.* and Mr. *G.* admitted as Evidence to prove a *Presbyterian Plot* upon Sir *R. P.* when the *Contrivance of the Forgery* had been before DIRECTLY PROV'D upon thoſe very Perſons, by the Teſtimony of *Dangerfield*, confirm'd with many Circumſtances? 'Tis Cowardiſe to fear after ſuch Succeſs; and 'tis folly to have too good an Opinion of our Adverſaries. Do we not ſee they help us all they can? Do not a *great Party amongſt the Hereticks Labour as heartily to SERVE OUR INTEREST, as if they were of our Religion*, and more ready to be *gull'd into a belief* of ſome *Presbyterian* Conſpiracy, than we are to form one? ———

'*LeChoeſe*, The Debate of theſe weighty matters has given me abundant Satisfaction, and a great light into the Affairs of *England*. I am clearly of Opinion that to ſecure that Kingdom, every one of your Counſels muſt in ſome degree be purſued. *Parliaments* muſt be kept off, the *Laws* muſt be *put in Execution* againſt the *Diſſenters*, and they muſt be either DRIVEN into, or CHARG'D with *ſome Treaſonable Conſpiracy*'.

From this Conference, 'tis plain that it was a part of the Popiſh Plot to lay it upon the Presbyterians; and you may perceive they Argue here from ſuch Topicks, as all *England* know to be true, *viz.* the *Artifices* us'd to diſgrace Presbyterians, & Impoſe upon the Credulity of *weak* and *bigotted* Churchmen. The Plot they mention here diſcover'd by *Dangerfield* was that commonly called the *Meal-Tub-plot*, the Account whereof is in moſt of the Hiſtories of theſe times, but I choſe

Coke's

Coke's, because of its being so succinctly narrated, *vide Coke's* Detect.

(b) 'Then a design was set on Foot to *throw the Popish* Plot upon the *Presbyterians*, by leaving Papers of a Plot in the Lodgings of the Principal Persons, who were Active in the Discovery of the Popish Plot, and then to search their Houses, and prosecute them upon it, and these Papers to be given in evidence against them. Mrs. *Cellier* was a Principal Agent herein and *Dangerfield* as her Instrument at first made an Attempt herein, upon *Collonel Mansel* who was prosecuted upon it; but the Examination of it was referr'd to Sir *William Jones*, then Attorney-General, upon whose report of it to the Council, they thereupon Voted Collonel *Mansel* Innocent, and *Dangerfield Guilty, and that this was a design of the Papists to lay the Plot upon the Dissenters Charge, and a further proof of the Popish Plot.* But this was such a Crime in Sir *William Jones*, that he was soon after *put out of his place*, and Sir *Robert Sawyer* put in it, who won'd not venture the loss of his Place for *such another Report.*

'By this time my Lord Chief Justice's Zeal, which he Profess'd for the Discovery of the Popish Plot, was inverted into the quite contrary, and he was not of the Opinion of the Council: For after this *Dangerfield* procured his Pardon, and then discovered the whole Plot, which he Printed; Hereupon Mrs. *Cellier* was Prosecuted and Tryed before my Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, upon the 11th of June, 1680. and Mrs. *Cellier* excepting against *Dangerfield*'s evidence: he having his Pardon, the Case was sent to the Court of *Common-Pleas*, for their Judgment upon it; who gave it that *Dangerfield*'s evidence was good; yet let any Man Read the Tryal, and see how the Chief-Justice Rated and Vilify'd him, so as Mrs. *Cellier* was quit; and after the Tryal, Committed *Dangerfield* to Prison, upon the Account there was a Defect in his Pardon, tho' it were not then before him, whether there was any Defect in his Pardon or not'.

The House of Commons perceiving this Intrigue of the Papists for raising *Sham-Presbyterian-plots* to disguise *their own*, and turn the scent of the Nation another way, *took the Alarm*, and so far was this Presbyterian plot from gaining *any Credit* with them, that they *prosecuted* some who had been the scandalous Reporters of it, and made the following Resolution and orders *October* 28*th*, 1680.

Re-

(*b*) part 2 p. 292.

Part 2.

Resolved,

That it doth Appear by the evidence this day given to this House, that Sr Robert Can *is guilty of publicly declaring in the City of Bristol in* October 1679 *That there was no* Popish *Plot, but a PRESBYTERIAN PLOT.*

Ordered,

That Sr Robert Can a *Member of this House be committed to the prison of the Tower, and that he be EXPELL'D THIS HOUSE.*

Order'd,

That Sr Robert Yeamans *be sent for in Custody to answer for publicly declaring in* Bristol, *that there was no Popish Plot, but a* PRESBYTERIAN PLOT. *vide a Display of Tyranny* (c)

The House pursu'd this matter so far, as to appoint a Committee to examine the infamous *Parson Thompson* of *Bristol*, for the same report. The Committee examin'd eight witnesses, divers whereof declar'd that the said *Thompson* in a Sermon on the 30*th* of *January* 1679 said there was nothing but a *Presbyterian-Plot*, abusing those of that persuasion most grosly; and saying, upon that and other occasions, many scandalous things both against Church and State. The report of the Committee and the vote of the House upon it the Reader may see at large in the *State-Tracts* (*d*). I shall content my self with transcribing the Vote of the House, which was made *December* 24*th* 1680.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

'*That Richard ThompsonClerk* hath publickly *defamed* his Sacred Majesty, preach'd sedition, vilify'd the Reformation, *promoted* Popery, by Asserting Popish principles, *decrying* the Popish Plot, and TURNING THE SAME UPON THE PROTESTANTS, and endeavored to *subvert* the *Liberty* and *property* of the Subject and the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the Parliament, and that he is a *scandal and reproach to his Function.*

'*And* that the said *Richard Thompson* be IMPEACHED upon the said Report, and Resolution of the House; and a Committee is appointed to prepare the said Impeachments, and to receive farther Instruction against him, and to send for persons, papers and records.'

1

(c) part 1*st*. p. 8. (*d*) vol. 2d. p. 117, 118, 119.

Part 2.

I must observe, that the above-mentioned Conferences between Monsieur *Le-Chese* & the *four Jesuites*, were after the discovery of the *Meal-tub-plot* by *Dangerfield*, & before the breaking out of the *Rye-house-plot*: and pray let the Reader compare the Scheme laid by these Jesuits, with the History of what immediately follow'd. The Jesuits had contriv'd to have the penal Laws executed against Dissenters; and in *order to that*, to make 'em odious to the Court and people, to get Sheriffs and Juries to their mind that they might convict persons of their Sham-plot, to *procure Credit* to it, that it might not miscarry like the former: and accordingly all this happened. These occurrences are so briefly told and judiciously compar'd by the Author of *the Continuation of* Sr Walter Raleigh's *History* (*e*), that I must beg the Reader's patience to consider what follows,

'The Popish Party (*says he*) encouraged by the differences between the King and Parliament, *contriv'd a Plot* known by the name of the *Meal-tub*, to *throw the odium* of the Conspiracy on the DISSENTERS and MODERATE CHURCHMEN. Several names were put to an Association against the King, and a Declaration was drawn up by the Conspirators full of Invectives against the Government, and Instigations to Rebellion, which they designed to drop in the Houses of many popular Lords and Gentlemen, and then have them search'd; that being found there, those *worthy Patriots* might be taken off, as that ILLUSTRIOUS one the Lord RUSSEL was, soon after. *Fitzharris*, one of the Conspirators shewing some inclination to confess who set him upon it, the House of Commons resolved to examine him themselves; and fearing he might be tryed, and *Hang'd out of the Way* before they finish'd his examination, they sent up a bill of Impeachment to the House of Lords, when the Parliament met at *Oxford*, against *Fitzharris*; that they might have cognizance of the matter: but the Lords threw it out, which so offended the Commons that they were very free with the Peers in their speeches, and by a Vote forbad *any Judge*, *Justice* or *Jury*, to proceed upon *Fitzharris*. They also brought in the *Bill of Exclusion* again; ANOTHER ACT IN FAVOR OF DISSENTERS, and another to prosecute the Lords

Powis

(*e*) p. 153 &c. vol. 4.

Part 2.

Powis, *Arundel*, *Petre* and *Bellasis*, who were Prisoners in the *Tower* for the Popish Plot; but every body *guest by* THESE PROCEEDINGS, that they wou'd not sit long; and accordingly six days after they met, they were Dissolved, to the great Terror and Surprize of the Nation. *Fitzharris* was hang'd, notwithstanding the Parliament's Votes; and *Stephen Colledge*, a poor busy Joyner Indicted of High Treason, for going Armed with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* to *Oxford*, and other offences taken against him. The *London*-Jury returned an *Ignoramus* on the Indictment; Yet *Colledge* was removed to *Oxford*, a new Indictment preferr'd against him, and the Judges did not doubt of getting such a Jury *there* as wou'd find the Bill. It appears by Sir *John Hawles*, the late Sollicitor-General's Learned Remarks on this Tryal, that the whole was nothing else *but a* COMBINATION *of the* JUDGES to destroy him; and 'tis just the World shou'd know the chief of those Judges was Sir *Thomas North*. *Colledge* was by the *Oxford* Jury, Condemn'd and Executed; but that *unjust Judgment* has been REPEAL'D BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* himself committed to the Tower, and Indicted of High-Treason; but the Grand-Jury return'd *Ignoramus* on the Bill, and the *Irish* Witnesses which Swore against him, with difficulty escaped the fury of the Multitude.

'The Duke of *York* having been sent to *Scotland* with the Character of Lord High-Commissioner, behav'd himself so Arbitrarily, that he gave general Discontent, the *Papists* and *their Adherents*, being the only Persons that were pleased with his Government. The Earl of *Argyle* on a Malicious Prosecution, for explaining his Meaning when he took the Test there, was found Guilty of High-Treason, and had he not made his escape had lost his Head four Years sooner than he did. The bold behaviour of the two Juries abovementioned, so offended the Court, that a *Quo Warranto* was brought against the City of *London*, the *Dissenters* were *every where PERSECUTED* without *Justice* or *Mercy*: And a few *Miserable Inhabitants* of most Towns and Counties in *England*, engaged to send up *Addresses* in *Approbation* of these Proceedings. At the head of these were the *lewd sort* of Gentry, who thought their *false Loyalty* wou'd make amends for the neglect of their Duties to God and their Neighbour. Sheriffs were impos'd on the City by *Violence*, or *North* & *Rich* had never had that Honour, the Charter was taken away in 1683.

And tho' the *Meal-Tub* Plot fail'd, that of the *Rye-house* succeeded so well, that the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Captain *Wallcoat*, and others, were Executed for it. Let *who will take offence*, this Testimony must be born to the Merit of that brave *English-Man*: That scarce all the Misfortunes that have attended his Enemies since, have been sufficient to attone for the *Righteous Blood* of so *noble* and so *Innocent* a Gentleman, whose Death the Parliament of *England* have since *SOLEMNLY DECLARED TO BE A MURTHER*. The Earl of *Essex* was found Dead in the *Tower* with his Throat Cut, and a famous Writer put upon giving an eloquent Account of the Conspiracy which was publish'd in the King's Name. Collonel *Sydney*, the Earl of *Leicester's* Brother, was Condemn'd and Executed for Writing a Book which was not then Printed; but *of late* it has past the Press, and *no Treason* appear'd in it. *Bateman* the Chirurgeon, *Rouse* and others were serv'd in the same manner; and 'tis well there were no more Protestants SACRIFICED to the *Manes* of the *Popish Saints*, who *suffer'd* for that Conspiracy. *Quo Warrantos* were sent against *most of the Corporations* in *England*, that wou'd not surrender their Charters; and there were not wanting in all Burroughs *certain Tools* to forward the delivery of these Charters: They were generally Men of *no Morals nor Fortune*, and consequently fit for *any bad Service* they were *put upon*. All their *Merit* consisted in their ZEAL *AGAINST* DISSENTERS; with the *Plunder* of whose Houses, Shops, Barns and Fields, they *maintained* their *Riot* and *Debauchery*; some thoughtless People were engag'd to side with them out of *Bigotry* or *Fear*, and some out of a natural *Inclination* to Rule; for by their cry of Rebellion against their Enemies, and of *Loyalty* in themselves, all this Party *then* called *Tories* were Tyrants in the places where they lived. Enough of these Wretches, who are long since Perish'd, and may *no worse Faction* ever Rise out of their Corruption.

I shall further recommend to the Impartial Reader the perusal of the Book Enticuled, *No Protestant Plot*, *in three Parts*; wherein he'll find the Villany of the Witnesses against *Shaftsbury*, and many other things Detecting the whole Forgery; and in the Book, call'd *Tyranny Displayed*, *Part 1st*, He'll be furnish'd with such Remarks upon the Tryals of the Great Lord *Russel*, Collonel *Sydney*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and poor *Colledge* and others, as may convince him, that they and others

after

after their expreſſing *a peculiar Zeal* againſt Popery, Arbitrary Power and a Popiſh Succeſſor, were plainly *Murthered* in the *form of Juſtice*, and all by the Popiſh contrivance of the *Rye-houſe-Plot*. And therefore I cannot but differ in Opinion from our Author, who thinks the *Rye-Houſe-Plot* an Argument againſt the Loyalty of Proteſtant Diſſenters, whereas the Papiſts wou'd never have put ſuch a Plot upon them, had they not been aſſured of their being *Irreconcileable Enemies* to Popery and Slavery, and *ſtanch friends* to his Majeſtie's Perſon, Crown and Dignity; againſt which they were carrying on their Helliſh Conſpiracies. Part 2:

What do's further prove this *ſham-plot* to be a meer forgery of the Papiſts, is, the *Voucher* our Author has produc'd for *fixing* it upon Proteſtant Diſſenters, I mean, Dr *Sprat*'s Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy; for that Book was publiſhed in the year 1685, by the ſpecial order and Command of the late King *James*, prefixt to it. The Book it ſelf is Entituled, *A True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the late King, His preſent Majeſty, and the Government, as it was ordered to be publiſhed by his Late Majeſty.* And had not the book been very *Subſervient* to the deſigns of that Prince, for advancing Popery, and Arbitrary Power, he wou'd not have taken that notice of it, he did: nor wou'd he have been ſo fond of it's publication. And let any ſound Proteſtant, who loves the Liberties of his Country, peruſe the Book ſeriouſly; and try, if he can poſſibly be of another Judgment. There are two things in it which makes that matter as plain as any thing of that kind can be, *viz.* 1*ſt*, The Commendation and Applauſe which is given in it to ſome of the moſt Arbitrary Methods that were taken in the Reign of King *Charles* 2*d.* 2*dly*, The Repreſentation it gives of the *Complaints* of the *danger* of Popery as *groundleſs*.

As to the *firſt*, it is indiſputable that the breaking the Charter of the City of *London*, and the compelling the other Corporations of *England* to Surrender their Charters and give up their Liberties, was the direct road to the *enſlaving* of the *Subject*, and the *deſtruction* of the *freedom* and *Privileges* of Parliament, and conſequently of the whole Conſtitution. And yet this Book beſtows very ample *Encomiums* upon thoſe practiſes of the Court, and makes 'em to be the *peculiar Glory* of that Reign, in theſe words, *p.* 8, 9.

'Wherefore his Majeſty foreſeeing how deſtructive, in time, the

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'Effects of so great and growing a Mischief would be, resolved at length, after many intolerable Provocations, to *strike* at that which he had now found to be the very *Root* of the Faction.

'This his Majesty and all wise and good Men perceiv'd, could be no otherwise done, than *first* by REDUCING the ELECTIONS of the Sheriffs of *London* to their ancient Order & Rules, that *of late* were become only a business of CLAMOUR & VIOLENCE: And then to make Inquiry into the *Validity* of the *City-Charter* it self; which an ILL PARTY of men had abused to the Danger, and would have done it to the Destruction of the Government, had they been suffered to go on never so little farther Uncontroul'd.

'In both these most just and necessary Undertakings, the *Righteousness of his Majestie's Cause* met with an answerable Success. *First*, Notwithstanding all the Tumultuous Riots the Factious party committed, to disturb the peaceable issue of that Affair; yet the undoubted Right of the Lord Mayor's Nominating the eldest Sheriff, was restor'd and established: And so the Administration of Justice once more put in a way of being *cleared from Partiality and Corruption*; and then a DUE JUDGMENT was obtained, by an equal process of Law, against the Charter it self, and its Franchises declared forfeited by his Majesty.' and in *page* 164, 165. We have these words 'His Majesty cannot here forbear to let the world know, what entire satisfaction he has taken in one *special Testimony* of his Subjects Affections; whence through God's Gracious Providence the *Monarchy has gain'd* a most considerable advantage, by means of this very Conspiracy; and it is, that so great a number of the Cities and Corporations of this Kingdom, have since *so freely resign'd their Local Immunities and Charters into his Majestie's Hands*; least the Abuse of any of them should again hereafter prove hazardous to the *Just Prerogatives* of the Crown.

'This his Majesty declares he esteems as the PECULIAR HONOR of his Reign; being such as none of the most popular of all his late Royal Predecessors could have promised to themselves, or hoped for.'

This is Demonstration that that *Rye-house-plot* was contrived and forg'd to advance *Arbitrary* Government, and destroy the Liberty of the Subject: and that *Spratt's* History of it, commends *Slavery* for

for *Loyalty*, and *Arbitrary* Power for *just Prerogative*. but

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2*dly*, Tho' what I have advanced from the *Addresses* and Votes of Parliaments, and other undenyable Testimonies show that the Nations were in eminent danger, of being overrun with Popery and slavery; yet that Book asserts *p.* 162. All these complaints, to have been but *Groundless Rumours of Popery, slavery, and Arbitrary Power.*

Let us compare what has been said with the account, given by the Ingenious Mr *Pierce* in his *Answer* to Dr. *Nichols*. The Doctor in his Book Entitul'd, *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, had objected the *Rye-house-plot* against Dissenters, and quoted *Spratt's* History of it (as our *Author* has done) in defence of his *Allegation*. To which *Pierce* answers *p.* 108, 109. Which I translate thus:

'Now follows in the Author the *Rye-house-plot*, as it's called; a *fabulous story*, as he describes it, which never deserv'd Credit, among wise men, and is now held by all to be ridiculous, *Thomas Spratt* Bishop of *Rochester* who wrote the *History of that Conspiracy*, and is commended by the Author, did after King *William*'s Accession to the Crown, publish a book which has as much of the nature of a *Recantation* as of an Apology: His words written in his own defence are very observable, *viz. I cou'd not prevent their Death* (he means of those who suffer'd on account of this shamplot) *but I was not in the least accessary unto it. Nay, I lamented it, and especially that of the Noble Lord* RUSSEL, *after the Reverend Dean of* Canterbury *had inform'd me of his distinguishing Probity, and of the detestation he had always conceiv'd against deceitfulness.* But had there been such a plot as the Author Asserts, *Russel* and all his Accomplices in that horrid Villany (whom notwithstanding the Parliament has *declared* to be *unjustly put to Death*) had deserved not only the Mortal hatred of all good Men, but the Direful Punishment they suffered, nor would *Spratt* have needed any such Defence or Excuse. Besides, the same Bishop declares that his Manuscript was Perused and Altered in several places by King *James*, before it was Printed. And therefore what can be depended upon for certain in such an History.'

I leave it to every Judicious Reader to form such Reflections upon what has been said upon this Head, as will naturally arise in his own mind, for the just Vindication of the *Innocence and Loyalty* of Presbyterians; and for evincing how little Credit is due to *Spratt's* History,

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disown'd by himself, *alter'd* by King *James*. *Calculated* for the *Advancement* of Popery and Slavery, and Publish'd by that unhappy Prince, while he was *eagerly pursuing* the Measures that were destructive of the Welfare of his good Subjects. And I heartily wish our Author, for his own sake as well as for the sake of Truth, wou'd forbear this Method of imposing upon his Reader, by his referring us to such *Popish Forgeries*, in Defence of his Allegations against Presbyterians.

I come next to consider the Murther of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, another Crime Objected to the Presbyterians in this Reign; but this was a Fact Condemned by the Presbyterians, and therefore I can't see what *Ground* there can be for *charging them with it*, as our Author does. For suppose him to be Murthered by some *few* of that Persuasion, who were his Tenants enraged against him by Oppression, I don't see how Presbyterians are accountable for their Crime, any more than all the Murthers, Rebellions, Adulteries, and other Crimes committed by Men of other Persuasions are chargeable upon the Communities to which they belong.

As to the Rebellion (as our Author calls it) subsequent in *Scotland* upon this Murther, it was the Act not of the *Body* of Presbyterians, but only of a *Part* of them made Mad by unexampled Oppression, which seems to have been contrived by the *then prevalent* Faction, of purpose to raise a Rebellion, and take occasion from thence to ruin the Nation and make way for Popery; as the Noble Earl of *Shaftsbury* observes in his Speech in the House of Lords, *March* 25. 1679, *vide* State-Tracts p. 71, 72. Vol. 2.

'*Popery* and *Slavery* like two Sisters, go hand in hand, sometimes 'one goes first, sometimes the other in a Doors; but the other is al-'ways *following close at hand*. In *England Popery* was to have brought 'in *Slavery*; in *Scotland*, *Slavery* went before, and *Popery* was to follow.

'I do not think your Lordships or the Parliament have any Jurisdiction there; it is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom; they have an '*Illustrious* Nobility, a *Gallant* Gentry, a *Learned* Clergy, and an *Understanding* worthy People; but yet we cannot think of *England* 'as we ought, without reflecting on the Condition therein. They are 'under the *same* Prince, and the Influence of the *same Favorites*, and 'Councils; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the 'Richer expect better Usage? for 'tis certain, that in all Absolute Gover-

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'vernments, the pooreſt Countries are always moſt favorably dealt with.

'When the ancient Nobility and Gentry there *can not enjoy their Royalties*, their *Shrevaldoms* and their *Stewardries* which they and their Anceſtors have poſſeſſed for *ſeveral hundreds of Years*; but that now they are enjoined by the Lords of the Council to make *Deputations* of their *Authorities* to ſuch as are their *known Enemies*.

'Can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long under the ſame Perſons, and Adminiſtration of Affairs? If the Council-Table there can *Impriſon any Nobleman or Gentleman* for ſeveral Years, *without bringing him to Tryal*, or giving the *leaſt Reaſon* for what they do; can we expect the ſame Men will preſerve the Liberty of the Subject here?

'I will acknowledge, I am not well vers'd in the particular Laws of *Scotland*; but this I do know, that all the *Northern* Countries have by their Laws, an UNDOUBTED and INVIOLABLE RIGHT, to their Liberties and Properties; yet *Scotland* hath OUT-DONE all the *Eaſtern and Southern* Countries, in having their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the ARBITRARY WILL and PLEASURE OF THOSE THAT GOVERN. They have lately *plunder'd* and *harraſſ'd* the Richeſt and Wealthieſt Countries of that Kingdom, and brought down the Barbarous *Highlanders* to DEVOUR THEM; and all this without almoſt a *Colorable Pretence to do it*. Nor can there be found a Reaſon of State for what they have done; but that thoſe *wicked Miniſters* deſign'd to PROCURE A REBELLION AT ANY RATE, which as they manag'd, was only prevented by the Miraculous Hand of God, or otherwiſe all the Papiſts in *England* wou'd have been arm'd, and the faireſt opportunity given in the juſt time for the Execution of that Wicked and Bloody Deſign the Papiſts had: and it is not poſſible for any man that duly conſiders it, to think other, but that thoſe Miniſters who acted that, *were as guilty of the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in Queſtion for it*.

'My Lords, I am forc'd to ſpeak this the plainer, becauſe till the Preſſure be fully and clearly taken off from *Scotland*, 'tis not poſſible for me, or any Thinking man to believe *that Good is meant us here*.

'We muſt ſtill be upon our Guard, apprehending that the Principle is not chang'd at Court, and that theſe men that are ſtill in

'place

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'place and Authority, have that Influence upon the mind of our Excellent Prince, that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, that his own Nature and Goodneſs wou'd incline him to.

Coke, tho' no friend to *Scotch* Presbyterians, gives us an Account of the Barbarous Treatment they met with in very moving Terms, *Detect. Part* 2. *p.* 198, &c. 'And that he (*i. e. Lauderdale*) might 'not be leſs active in *Scotland*, than his Brother *Clifford* was in *England*, and *Buckingham* and *Arlington* were in *Holland*, being arm'd 'with theſe other Powers, he made all ſorts of People depoſe upon 'Oath, their Knowledge of the Perſons of Diſſenters, not *Popiſh* 'Meetings, in the Exerciſe of their Worſhip, upon Penalty of *Fining*, 'Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and *Tranſportation*, and *to be ſold for ſlaves*, 'Impriſoning all Outed Miniſters, who ſhall preach out of their Families, till they give Security of 5000 Merks *Scots*, not to do the ſame 'again: every Hearer being a Tenant, *to pay* 25 *l. Scots*, and Cotter 12, *Toties Quoties*, they ſhall offend: and that IT SHALL BE 'DEATH for any to preach in Fields or Houſes, where any are 'without Doors: and 500 Merks Reward for any to ſecure ſuch, 'DEAD OR ALIVE: and gave orders, That *every man* for himſelf and *all under him*, ſhou'd give Bond, not to go to Field-meetings, and to *Inform againſt*, *Purſue* and *Deliver up*, all outed Miniſters to Judgment.

'The Execution of theſe Orders was *not by Legal Officers*, but by 'an Army of *Highland Robbers*, who Quarter'd upon the Country; 'ſo that it may be a queſtion, whether the *French King* did not take 'his Meaſures in his Dragoon-Reformation, by the Ground-Work 'laid by *Lauderdale*.

'But his Grace (which it ſeems did Work Irreſiſtibly) did not 'ſtay here; for his *Highland Army* which conſiſted of eight or nine 'thouſand Men, not only liv'd upon free Quarters, upon all Sorts 'of the King's Peaceable Subjects, but in moſt Places Levied great 'Sums of Mony, under the Notion of Dry-Quarters; ——— 'The King's Subjects were denounc'd Rebels, and *Captions* iſſu'd out 'for ſeizing their Perſons, for not entring into Bond, that neither 'they nor any under them, ſhall go to Field-Conventicles.

But he that wou'd be let into the whole Management of theſe affairs ought to read the Book, Entitul'd, *An Account* of *Scotland's Grievances by reaſon of the Duke of* Lauderdale's *Miniſtry*; whereof I ſhall

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transcribe the following part to shew how the Faction manag'd in Church Affairs. *vide* State-Tracts *Vol.* 3. *p.* 209, 210. Part 2.

'The Second Remark shall be concerning my Lord *Lauderdale's Administration in Church-Affairs.* It is not necessary to remember, how that Earl *Middleton* in his Parliament thought fit to correct the Rigor of Presbytery by the Heights of Prelacy, and what a *severe Vengeance of Conformity* the Bishops did thereafter execute upon the whole Country, for their former Compliance with, and retain'd Affection to their Brethren of that Ministry; O when shall Princes know wherein the *true Power* and *Peaceableness* of the Gospel doth lie, and deliver themselves and the People from the *Pedantry* and *Hypocrisie* of all Church-Pretenders! However, the extreme Distress whereinto these Episcopal Persecutions had brought the Country, did in the Year 1669. (As I have before related), move the Compassion of some more moderate Persons, to obtain for it the ease of that small *Indulgence* which was then granted; for the better Establishment whereof, it was suppos'd (as I have said) that the *Supremacy* was thereafter in Parliament enacted. But that the Country might the better relish this favor, & know how to discern his Majestie's from his Commissioner's *Grace*, it pleased my Lord *Lauderdale* that in the Year 1670. Conformity shou'd be again commanded, and prest by new Acts of Parliament, and those in my Opinion, of a *greater Severity* than the *Highest Points in Christianity cou'd have allow'd:* For by the fifth Act of that Session (as also by the seventeenth Act of the *third* Session) it is Statuted, That *no Non-Conform Minister, not licens'd by the Council, or other Person, not authoriz'd by the Bishop, shall* (so much as) *pray to God in any meeting, except in their own Houses, and to those of their own Families, and such as shall be present, not exceeding the Number of four, and that all Accessary to the contrary shall be guilty of keeping Conventicles, and punish'd with the Pains there specify'd*, the Article of the Apostolic Creed, *I believe the Communion of Saints*, notwithstanding. *2dly*, by the same Act it is declar'd, *That whosoever without License or Authority aforesaid, shall Preach or Pray at any Field-Meeting, or in any House where there be more Persons than the House contains, so as some of them be without Doors,* (who may only be two or three, and posted there by Malice) *or who shall Convocate these Meetings, shall be punish'd with Death and Confiscation of their Goods, and the* Seizers *of such*

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Persons are not only indemnify'd for any Slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending, but also assur'd of five hundred Merk Scots *of Reward, for each Person of them seiz'd and secur'd.* So mortal a thing is this Field-Conventicling, the Mass and all its Idolatry hath nothing in it so deadly.

Thirdly, by the *sixth* Act of that Session, there are considerable Pecunial Pains ordain'd against disorderly Baptisms; such as those are reckon'd to be, *That are perform'd by Outed-Ministers, not Licens'd, or by any other than the Parish-Minister, without his Certificate, or in case he be Absent, the Certificate of one of the Neighbouring Ministers. Fourthly*, by the seventh Act it is appointed, *That all his Majesty's Subjects of the Reform'd Religion* (For Papists that are without, God judgeth) *shall attend Divine Worship in their own Churches, under the Pecunial Pains there mentioned*, toties quoties, &c. and in Case any landed Man shall withdraw for the space of a Year, notwithstanding their being therefore fully Fin'd, *They are to be presented to his Majest's Council, who are Authoriz'd to require of them a Bond, not to rise in Arms against his Majesty, or his Commissioners* (as if a Man cou'd not be so far dissatisfy'd with a pitiful Country Curate, but he must also be suspected for Disaffection to his Majesty) *which if they refuse or delay, they are to be imprison'd or banish'd, and both their single and Life-Rent-Escheat doth immediately fall to his Majesty.* And lastly, by the second Act of that same Session, It is *Statuted & Ordain'd, That all Persons thereto call'd by the Council, or others having his Majesty's Authority are oblig'd in Conscience* (very fair!) *and Duty, to declare and depose upon Oath, their Knowledge of any Crime, and particularly of any Conventicles, and of the Circumstances of the Persons present, and things done therein*; may not then any one be brought from the Streets, and urg'd to become upon Oath, Informer, Accuser or Witness, upon all that he ever saw or heard in his Life, against himself, his Friend, Father, and all Men else? *or if he shall be so perversly wicked or disloyal, as to refuse or delay, he is to be punish'd by Fining, close Imprisonment, or Banishment, by sending him to the* Indies, *or elsewhere, at the Council's Pleasure.* Sure I am, the *Spanish* Inquisition hath no broader Warrant. And yet notwithstanding all these, my Lord *Lauderdale* by a new Act of the third Session of this Parliament, procures the Execution of the above mention'd Acts against Conventiclers, and withdrawers from public Worship, to be enjoin'd to all Sheriffs and Magistrates, with an express Provision, that they

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'shou'd render an Account yearly of their Diligence, under the Pain 'of five hundred Marks *Scots*.

If we consider the Barbarous Treatment the *Scotch* Presbyterians met with before that Insurrection at *Bothwel*-Bridge, the Proceedings against 'em being as Odious and Unjustifiable as those of the *Spanish* Inquisition, and a manifest violation of the Law of Nature and Essential Liberties of Mankind; their Deplorable Case ought rather to be mention'd with that *Compassion* which the *Christian Religion*, and even *Human Nature* it self makes Due to them; and with a just Abhorrence of the *Unnatural* and Cruel Oppression by which they were driven into Defensive Arms, than with these hard Terms of Disloyalty and Rebellion. The Parliament of *Scotland* (who were better Judges of that Matter than our Author) were so far from Calling that Practice Rebellion, that they pass'd an Act *July* 4. 1690, Entitled, *Act Rescinding Forfeitures and Fines, past since the Year* 1665. From whence it appears, that in the Judgment of that Parliament, the Persons who made and were Accessary to the said Insurrection were not accounted Rebels. The following Words of the said *Act* do clearly prove this Point.

'OUR SOVEREIGN LORD and LADY, the King and Queen's 'Majesties, and three Estates of Parliament, in PROSECUTION 'OF THE CLAIM OF RIGHT, and for Relief of their Majestie's 'good Subjects, and the better Settlement of the Peace, Quiet and Tran-'quility of this Kingdom, by the Tenor hereof, Declare, Statute and 'Ordain, that the *Decreets* and Dooms of Forefaulture pronounc'd 'against the Persons after Nam'd *viz*'. (here follows a vast Number of the Names of many of those who were at *Pentland* and *Bothwel*-Bridge) 'and generally, and whatsoever Decreets and Dooms and For-'feitures, given and pronounc'd against any of the Subjects of this 'Kingdom, either by the High-Court of Parliament, or Ordinary, 'or Circuit Courts of Justiciary, or any other Court or Commission, 'from the first of *January* one thousand six hundred sixty five, to 'the fifth day of *November* one thousand six hundred eighty eighth, 'with all Escheates fallen upon the Ground of the said Forfeitures, since 'the said day, are, and shall be *void, and of no avail, Force, strength*, 'nor *Effect* in all time coming; Rescinding and Reducing the same for 'ever, except the Decreets of Forfeiture pronounc'd against' (here are some Persons Nam'd who were justly forfeited for Atrocious Crimes):

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And in like manner, all and sundry Infeftments, Charters, Precepts, Instruments of Seasin, Presentations, and other Rights whatsoever of Lands, Heritages, Teinds and Possessions, *made* and *granted*, and *proceeding upon the said Forfeitures*, and *Hornings*, *to*, *and in favors of whatsoever Persons, mediately or immediately, with all DECREETS* and *SENTENCES given and pronounc'd by ANY JUDGES* consequent, depending upon the said Forefaultures and Hornings, ARE VOID *and* NULL FROM THE BEGINNING, and *of no Force*, *Strength nor Effect*, and that without *any special Process* of Reduction, or other Declarator to follow thereupon. Declaring this present *Act* as sufficient to all Parties concern'd, as if the said Sentences of *Forefaultures* and *Hornings*, with the said Charters, Disposition, and other Rights and Titles whatsoever, with the Decreets and Sentences following thereupon, were specially and orderly Retreated and Reduc'd, and as all Parties having Interest had been specially call'd thereto. Likeas, their Majesties, and three Estates, *Re-habilitats*, *Re-integrates* and *Restores* so many of the said Persons as are living, and the *Memory of them who are Deceas'd*, their Heirs, Successors and Posterity, to their Goods, Fame, and Worldly Honor, and to use all lawful Acts and Deeds in Judgment, and out-with the famine, and to all and sundry their Lands, Heritages, Tacks, Steadings, Debts, and Possessions whatsoever, which they, or any of them had, the time of the leading of the said Process against them. ——— And further, Their Majesties and three Estates, Ordain the Persons forefaulted, and the Heirs of them, who are Deceas'd, to be fully Re-possess'd to their Lands, Teinds, Heritages, Tacks, or Possessions, whereof they or their Predecessors were in Possession, the time when they were challeng'd for the *Deeds whereupon the Forefaultures follow'd*, with full Right and Access to all Bygones since the Time of *Martinmas* 1688. *inclusive*, with *all other Bygones*, *yet resting unuplisted in the Tenants hands:* As likewise, to all bygones whatsomever, intromitted with by any Donatar, or his Assigneys, in the case of special Reasons, and Acts to be past thereanent, in manner aftermention'd. Likeas, their Majesties with Advice and Consent of the said Estates, do discharge all Fines yet unpay'd, which were impos'd by Sentences from the first of *January*, *one thousand six hundred sixty five*, to the fifth of *November*, *one thousand six hundred eighty eight*, upon any Person or Persons for Church-Irregularities,

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ritles, or Non-Conformities, or refuſing of Public Bonds, or Subſcriptions and Oaths, or for not obeying Acts, Proclamations, or Orders thereanent, Reſetting of, or Converſing with Rebels, for the Cauſes foreſaid, refuſing to depone on Libels againſt themſelves, in Capital Caſes, albeit reſtricted to Arbitrary Puniſhment, and any Bonds granted for theſe Fines, with all Hornings, Denounciations, and the Intercommunings, Given, Pronounc'd, and iſſu'd forth in Parliament, or by any other Court, Commiſſion, againſt any Perſons, FOR THE SAID CAUSES: ——————

'And ſeeing many of the Liedges were Spuilzied and Plundered *without any Previous Sentence*, and Bonds and other Rights were *extorted* or exacted from them through *Fear* and *Terror*: Their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent foreſaid, ordains the Creditors, or others having Right, to deliver up to the Debitors, all Bonds, and other Rights extorted or exacted upon the Accounts foreſaid, and where the Bonds are regiſtrat, to grant Diſcharges thereof, bearing a Clauſe of Regiſtration, and that betwixt and the firſt of *November* next under the Pain of the double of the Penalty in the Bond, to be decern'd againſt them, without any Modification, in caſe the Bonds be found to have been extorted, or exacted in manner foreſaid, and inſiſted for, or not deliver'd up to the Debitors therein. And likewiſe ordains the Clerks of the Privy Council, and the Clerks of any other Courts, general Receivers, and others who have in their Hands, Bonds which were extorted, or exacted, on the Accounts foreſaid; to deliver up the ſame to the Debitors, if they be requir'd: and allows the foreſaid Perſons Spuilzi'd and *plundered*, to purſue for Repetition of the Damages and Spuilzies, on the Accounts foreſaid, for which Bonds were not granted, either before the Commiſſion appointed by this act, or the Judge ordinary, as they pleaſe; And appoints the Lords of Seſſion, upon probable Grounds, to grant Suſpenſion of any Charges to be given on the foreſaid Bonds, without Caution or Conſignation, and that *gratis*, without Payment of any Dues. And their Majeſties, and Eſtates of Parliament, being willing, that this preſent Act be *inviolably keep'd*, Ordains the ſame, and whole Clauſes thereof, to be *interpret* by all Judges and Miniſters of the Law, in the *moſt extenſive Senſe* and *Conſtruction the Words can bear*, *in favors of the Perſons Forfeited*, *Fined*, *Denounc'd or* OTHERWISE LESED *as ſaid is.* ——————

And

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'——— And it is hereby declar'd, that this present Act shall be 'as valid and effectual to all others Our Liedges Forfeited, Fined, 'or *otherwise Lesed*, *as foresaid*, from the said first day of *January* 'one thousand six hundred sixty five, to the fifth day of *November* 'one thousand six hundred eighty eight, and not here nam'd, as if 'they had been particularly here insert: Declaring likewise, that 'this present Act is without Prejudice of any who have been For-'feited, Fined, or *otherwise Lesed in manner, and upon the Grounds foresaid*, in the Reign of King *Charles* 2*d*. before the Year one thou-'sand six hundred sixty five, to bring in their Processes or particular 'Acts before the Parliament, or such as they shall appoint for that 'Effect, and to crave and receive Redresses, according to the Merit 'of their Causes, as Accords of the Law:

Many other Privileges are declar'd by the above Act to belong to the Fofeited Persons therein mentioned, too long to be here inserted. But from the whole Tenor of the Act, their Majesties K. *William* & Q. *Mary* of Glorious Memory, & the *Scots* Parliament who set the Crown upon their Heads, and approv'd of the late Happy Revolution, did not account the Insurrections at *Pentland* and *Bothwel*-Bridge to be Acts of Rebellion. For if they had thought them to be such, why shou'd they have declar'd the Persons who were forfeited upon these Accounts to BE LESED? Certainly a Rebel forfeited for his Rebellion can't be said to have been *lesed* or *injur'd*; by his losing Life, and Estate, which he has justly forfeited: and 'tis very observable, that this Law is not an Act of Grace, but of Justice, for it is founded *upon the Claim of Right*; and accordingly, it does not only render the Disposal of the forfeited Estates null and void for the future, but expresly declares all Infeftments, Charters &c. and all Decreets and Sentences of any Judges &c. to have been *null and void from the beginning*.

No Law can justly make the Sentence of a Judge concerning the Forefaulture to be *void & null from the beginning*, when that Law is posterior to the Sentence of the Judge, unless the said Sentence be void in it self from the beginning; And that Sentence can't be void in it self, but for *one* of those *two* Reasons, either because 1. The Person is condemn'd for a Fact, which tho' clearly prov'd against him, is *in it self no Crime*, & so can't render him obnoxious to a Penalty, or 2. *Because* there is not *sufficient Proof* of the matter of Fact, tho' it be a Crime. Now, let us apply

apply this to the Case of these forfeited for being at *Pentland* and *Bothwell-Bridge*. Many of them were upon Trial clearly and evidently *prov'd* to have been *engag'd* and *concern'd* in those Insurrections, and therefore the Sentences pronounc'd against 'em cou'd not have been void for want of proof of the Fact charg'd upon them; and consequently the Proceedings must have been *declar'd void*, for the *first Reason*, *viz.* Because the Parliament *Anno* 1690 cou'd not think it a Crime for them to defend themselves by Arms against the Cruelty, Violence, Oppression, and Infringment of the *Vital Liberties* of *Mankind* as well as the *Nation*, under which they lay groaning. The Retrospect which is in this Law can never be justify'd upon any other Supposition than this, that they look'd upon the whole Proceedings against these People to have been *in themselves unjust*; and a necessary Consequence from that is, that they did not believe them to be Rebels, otherwise they wou'd have been so Absur'd as to affirm that Rebels ought not to be forfeited nor punish'd; & seeing the Legislature hath appointed this Law to be *interpreted in the most Extensive sense* and *Construction the Words can bear*, in favors of the Persons Forfeited, Fined, Denounc'd, or *otherwise Lesed*, upon these Accounts; and have taken a Peculiar care of, and shown a Veneration for the *Memory of those who were deceas'd*, so as to have 'em restor'd to their *Fame* (which is inconsistent with the Opinion of their dying in Rebellion) I am persuaded this Law will bear me out in the Consequences I have drawn from it. Part 2.

But it is time to come now to our Author's last objection against the Loyalty of Presbyterians during this Reign. And here he has an *Irish* Plot to fix upon 'em *viz.* the Attempt of *seizing the Duke of* ORMOND in *Ireland*: he makes a great noise about this in his *second Letter p.* 11, 12, 13. And all that he advances to prove them guilty of it is, A Declaration of the Parliament of *Ireland*, *Anno.* 1665. I don't question but there was a Declaration made by that Parliament relating to that Plot, commonly call'd *Blood*'s Plot (from the Person's name who headed it); and at the time mention'd by our Author: But I have not yet seen the Declaration it self. If there be nothing else in the Declaration, for fastning this Plot upon the Presbyterians, than what our Author has quoted from it (and I presume there is not, otherwise he wou'd not have miss'd it) their Reputation will be safe enough; for the Words of the Declaration he quotes are these,

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'That they did most traiterously and disloyally conspire to Raise a 'Rebellion in this Realm, and particularly had design'd on the said '21*st* of *May* in the said Year to surprize and take his Majesty's 'Castle of *Dublin* &c. And to seize of the Person of his Grace the Ld. Lieut. '&c'. To infer from hence that the Parliament believ'd there was such a Plot as they describ'd, is a very native Consequence; but then, how shall we know upon what Party they fix'd the Guilt of it? For the Words quoted by our Author (unless they be compar'd with some other part which he hath not quoted, and of which I can make no Judgment) don't in the least decide that Question; in order to which, it must be inquir'd what Denomination or Party they were speaking of in the preceding part of their Declaration, with which the Words quoted by our Author are connected. And to make his Argument good, he must produce some Words which necessarily infer that this Passage is to be apply'd to *Presbyterians* or *Protestant Dissenters*; and he must yet go one step farther, and prove the Parliament fix'd this Plot upon the Collective Body of Presbyterians or Protestant Dissenters in *Ireland*, and that they did not confine it to some few of these Denominations. Our Author indeed inserts a parenthesis of his own thus 'They (*i. e.* '*Dissenters*) did most Traitorously and *Di*sloyally conspire to raise a 'Rebellion in this Realm &c'. But I am not sure that he has not mistaken the Parliament's Meaning and Words, and that he has not put a Gloss and Commentary upon them which they will not bear. The Account which I will presently give of the Innocence of the Presbyterians as to the Matter of *Blood*'s Plot inclines me to believe that our Author has not rightly apprehended the Parliament's Sense, who knew better things than to be Guilty of that mistake.

Of the same Nature is that precarious Assertion of his, 'But far-'ther, as an Instance of the Indefatigable Application of the Dissen-'ters of those Days, and the *Artful* manner of their Address, in *list-'ing* Persons of all Ranks into their *Service*; They had not only in-'fluenc'd many of the Common-People whom they judg'd able to 'sustain 'em, had they succeeded in that Conspiracy against the Church 'and State; but they had brought over several Members of the *House* '*of Commons* to be Actors and Abettors in *their Plots*, of *which* the 'Parliament takes notice in the *same Declaration*, in these Words, '*viz. And whereas one of those Persons so justly Executed, and some o-'thers also* &c.

Upon

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Upon Reading this Paſſage, I expected our Author wou'd have prov'd two things by this Declaration. 1. That the Members of Parliament Guilty of *Blood*'s Plot, were *brought* into it *by the Diſſenters*, for that he pretends to be ſet forth in the Declaration. And 2*ly*, That the Diſſenters were Guilty not of this *ſingle* Plot only, but of *more*, becauſe he ſpeaks of *their Plots*, and that they had drawn Members of Parliament into them all, and that the Declaration clears theſe points. But I find my ſelf diſappointed; for the Declaration (ſo far as he has quoted it) ſays not *one word* of the Perſons by whom theſe Parliament-men were enſnar'd into this Plot, nor does it make the leaſt mention of any other Plot, in which thoſe Members were engag'd. This Author's looſe way of Reaſoning, and pretending to prove things by what will hardly amount to an *innuendo*, can never *convince* the Judicious, tho' it may go well enough down with the *Weaklings* and *Bigots* of a Party.

To ſhow that I have not wrong'd our Author, by aſſerting that that part of the Declaration he quotes, proves none of the Points for which he adduceth it, I ſhall here tranſcribe ſo much of the Declaration as he himſelf hath ſet down (for that purpoſe) in his Book,

'And whereas one of thoſe Perſons ſo juſtly Executed, and ſome o-
'thers alſo who were involv'd in the Guilt of that Hideous Conſpi-
'racy, were Members of the *Commons-Houſe* of Parliament, which
'we mention with inward Sorrow and Grief of Heart, and with
'Horror and Deteſtation, to find that any Perſons, who had the
'honor (under the Protection of his Majeſty's bleſſed Government)
'to be Members of this Houſe, &c. ſhould be ſo ungrateful, nay
'Trayterous and Diſloyal, as to Conſpire againſt that Government,
'they were bound by the Laws of God, and Nature, to contribute
'their beſt endeavors to preſerve and Maintain &c. And this Houſe
'doth alſo declare the deep Senſe it hath of his Grace the Duke of
'*Ormond*'s great Prudence and Seaſonable Prevention of the Sad,
'Bloody, and Dreadful Effects, which might have follow'd thereupon
'throughout this Kingdom; for which his continu'd Watchful En-
'deavors for the Safety of the King and Kingdom, We do return his
'Grace the moſt humble and hearty Thanks of this *Houſe* &c. And
'that this Houſe may not fail in any point of Duty to his Majeſty,
'We are fully reſolv'd to make ſtrict Enquiry, what Members of
'this Houſe have been ſo wicked, as to have had any hand in thoſe

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'Horrid Guilts, so hateful to God and Man, &c. And to the End this Declaration may be deliver'd over to Posterity, &c. It is ordered, that this Declaration be entred in the Journal Books of the Proceedings of this House, Dated the 2d of *November*, 1665.

But I shall here give some short Account of *Blood*'s Plot, from whence the Innocency of the Presbyterians will be evident. The Character of *Blood* the main Projector, and who was to have been the Principal Actor in it, together with a short Abstract of the Occasion and Design of the Plot, is given more succinctly in Mr *Baxter*'s Life, part 3. p. 88. than in any other Book I have met with.

'There was *(says he)* this Year a Man much talk'd of for his Enterprizes, one Major *Blood* an *English-man* of *Ireland*. This Man had been a Soldier in the Old King's-Army against the Parliament, and seeing the Cause lost, he betook himself towards *Ireland*, to live upon his own Estate. In his way he fell in Company with the *Lancashire*-Ministers, who were then Writing against the Army, and against *all Violence* to King or Parliament. *Blood* being of an extraordinary Wit, falls acquainted with them, & not thinking that the *Presbyterians* had been so true to the K. he is made the more capable of their Counsel; so that in short he became a Convert, & Marry'd the Daughter of an honest Parliament-Man of that Country; And after this in *Ireland* he was a Justice of Peace, and Famous for his great Parts, and upright Life, and Success in turning many from Popery. When the King was restor'd, and he saw the *Old Ministers silenc'd* in the three Kingdoms, and those that had surpriz'd *Dublin-Castle* for the King from the *Anabaptists*, cast aside, and all things go contrary to his Judgment and Expectation, being of a most *bold* and *resolute* Spirit, he was one that Plotted the Surprizing of the Duke of *Ormond*, and of *Dublin-Castle*. But being detected and prevented, he fled into *England*'

Blood had a Brother-in-Law, one Mr *Lecky* a Dissenting Minister, who had been a Fellow in the Colledge of *Dublin*, was a Man of Parts, and was engag'd in this Plot; *Blood* and he us'd their utmost Interest to bring into it as many as they cou'd. But they cou'd prevail with few or none, but with those who had been Sectaries, and *Cromwellians* as they were call'd. There were three Memorable Attempts that *Blood* & *Lecky* made upon the *Scots* Presbyterians, two in the North of *Ireland* and one in *Dublin*: In all which they were repuls'd with

with a Peculiar Loyalty and Steadineſs, by a People who were then in hard Circumſtances, and uſ'd *otherwiſe* than their *loyal Appearance* and *Sufferings* for the King gave 'em reaſon to expect they ſhou'd have been. *Blood* and *Lecky* took a Tour to the North, and firſt made an Attempt upon two Presbyterian Miniſters and a Gentleman in the County of *Down* in or about *December Anno* 1662. The two Miniſters were the Reverend Mr *John Greg* of *Newtown*, and Mr *Andrew Stuart* of *Donnaghadee*, whom the two Plotters had got together with Captain *James Moor* in Mr *Greg*'s houſe; and propos'd to them, that in regard of the *Iniquity* of the Times, the *Uſurpation* of Biſhops, and the *Tyranny* of their Courts, the *Increaſe* of Popery, and the Male-Adminiſtration of the Civil Government, there was a Party that were Well-Wiſhers to a Reformation & deſirous of having theſe abuſes Redreſſ'd, & had form'd a deſign for doing it, *without wronging the King's juſt Authority*; and that if the Miniſters and People in theſe Parts wou'd give 'em any aſſurance of their Concurrence, they ſhou'd be *let into the Secret*; and urg'd thoſe three men to ſend their thoughts of it to *Dublin*. Captain *Moor* and the two Miniſters immediately reply'd, *That they wou'd not ENTERTAIN A THOUGHT, nor ſuffer a Word to be ſpoken in their Company that was PREJUDICIAL TO LAWFUL AUTHORITY; and that they abhorr'd any Plot or Enterprize that tended that way, that they wou'd not ſtain their Profeſſion with any undutiful and Diſloyal Attempt, for preventing the Sufferings that God might call them to: That for their part, they knew nothing of BLOOD'S Deſigns nor of his Scheme for the accompliſhing of 'em; and therefore con'd only ſay in General, that God's ends by lawful Means could not be rejected by good Men: But if he and the Party he ſpoke of had any unlawful Means in View, Religion and good Principles won'd not allow 'em to fall in with 'em.* Theſe three Loyal Perſons were ſo wary in what they ſaid to *Blood*, and did ſo ſoon diſcover their Principle and Inclination, as prevented his propoſing any thing to 'em which was Treaſonable; and by this means their concealing of what paſſ'd between 'em (until they were examin'd afterwards, of which I ſhall preſently give an Account) was not chargeable with the Imputation of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, as their Judges acknowledg'd. They made ſuch an Attempt in the County of *London-Derry* upon the Reverend Mr *John Hart*, making the ſame propoſal to him which they had made in the County of *Down*, but had *no better Succeſs*. And in *Dublin* they made an Experi-

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Part 2. ment upon Mr *Thomas Boyd* an Eminent and Wealthy Citizen, of the Presbyterian Perſuaſion, and met with the *ſame Repulſe.*

The Plot being diſcover'd, & ſome of the Principal Plotters apprehended upon the very day upon which it was to have been executed, *viz. May* 21 1663, The Adverſaries of the Presbyterians father'd it wholly upon them, & poſſeſs'd the Government with a *violent Suſpicion* that the *Scots* in the North were univerſally guilty of it. Two things were Improved by 'em, as an handle for propagating that Calumny. *Firſt*, The Character of *Blood* & *Lecky* the Principal Conſpirators, who own'd themſelves to be of that Perſuaſion; and *Secondly*, Three Eminent Presbyterian Miniſters of the Notth *viz.* Mr *Adair*, Mr. *Stuart*, and Mr. *Semple*, had been in *Dublin* in the Year 1662, about the time when the Conſpirators were hatching their Plot. Thoſe three Miniſters were attending his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, with an humble Addreſs from their Brethren in the North, and were oblig'd to ſtay there for his Grace's Anſwer. But they were *Miſrepreſented*, as ſtaying there upon another Errand, as Promoters of the Plot, to which they were *perfect Strangers.* And yet upon this Suſpicion, the Government gave Directions for bringing thoſe three Miniſters Priſoners to *Dublin.* The Earl of *Mount-Alexander* being aſſur'd of the Loyalty of Mr *Stuart*, prevented his being apprehended at that time. The Lord *Maſſareen* interceeded in like manner for Mr *Adair*, and procur'd an Order from the Duke, that Mr *Adair* ſhould not be brought up with a Guard, but come up upon the Command of the Government for his own Vindication. When he came to *Dublin*, the Lord *Maſſareen* bail'd him; he ſtayed there three Months, and frequently petitioned either to be brought to a Tryal, or Diſcharg'd: And there not being the *leaſt proof* againſt him, nor the *leaſt ground* for *ſuſpecting* his Loyalty, he was diſmiſs'd; and commanded to live peaceably and quietly, which he *ever did.*

In the mean time, great Jealouſies of the Miniſters and Gentlemen in that part of the North about the City of *London-Derry* call'd the *Lagan*, being induſtriouſly infus'd into the Duke; he diſpatch'd Sir *Arthur Forbes* to inquire into that matter, who after the moſt *Critical* and *Severe* Examination he cou'd make, cou'd not find *any ground* of Accuſation againſt either Miniſters or Gentlemen in that Country; only he took notice, that in Mr. *Hart*'s Examination, he had Ingenuouſly own'd his Conference with *Blood* and *Lecky*, giving the ſame Account of

of it, as I have done already; believing that it was so far from being Criminal on his part, that 'twas a *considerable Vindication* of his Loyalty. And Sir *Arthur* was of the same opinion. But Mr. *Hart* dropt an Expression in his Examination, which tho' it occasion'd much Trouble to some Worthy Gentlemen and Ministers, yet it gave 'em an opportunity of doing themselves and their Reputation Justice: For while he was giving an Account of his abhorring any Traiterous Conspiracy against the Government, he added these Words, *as Mr.* Boyd *of* Dublin *well knew.* What he meant by that expression was no more than this; that Mr. *Hart* being in Company with Mr. *Boyd* in *Dublin* the Winter before that, they discours'd and communicated to one another the Conferences which *Blood* and *Lecky* had entertain'd with them, and *fortify'd one another* in their *Loyal* Principles and Resolutions. But the Expression, as it stood in the Examination, and was return'd by Sir *Arthur* to the Government, being short and obscure, Mr. *Boyd* was taken up and examin'd; and he knowing nothing of Mr. *Hart*'s using that Expression concerning him, and fearing that in such a Critical and dangerous time, when a powerful prevailing Party were resolv'd to *run down* the Protestant Dissenters at *any Rate*, the most Innocent Words that had pass'd in that Conference upon his Part (and he was not conscious to himself of any thing else) might be stretcht, and a bad Construction put upon 'em to his Prejudice; he wav'd any particular Narrative of it, and vindicated himself (as well he might) by *strong Protestations* of his Innocence in general: But the Duke being Irritated, and having shown him Mr. *Hart*'s Examination, Mr. *Boyd* told his Grace the whole Story as I have related it; and farther acquainted him, that he believ'd the Ministers and Gentlemen in the *North*, whom *Blood* had made any Essay upon, utterly discourag'd him from thinking upon any thing that was Treasonable or Disloyal, and particularly instanc'd Mr. *Greg*, Mr. *Stuart*, and Capt. *Moor*: For *Blood* had told Mr. *Boyd* what they had said to him. Before this Examination of Mr. *Boyd*, the Enemies of the Northern Presbyterians put the Duke upon the severest Measures they cou'd against 'em; many of the Ministers were imprison'd upon bare and groundless Suspicion; And particularly seven of 'em *viz.* Mr. *Dryfdail*, Mr. *Greg*, Mr. *Stuart*, Mr. *Alexander Hutcheson*, Mr. *Richardson*, Mr. *Ramsey*, & Mr. *Gordon*, were very ill us'd and imprison'd in *Carlingford*; all the *Scots* in the Country were disarm'd without Distinction. Part 2.

Upon

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Upon Mr. *Boyd*'s Examination, Mr. *Greg* and Mr. *Stuart* were brought to *Dublin* under two several Guards, had not the benefit of conversing with one another, and were kept close Prisoners in *Dublin*; Mr. *Stuart* was examin'd in Prison by the Earl of *Mount-Alexander* and the Lord *Dungannon*, and he upon Advice of a true friend who had sent him private Information of what Mr. *Boyd* had told concerning his Conference with *Blood*, frankly open'd up the whole Story with all its Circumstances, as before related; Whereupon these Noble Peers told him, that *if there was no more between 'em, he was in no hazard.* But Mr. *Greg*, having no Intelligence of what either Mr. *Stuart* or Mr. *Boyd* had acknowledg'd, Desir'd his Accusers to prove what they alleg'd against him, and gave Answers to the same purpose (and for the same Reasons) as Mr. *Boyd* had done before he knew of Mr. *Hart*'s Examination: This Irritated the Government against him and his Brethren, who were severely Treated for some time; but upon the Recommendation of divers *Persons* of Quality, and *Gentlemen* of good Figure of the Establish'd Church, who thought themselves oblig'd both from Principles of Justice and Compassion, to give a Testimony for the Loyalty of these Ministers and Gentlemen, they were dismiss'd: There was never *one* of them convicted of the Guilt of that Plot, nor was there so much as *one* single Witness produc'd against any one of them; there was nothing cou'd be said to them, but what they confess'd themselves; and that could never militate against them, seeing 'twas *neither Treason* nor *Misprision* of Treason; but a Vindication of their Loyalty and Innocence. And let any Man Impartially consider the *Severity* of those Times against Dissenters, the *narrow* Inquiry, and *Sifting* Examinations they underwent, and all the fair Opportunities their Adversaries then had of finding out their Guilt, if it cou'd have been justly laid to their Charge; and from these and the other Circumstances and Facts I have mention'd, let him judge whether the fixing of *Blood*'s Plot upon the *Body* of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* be not a *groundless Aspersion.* And the Duke himself was at Length fully convinc'd of the Innocence of a People, upon whom he had been advis'd contrary to the goodness of his own Temper, to put very great hardships, upon a bare Suspicion of Guilt: And for that very reason he continu'd the Indulgence to them for some Time; which is particularly observ'd by the Author of a Letter publish'd in *Cox*'s History *Part* 2. In the Reign of King *Charles* II. p. 6.

The Facts I have related in this short Narrative are known to, and

and can be attested by divers *Credible Witnesses* yet alive. Mr. *Greg*, Mr. *Stuart*, and Mr. *Hart* have frequently told these Passages to their Brethren, and to many other Gentlemen, who exactly remember 'em. The Noble Lords above-mention'd gave the same Account to several Ministers and Gentlemen; some whereof are yet alive and can attest it. And Mr. *Adair*, as he frequently told those Passages to his Friends and Acquaintances, so he hath given a full Account of them in his Manuscript-History, out of which this Abstract is taken: And to confirm all, I shall offer two things, 1. Let any Man produce a Record for Convicting any Presbyterian in the North of *Ireland* of being in the least Accessary to that Plot, or produce *one* single Examination of *one* Credible Witness for fastning that Imputation upon any *one* of them. As for those in the South of *Ireland*, there was indeed Mr *Lecky*, as has been noted, who was guilty of it, and not another Minister but himself, that I ever heard of: *Blood* likewise seem'd to own that Persuasion; but it were highly injurious, to upbraid the whole Body with these few Instances. But Part 2:

2*ly*. Let the time when King *Charles* 2. granted his Royal Pension to the *Presbyterian* Ministers of the North of *Ireland* be considered: it was near ten years after *Blood's Plot*, and it is not supposable that he wou'd have granted it, unless his Majesty and Sr. *Arthur Forbus* (afterwards Earl of *Granard*) had been fully satisfy'd of the Innocence and Loyalty of those in whose favor the Royal Grant was made. 'Tis just, the world shou'd know the first Motion that was made for that Pension, and the *Consideration* upon which 'twas granted, and has been now continu'd these forty Years past *without Interruption*, except during the Reign of King *James* 2*d*. And a very few years in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles* 2, when the *Ruin* not only of *Presbyterians*, but of all sober *Church-men*, and of the Protestant Religion it self was upon the Anvil. The Account I am to give of this Matter was drawn by the late Reverend Mr. *Alexander Hutcheson*, Presbyterian Minister at *Tannagh-Nive* in the County of *Down*; he and three Ministers more, *viz*. Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Mr *William Semple*, and Mr *Archibald Hamilton*, did all concur in the same Account to the rest of their Brethren, affirming that they had it from Sir *Arthur Forbes*'s own mouth. And they were *all* men of so much *Candor* and *Veracity*, as no man of any good Character, of whatsoever Persuasion, wou'd have call'd in Question the Truth of what any of them said, and far less of a Fact they all agreed in. The Account it self I shall give in Mr *Hutcheson*'s own

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own Words, as he has left them under his hand, which is as follows:

'The truly Honorable Sir *Arthur Forbes*, the *stedfast* and real friend 'of the Ministers and people in that part of the Country, wrote 'for *four* Ministers to come to him to *Dublin*, that he might com- 'municate to them a matter wherein they were *highly concern'd*. The 'Ministers were Mr *Patrick Adair*, Mr *William Semple*, Mr *Alexan- 'der Hutcheson*, and Mr *Archbald Hamilton*, who all went to *Dublin* 'about the middle of *October* 1672. The matter was, as he related 'it himself, as followeth: He being a little time before in *London*, and 'being in Conference with the King, who had a great Kindness for 'him (and *deservedly*) the King amongst other things relating to this 'Kingdom enquir'd at him, concerning the *Presbyterian* Ministers and 'People in the *North*: How the Ministers lived, and that he had *al- 'ways been inform'd*, that they were *Loyal* and had been *sufferers on 'that account*, and were *peaceable in their way and Carriage*, notwith- 'standing of the hardships they were under.

'Sir *Arthur* reply'd, 'twas a *true account his Majesty had 'heard of them*; and as to their present Condition, they lived in no 'great plenty, tho' they had the *affection* of the people, where they 'did reside; but that they were not in a *Capacity* to afford them a 'Comfortable subsistance, being under many *heavy burdens*. The 'King of his OWN MEER MOTION told Sr *Arthur*, that there 'was *twelve hundred pounds* a Year in the Settlement of the Revenue 'of *Ireland*, which he had not yet disposed of, but design'd it for a 'charitable use; & he knew not *how to dispose of it better*, than by *giv- 'ing it to these Ministers*; and told, he would forthwith give Order & 'desired Sr *Arthur* to bring the Secretary to him to morrow, that 'the order might be pass'd under the King's Privy-Seal; and the 'mony to be pay'd to Sir *Arthur* quarterly, for secret Service, as 'the *Order run*; but when the Secretary came to the King, it 'was found there was only six hundred pounds to be dispos'd 'of, which he order'd to be paid as is formerly related. Sir 'Arthur sent for the four Ministers, partly to give account of the 'King's *business* to them, partly that *they might consider* how to divide 'it, which they considering apart, agreed on this Method, that each 'Minister which was in the Country in the year 60 should have an 'equal Proportion, and that the Widows and Orphans of these who 'were removed by Death might share of the King's Bounty; and 'when they told this to Sir *Arthur*, he was much pleas'd with what 'they had done, and order'd the present payment for the first quar-

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' ter. He alſo told the Miniſters that it was very becoming them to ' ſignify, by a Letter of Thanks to the King, the Senſe they had of ' his Majeſty's ſingular favor; and another Letter to Duke *Lauder-* ' *dale*, a third to Sir *Robert Murray*, who were ready to do what ' Service they could for their Country-men here, and had ſpoke in ' their favors; all which Letters were drawn, and communicate to ' Sir *Arthur*, and by him ſent over to *London*; which were Graciouſ- ' ly Accepted; as both D. *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Robert Murray* ſigni- ' fy'd by their Letters to Sir *Arthur*, which they deſir'd him to com- ' municate to the Miniſters, which he did as Opportunity offer'd.

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An Appendix to the Preceeding Chapter, concerning the Reign of King James II.

ALL the Miſchiefs of *Popery* and *Slavery* which burſt out in this Reign, were the *Hideous Spawn* of thoſe Wicked Councils which govern'd the Preceeding Reign; and theſe Patriots who foreſaw and foretold 'em, and for that Reaſon had urg'd for the Bill of Excluſion, as the only expedient for the Preſervation of Religion and Liberty, were now proved to all the World to be true Prophets. The preſent Generation have (or at leaſt ought to have) ſo deep an Impreſſion and ſo freſh a Remembrance of the Melancholy Circumſtances of our dear Country during that Reign, as gives a full proof of the *Neceſſity*, *Juſtice* and *Glory* of the late *HAPPY REVOLUTION*.

Our Author mentions but *one* Objection againſt Presbyterians during this Reign, which he ſets off in his firſt Letter *p.* 12, 13. in theſe Words, ' It muſt be own'd that King *James* 2. treated them kind- ' ly, and gave them good words, and that they were not behind ' with him, for his granting them a Toleration by his abſolute Au- ' thority againſt the Laws of *Scotland*,' And then he quotes the Addreſs of the *Scots* Presbyterian Miniſters to the King upon that occaſion, in theſe words, ' For which Royal Favors, his Majeſtie's *moſt Loyal* ' *Subjects* the Miniſters of the *Presbyterian Perſuaſion* in *Scotland*, from

Part 2. ‘ the due Senſe they had of his Majeſty's moſt Gracious Favor, *&c.* ‘ do moſt earneſtly deſire his moſt Gracious Majeſty to accept of their ‘ moſt Humble Addreſs, as proceeding from the Plainneſs and Sin- ‘ cerity of *Loyal* and *Thankful* Hearts, much engag'd by his Royal ‘ Favor, to continue their Fervent Prayers to the King of Kings for ‘ all Bleſſings Spiritual and Temporal ever to attend his Royal Per- ‘ ſon and Government.

Let the Barbarous Sanguinary Laws againſt *Scots* Presbyterians which deſtroy'd at once Life, Liberty, and Property, and which were procur'd by this King both before and after his Acceſſion to the Crown, Declare, whether he *treated them kindly*, as our Author alledges: Inſtead of which, their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and for the *Bill of Excluſion*, made 'em the Objects of his Implacable Fury. 'Tis true, he publiſh'd *A Liberty of Conſcience* to them, but all the World knows, that he deſign'd no Benefit or Kindneſs by it to any, but to the Papiſts, upon whoſe Account, he Arbitrarily Diſpens'd with the Penal Laws; And now the Queſtion is, Whether the Presbyterians were blameable for taking the Benefit of that Liberty to themſelves, and for Addreſſing him upon that occaſion? I humbly conceive they were not: For *had they refus'd* to make uſe of it, *That* wou'd never have hinder'd the Papiſts for reaping the Benefit of it, but on the contrary, wou'd have *ſtrengthen'd Popery*, by putting themſelves out of Capacity to oppoſe it: Beſides, the *Penal Laws* againſt Presbyterians were of themſelves ſo Inhuman and Unchriſtian, as they thought, that they were obliged by the Word of God the Supreme Law, to make uſe of all Opportunities of Worſhipping and ſerving him according to their Conſciences, any Human Law whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding. And accordingly Divine Providence Overrul'd that *Popiſh* Project of K. *James*, ſo as to make it *one* of the *viſible Means* of Defeating the End which he himſelf had deſigned by it: For the Presbyterians, being relieved from the Barbarous Severities which had ruined Multitudes, and Diſpirited the moſt of them, got *new Strength*; which they had no ſooner got, but they *improv'd it vigorouſly* in Conjunction with other Loyal Proteſtants, for promoting the late *Happy Revolution*.

The ſame Objection is made againſt the *Engliſh* Presbyterians by ſome of our Author's Faction; and the Argument is manag'd at large by Mr *Weſley* and Mr *Palmer*. The latter publiſh'd *Anno.* 1705. a

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Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behavior of the Dissenters toward the Church of England. He states the Objection and refutes it p. 70, 71. in these Words, ‘ But the most ‘ Plausible Argument of our Enemies upon this Head is, that the ‘ *King* having usurped the power of dispensing with the Laws, ‘ and the *Declaration of Favor to us*, being founded upon such ‘ usurped Powers; consequently our thanks to the *King* was an ‘ *Acknowledgment and Allowance of it*; but we have several things to ‘ Reply to this in our Defence. And, 1. We say, 'tis Unaccountably hard to make our *Address* of Thanks a Crime, and ‘ an acknowledgment of that Usurped Power which they themselves ‘ advanc'd, Supported, and Voluntarily Conferr'd upon the King. ‘ Thus when they had preach'd up *Absolute Obedience*, when they ‘ had taught that the Word of the *King* was *Law*, when they had ‘ set up an *Imperial Sovereignty*, which they said was above the *Political Power*, and might *Over-rule the Legal Authority*: I say, when ‘ they themselves had thus set up a Usurped Power, to charge us ‘ with acknowledging of it as a Crime, is a most unaccountable Conduct, and nothing else but as their own Poet has it;

‘ The self same thing they will abhor
‘ one way, and long another for:
‘ All Piety consists therein
‘ In them, in other Men all Sin!

‘ But 2*dly*, We Urge, that when they had taught, that the King ‘ was Head of the *Church*, and had a Plenary *Ecclesiastical Capacity and Power to Rule it*. And when the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* was a *meer Ecclesiastical Act*; How cou'd it be our Crime ‘ to acknowledge that *Capacity*, which the *Church* did give him, by ‘ our receiving the Benefit and Advantage of the Exercise of it. ‘ *And* 3*dly*, We deny the Consequence, *viz. That our Address of Thanks was an Acknowledgment of any such Usurped Power*, to belong ‘ of Right to the *King*. For as there's no Address of ours ever made ‘ that Acknowledgment *in Terms*; so in the Thanks that we offer'd ‘ we only asserted our *Right* to that Liberty of *Religion*, to which in ‘ the Nature of the Thing, and by the Law of God, we had a Right ‘ Prior both to the *Laws* made against us, & the *Declaration* that pretended to annul them. And if a Man might not thankfully acknowledge a good *Act*, as this in its own Nature was, being an *Act of Mercy*, without acknowledging the Usurped Power, that shewed

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this mercy and Goodness to him ; 'Twould be worse living under a Conquering and Usurping Power than it has hitherto been, and men wou'd be barr'd from any means of softning the *Tyranny* of Oppressors. At this rate of Arguing *Tully* cou'd not have Complimented *Cæsar* into Clemency to *Marcellus*, if his so doing must be judged a wicked Allowance of *Cæsar*'s Right to destroy the Republic ; and in the same manner, if the Compliments paid to *Cromwel* for some particular *Acts* of Goodness done by that Usurper to the Friends of the King, were to be interpreted to be an assent to his Usurpation ; I doubt some great *Church-men* wou'd be found as guilty as any of the *Phanaticks* in their Addresses to him. And that we ought not to be charg'd with allowing the *Dispensing-Power* upon the account of our Thanks for this particular Favor is Evident, because 'twas not we, but the *Church-men* that advanc'd it, the *Judges* that affirmed it were Members of the *Church*, and of the two *Universities* of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. We at that very time declared our Abhorrence of it, and as soon as we could, we joined the *Prince of Orange* to resist and oppose it, tho we had Reason before to Rejoyce, that we were delivered from the Oppressions under which for so many Years we had groaned, till that Declaration relieved us.

Let the World judge, whether that Faction had any Reason to accuse Presbyterians of paying Excessive Compliments to King *James*, when themselves had so shamefully exceeded all Bounds of Decency in that matter, as will fully appear by the following Collection which *Palmer* has made of their Addresses in the Reigns of *Charles* 2, and *James* 2. from the *Gazettes*, (*ibid.* p. 66, 67, 68.) 'Ripon (*c*) Address esteems it a matter of the highest Joy and Satisfaction that they were delivered from the Unwarrantable *and Arbitrary Proceedings of the House of Commons* ! That of *Richmond* (*d*) is a very strong piece of *Enthusiasm*, where they tell the *King* that the *Special Spirit of God inspired him to dissolve the Parliament*. High-Church too, it seems, has a great Respect for the *Light within* ! The *University of Cambridge* (*e*) thank him for giving so seasonable a Check to the Arbitrary and Insolent Undertaking of the Commons ! And *Chesterfield* tells

(*c*) *Gaz.* May 30, 1681. (*d*) Aug. 25. (*e*) Sep. 25.

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tells us, that this Arbitrary Usurpation was *Imprisoning his Majesty's Subjects*! Thus the Right of the Commons to Imprison was deny'd when it was for their Turn! *Durham* (*f*) makes a Gracious Offer, to give Mony without Consent of *Parliament*, to secure the Throne to a *Popish Successor*; and they were so wonderfully fond of this great Blessing, that *Lyn*, *Norfolk* and *York* (*g*) do extremely Rejoyce that a *Papist* was Return'd to the *Councils* and *Presence* of the *King*. *Portsmouth* (*h*) is angry beyond Measure with the *Dissenters* for *crying out so severely against the Heretical Church of Rome*, a very Reasonable Complaint this, from the Members of the *Church of England*! *Cornwal* has a pretty Complement, and being *Rosicrucians* talk of *Sublimated Sedition*, and tell the *King*, that *what they promised in a black Character they shou'd be ready to perform in Red*, In Red! Yes yes, we know Blood was their Desire, for 'tis a very great Mistake, if we think these Gentlemen intended to venture their own *Blood* in the Service of their *King*, no, no; 'twas ours they intended should transform the Character of their Address from Black into Red; And *Ipswich*, to make sure Work, tell the *King*, that Jurors were *only to Inquire, not to Determine, and Acquit the indicted*! This I suppose was to shew their Skill in the Law, & how little they knew themselves worthy of the *Priviledge to be try'd by a Jury*, & that the very fountain our Law might be brought into Contempt; the very Loyal *Addresses of Worcester*, speaking of the *Votes of the House of Commons*, *call 'em the Sawcy and Seditious Votes of our Senate*! And if any thing like this can be shown in Dissenters Addresses, I have done!

'But this was but the *Præludium*, and to Pave the way to our Ruin. This was under pretence, that they had hopes the *Duke* was not a *Papist*, or that if he was, yet he wou'd not be an Arbitrary *King*: But when they felt the Effects of their own Folly, they were resolved to pursue it, and the Frolick must go round in the Glorious Reign of *James* II. Thus the Merchants make a surrender of the *Customs* to the *King*, and hug the Arbitrary Yoke, which his *illegal Proclamation* put upon their Servile Necks but a few Days before, (*i*) and that this

(*f*) March 20. (*g*) March 27. 30, 1682. (*h*) April 10. (*i*) *Gaz.* Feb. 19. 1684.

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this might have the Sanction of the long Robe, the middle Temple sent up their Address by the Hand of Sir *H. M.* in which they tell the King, *That he had a Right to take the Customs that were expir'd, without Consent of Parliament.* Tho' this is declar'd to be a high Usurpation by the Law (*k*)! The Men of *Wincheſter* (*l*) were ſo far, and ſo early in the deſign of the Impoſture that was afterwards put upon us; That they Solicited the *Queen* to divert her ſelf in their Country, that their Excellent Air might Work that *Miracle*, which the *Virgin Mary* afterwards permitted to be done by the *Catholic* Waters of the *Bath*! And to do theſe Gentlemen Juſtice, it muſt be confeſs'd, that they have been even both with that *Queen* and the *Virgin*, for ſlighting their Complement by a very Zealous Addreſs againſt their *Miraculous Son*! *Glocester*'s Addreſs is very free with the Parliament, and calls 'em a *Parcel of Bloodthirſty Villains*, for endeavoring to Exclude a Subject from the *Throne*! *Worceſter* (*m*) can't forbear Complementing themſelves for their *own Voluntary, Free and Unanimous ſurrender of their Charter*! But to cloſe all; now we are almoſt tyr'd, *Northampton* (*n*) *Addreſs* will be extremely refreſhing; for they ſay, *they were reſtor'd from Death to Life, and this cou'd not but beget all imaginable Veneration in their Minds* and as an Evidence of it, they *offer up their Lives and Fortunes to ſerve his Majeſty WITHOUT RESERVE.* Without Reſerve! That's very much indeed. But then they give us a very good Reaſon for it; for when they had made the *King* a *God*, it was but fit they ſhou'd worſhip him, and make an Abſolute ſurrender to him, and therefore they add in the ſame Addreſs, *That they had that Reverence for all his Majeſty's Declarations, particularly for that which relates to our Religion as by Law Eſtabliſh'd, as if they came to us* from HEAVEN IT SELF! But what became of their Reverence for the *King's Declaration* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, did they think that came from Heaven it ſelf? Did they eſteem it equal to the *Declaration of Heaven*? No they trampled upon it, and forſook their Heaven, & found that they had a Reſerve, for they never meant to pay this *Reverence* to any of his *Declarations*, unleſs he ſhou'd publiſh one to oblige 'em to read a Book of Sports, or Perſecute us! 'Tis time to be

(*k*) Feb. 12. 1684. (*l*) *Ibid.* (*m*) March 9. (*n*) March 16. 1684.

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'be weary of Transcribing these Impertinent and Impious *Addresses*; 'and I shou'd never have done it, but that I might evince the Falsehood of Mr. *Wesly*'s Assertion, viz. *That we made much greater Compliments to King* James II. than the Gentlemen of the *Church*; and 'we join Issue here too, and leave these few to be compar'd with all 'the *Dissenting Addresses*, and if such Insolent Expressions to Parliaments, such Complimenting *Arbitrary* Power, such surrendring of 'Property, such Encouragement of *Popery*, and of Usurpation upon 'the Rights of the Kingdom, and with all such Nauseous insipid 'Flattery as is here, and may yet be produc'd; Nay, as is in this 'single *Northampton* Address, can be charg'd upon us, We deserve the 'Censure of Mankind for our Folly; but even then too, we desire to 'be corrected by honester Hands than those of the *Faction* that oppose 'us, who are thus Guilty of the same, of which with so much *Bigotry* 'and blind *Rage* they accuse us.

I must observe that the Character, which honest *British* Protestants contend for with respect to their Behavior under this unhappy Reign is not about their *Loyalty*, but about their *Disaffection* to that oppressive Government; They vie with one another, and *happily contend* for the *higher* Praises and *Superior Merit* for giving the briskest Opposition, and making the bravest Stand against the Measures of that Unfortunate Prince: I call this an *Happy Contention*, because it Issues in a *Noble* and *just* Agreement against the late King *James*, and all his Abettors: For seeing all sides look upon their Non-Compliance with his illegal Courses to be a *brightning* of their Character, and an *Establishing* of their Merit; Their contending with one another about that Question, *which of them was most Vigorous and Early in that Glorious Enterprize for Rescuing our Religion, Liberties and all that's dear to us, from his violent Popish Councils*, is (under God) one of the best Securities we can have against the Return of that Intolerable Bondage; Which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear, or shake off, unless the immediate Hand of God (by an almost Miraculous Providence) had interpos'd, in our greatest Extremity, for our Relief. The Effectual way for deciding *that Question* will be this; for all Parties, to perpetuate that *lucky* and *Loyal Debate* for the future, and contend with one another, which of 'em shall be the most Active and Zealous in opposing the *Pretender*, in *Extinguishing all his Hopes*, and *Defeating all his Measures*, and to be true to the Queen and the Protestant

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teſtant Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of HANOVER. It was a great Happineſs to the Nations, that many of the Gentlemen and Clergy who were ſo Frolickſome as to gratify K. *James* with their Lofty Addreſſes, in favor of Arbitrary Power in the Prince, and Paſſive Obedience in the People, were ſo *honeſt as to repent*, and join in a good Cauſe. I know of no Party of Proteſtants who have ſtuck ſo cloſe to the Profeſſions they made in favor of the late King *James*, as the *Scots* Biſhops, and their Adherents; who upon the Birth of the *Pretender*, and the Rumor of the Glorious Deſign of the Prince of *Orange* to deliver theſe Nations, from Popery and Slavery, Addreſs'd the King in theſe Words,——— 'We Magnify the Divine Majeſty for Bleſſing 'you with a *Son*, and us with a Prince, whom we Pray Heaven may '*Bleſs and Preſerve to Sway your Royal Scepter* after you, and that he 'may Inherit with your Royal Dominions, the *Illuſtrious* and *Heroic* '*Virtues of his Auguſt and moſt ſerene Parents.*

'We are Amaz'd to hear of the Danger of an Invaſion from *Hol-*'*land*, which excites our Prayers, for an Univerſal Repentance, to 'all Orders of men, that God may yet ſpare his People; preſerve 'your Royal Perſon, prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and 'give *ſuch Succeſs to your Majeſtie's Arms*, that all who invade your 'Majeſty's juſt and Undoubted Right, and diſturb or Interrupt the 'Peace of your Realms may be *Diſappointed and Cloathed with ſhame:* 'ſo that on your Royal Head the Crown may ſtill flouriſh.

'As by the Grace of God we ſhall preſerve in our ſelves an Un-'ſhaken and firm Loyalty, ſo we ſhall be careful and zealous to pro-'mote in all your Subjects an Intrepid and Stedfaſt Allegiance to your 'Majeſty, as an *Eſſential part of their Religion*, and the Glory of our 'holy Profeſſion: Not doubting but that God in his great Mercy, 'who hath ſo often Preſerv'd and Deliver'd your Majeſty, will ſtill 'Preſerve and Deliver you, by giving you the *Hearts of your Subjects*, '*and the NECKS OF YOUR ENEMIES.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King WILLIAM III. of GLORIOUS MEMORY.

AFter all the Tragical Labyrinths of barefac'd *Popery*, and the Prodigious Destructive Mass of *Arbitrary* Power, under which the Nations lay Gasping, ready to breath out their last, with the *Expiring Groans* of a Perishing People; Heaven open'd to us, all of a sudden, the Amazing and Pleasant Scene of the late HAPPY REVOLUTION, *Anno* 1688, which brought us our Great and never to be forgotten Deliverance by King *William* of *Glorious* and *Immortal Memory*. Divine Providence had made him the Great Instrument of Saving the *Dutch* from utter Ruin, and of Preserving the Protestant Religion Abroad; and then sent him to us to Work our Deliverance: The Ballance of *Europe* was put into his Hands, and he became the *Restorer* and *Guardian* of our *Religion* and *Liberties*; which made the Nations receive him with open Arms, and place, with Universal Joy, three Great *Imperial Diadems* upon his Head, and upon that of his Royal Consort Queen *Mary*; a ROYAL PAIR, of such Illustrious Princely Virtues, as added more *Lustre* to the *Throne* than *what* they receiv'd from it.

The *Presbyterians* Exerted themselves in the three Kingdoms with

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so much Activity and Zeal for Effecting that *Happy Revolution*, which set him upon the Throne; and behav'd with such Inviolable Regard, and Dutiful Affection to his Person and Government, as leaves no Ground of Doubting their Conscientious Loyalty to him. And to this Day, no People in the World have a Greater Veneration for his Glorious Memory, when others Traduce and Insult it. In *Scotland*, the Restoring and Establishing their Constitution was a *Reward* of their Loyalty. They subdu'd the Rebels that fought under *Dundee* against him; *Preserv'd* that Kingdom in a Peaceable *Subjection* to him, and overaw'd those who were Disaffected to his Government. Their General Assembly never met during his whole Reign, without a Remarkable Testimony and *Acknowledgment* of their *Loyalty* and *Faithfulness* to him, by his Royal Letters. They chearfully supported his Government, by their *Fortunes* at Home, and by their *Lives* Abroad, and fought his Battles with as much *Bravery* and *Loyalty*, as any in his Army. And all Ranks (Ministers and People) took the Oath of Allegiance, and Subscrib'd the Assurance declaring him to be King *de jure*, as well as *de facto*.

In *England*, they were as Early & Active in Loyal Associations for the Support of his Government, as any, discharg'd *all the Places* of Trust both Civil & Military with which they were honor'd, with unshaken Fidelity, and none were more forward in that Kingdom than the Protestant Dissenters, for supplying his Necessities; and advancing Mony before hand upon the public Funds. I never heard of *so much as one* amongst 'em, that refus'd the Oaths to him, or was Disaffected to his Government. They were deliver'd from Persecution by the Toleration-Act, and honor'd with many kind Hints in his Majesty's Public Speeches from the Throne, Expressing his *Royal sense* of their *Steady Loyalty* and *Affection* to Him, and his Design to maintain their Legal Liberty of Conscience inviolably: And 'tis well known, that he had so great a Value for 'em, and for the Peace and Unity of Protestants, that he was most desirous of having 'em *comprehended in the Legal Establishment*; Queen *Mary* the *Glory of her Sex*, in whom all the Virtues that cou'd adorn an *Eminent Christian*, a *Great Queen*, a true *Britain*, and a *good Wife* did happily *Center*, had that business at Heart, and set the Great and Pious *Tillotson* at Work; but the Almighty soon exalted her to the *Crown of Righteousness*, and at once both Releas'd her from the Cares that attended her Earthly Diadem,

and

and depriv'd us, for our Sins, of the Many Great Bleſſings that might have been expected from the Continuance of ſo Precious a Life: Mean while, all theſe things are Undeniable Proofs of the Loyalty of Presbyterians in *England* to the Great King *William.* Part 2.

In *Ireland* the Presbyterians Exerted themſelves with the utmoſt Vigor, Zeal and Activity for Accompliſhing and Maintaining the *late Happy Revolution* 1688. Their Miniſters in the *North* were ſo early in Countenancing that Glorious Work as they make Choice of two of their Number *viz.* the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, and Mr. *John Abernethy* as their Commiſſioners to wait upon his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, before he was Proclaim'd King, to Congratulate his Safe Arrival, and *Encourage him* in the *Great Enterprize* he had then in View, and which (by the Bleſſing of Almighty God upon his Endeavors) was brought to paſs. The Miniſters of that Perſuaſion had frequent Meetings *Anno* 1688. with ſome of the Nobility, and moſt Eminent of the Gentry of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, *with whom they Concerted joint Meaſures* for putting the Country into a Poſture of Defence againſt the late K. *James* and his Adherents, and for rendring 'em capable of Aſſerting their Liberties, and joining with King *William* the Glorious Reſtorer of 'em. The Bleſſed Union of Hearts and Intereſts, which then ſhow'd it ſelf in the Conduct of all true Proteſtants in *Ireland*, was (under God) the happy Means of their Common Preſervation and Safety. In Purſuance of the Meaſures Concerted in their joint Councils, they fought with the utmoſt Bravery and Reſolution, of which their Gallant Behavior in the Siege of *London-Derry*, and upon many other Occaſions, is an undeniable Proof. And 'tis hop'd, That no Honeſt Gentleman of the Eſtabliſh'd Church will ever be ſo much under the Dominion of Blind Prejudice and Ingratitude as to Diſown it.

The Royal Teſtimony of the Great King *William*, and the Public Teſtimony of the Houſe of Commons both in *England* and *Ireland*, in favor of the *Services*, *Sufferings* and *Loyalty* of the Presbyterians, are laſting Monuments of this Truth. And from a juſt Regard to the late Happy Revolution, and from Gratitude to the GLORIOUS MEMORY of King WILLIAM, and from a due reſpect to thoſe Worthy Patriots in both Kingdoms, I ſhall here inſert ſome of thoſe Declarations (among many more that might be Nam'd) made by his

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Majesty and the House of Commons, to the Purposes abovemention'd; The first I shall take Notice of is the King's Letter to the Duke of *Schomberg*, which I publish from a true Copy of it, attested by his Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who was then one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and gave Mr *Adair* and Mr *Abernethy* the said Attested Copy, for the Benefit of their Brethren. It runs thus;

'*To Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor* Frederick *Duke of* Schomberg *General of our Land Forces.*

'Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we 'Greet you Well. Whereas some Ministers of the Presbyterian Per-'suasion have humbly besought us in behalf of themselves, their 'Brethren, and their Congregations in the Province of *Ulster*, in our 'Kingdom of *Ireland*, That We wou'd take them under our Gra-'cious Protection, And as an Assurance thereof, That We wou'd 'please to *Recommend them to you or other Our Chief Governor or Chief 'Governors of the said Kingdom* for the time being. And We being 'ENTIRELY SATISFY'D OF THE LOYALTY, *and* FIDELITY '*of Our* SAID SUBJECTS, and Commiserating the Suffrings and 'Calamities they have of Late lain Under; Which We are Desir-'ous to put an End to, as far as We can Contribute towards it: 'We have thought fit to grant their Request. And accordingly 'We do hereby Recommend to You *in a* PARTICULAR MAN-'NER the said Ministers and their Congregations, *Requiring you to 'give them that Protection and Support that their* AFFECTION TO 'OUR SERVICE DOES DESERVE: And to shew them all fit-'ting Countenance, that they may Live in Tranquillity, and Un-'molested under our Government; And so We bid you very Hearti-'ly farewel. Given at Our Court at *Whitehal* the 9th day of '*November* 1689. in the first Year of our Reign.

'*This is a true Copy of the Letter written to the D. of* Schonberg.

'SHREWSBURY

Another Declaration to the same purpose is to be found in his Majesty's Order to the Collector of *Belfast* for the Payment of his Roy-

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al Bounty to the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, the true Copy whereof is as follows. Part 2:

WILLIAM R.

'WHEREAS upon Our Arrival in this Kingdom at *Belfast*; 'We receiv'd a Loyal and Dutiful Addres from Our Trus-'ty and Well-beloved Subjects, *Patrick Adair*, *Archbald Ha-'milton*, *William Adair* and Others in the Name of themselves, and 'the rest of the Presbyterian Ministers of their Persuasion in these 'Northern Parts of our Kingdom: And calling to Mind how Ear-'ly they also were in their Addres unto us, upon Our Arrival un-'to *England*, And the Promises We then made them of a Pension of 'Eight Hundred Pound *per Annum* for their Subsistence, which by 'reason of several Impediments, hath not as yet been made Effectual 'unto them. And being *assur'd of the Peaceable & Dutiful Temper of our 'said Subjects, and sensible of the Losses they have sustain'd, and THEIR 'CONSTANT Labor TO UNITE THE HEARTS OF OTHERS 'IN ZEAL AND LOYALTY TOWARDS US.* We do hereby 'out of Our Royal Bounty give and grant unto them the Sum of 'Twelve Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to be paid by Quarterly Pay-'ments, the first Payment of Three Hundred Pounds *Sterl.* to begin 'upon the 24*th* day of this instant *June*, and so forward: And Our 'Will and Pleasure is, That you or the Collector of our Customs at '*Belfast* for the time being, do make due Payments of the said Pen-'sion into the Hands of Mr. *Patrick Adair*, *Alexander Hutcheson*, '*Archbald Hamilton*, *Robert Craighead*, *Hugh Wilson*, *Robert Henry* and '*William Adair*, or to the Person which they or any five of them 'shall appoint, to be by them Distributed among the Rest. And 'the Commissioners of our Revenue for this Kingdom are hereby Re-'quir'd to allow upon your Accounts all such Sum or Sums of Mony, 'as shall appear by you or any other Collector of *Belfast*, to have been 'paid in Virtue of this Our Grant. And for so doing this shall be 'your Warrant. Given at Our Court at *Hillsborough the* 19*th Day 'of June* 1690. in the Second Year of Our Reign.

'*To our Trusty and Welbeloved* Christopher Carleton *Esq*; *Collector of our Port of* Belfast.

Add to these Royal Testimones of that *Great Prince*, the Vote of *the*

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the House of Commons of *England Anno* 1698, which runs thus, 'Re-'solved, *That the Services and Sufferings at* London-Derry *were very* 'Eminent *and of Great Consequence to his Majesty's Service and the* 'Preservation *of the three Kingdoms*". And the late House of Commons of Ireland in their Address to the Lord Lieutenant *May* 1709. with a Remarkable Unanimity (of which his Excellency took Notice in his Answer) express'd themselves in these Words, 'We cannot 'be either so Negligent of our Common Safety, or Unmindful of 'the *Hearty Affection, & Courage which the Dissenting Protestants used in* 'Conjunction *with their Brethren of the Establish'd Church against* Irish 'and French Papists, and the *happy Consequences* of their JOINT 'GALLANT BEHAVIOUR *to the Welfare and Liberties of all* 'Europe, as to think it Reasonable, that those who have hitherto 'given and shall continue to give all Testimonies and Assurances of 'being faithful to the Government, and Abjure the *Pretender*, shou'd 'be laid under any Uneasiness in the Exercise of their Religious 'Worship, a Liberty enjoy'd by our most Dangerous Ene-'mies.

From all which it abundantly appears that the Presbyterians of *Ireland* were as truly in the Interest of King *William*, and as Loyal and Dutiful to him, as any of his other faithful Subjects whatsoever; and what further demonstrates the Truth of it is, that the King and they had Common Friends and Common Enemies: For the greatest Enemies the Presbyterians had or have to this day where those who were Disaffected to his Government; and his stanchest Friends were their greatest Patrons.

Our Author is forc'd to Acknowledge the Loyalty of Presbyterians during this Reign; and yet he has Advanc'd many Things against 'em and their Behavior, especially in *Ireland*; for in his second Letter, one of the Periods wherein he proposeth to trace the Unrainted Loyalty of the Dissenters of *Ireland* (p. 6.) is, *from the Revolution till the passing of the Test-Act*, which includes the whole Reign of *K. William*, and a little of the beginning of the Reign of our present Gracious Sovereign Queen *Anne*; during which time he accuseth 'em of several things, which are either not true in Fact, or, if true are not Faults, or supposing they were Faults, can't be justly term'd Acts of Disloyalty. But before I come to examine 'em, I shall consider one Objection he makes in his *first Letter* against the Church of *Scotland* which

which is the only one he makes in any of his Pamphlets against the Presbyterians in *Great-Britain* during this Reign. His Objection is in these Words, (*p.* 13) 'So it is as certain that they were *Faithful and Loyal Subjects* to that Glorious PRINCE (he means K. *William*) in 'that *Turn of Government*, though it be also as Notorious, after all 'the Concessions he made them, how they press'd upon him, and *teas'd* 'him at last, and how little Regard the General Assembly Sitting in '*Scotland* (after the Establishment of the *Kirk*) had to the Repeated 'Letters, He writ to them in behalf of the *Episcopal Dissenters*, who 'were Rabbled and Persecuted there. Part 2.

That the World may see with how little Reason the Church of *Scotland* is Reflected upon by this Author, and by Men of *his Kidney*, as if they had been Acted by a hot Persecuting Spirit, as their Adversaries were; I shall here show by some Remarkable Instances, their Christian Moderation with respect to their Episcopal Brethren: I find them so Ingeniously and shortly Sum'd up in a Book Entitul'd, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland, *which met* at Edinburgh, *May* 6. 1703; That I shall set 'em down in the Words of that Author, who proves what he says from the Public Records of that Church and Kingdom. He proceeds thus (*p.* 89, &c.),

'*An Account of the Ecclesiastical Proceedings in* Scotland, *relating to the Episcopal Clergy, since the Revolution.*

'To set this Matter in a Clearer Light, it is necessary to give a 'short Account here of the Re-establishment of our Church, by the 'Revolution; and of the Proceedings of our Ecclesiastics, according 'to that Establishment.

'At the Revolution, our Bishops and their Clergy were very Zealous for King *James*, tho' he had set up Popery barefac'd in the 'Kingdom, and *annull'd all the Laws* Establishing the Reformation: 'The *Presbyterians* on the Contrary, took Arms in Favor of the 'Prince of *Orange*; and when the Convention met, the Estates 'declar'd Prelacy a great and *Unsupportable Grievance to the Nation.* 'Soon after, the Convention was turn'd into a Parliament; and 'the Estates well knowing the Levity of the Episcopal Clergy, and 'how hateful the Generality of them was to the Nation, for *concurring and complying with the above-mention'd Arbitrary and Bloody Measures*, that had been taken in former Reigns, to subvert our 'Religion and Liberty, did, by their Act of the *6th* of *June* 1690.

lodge,

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'lodge the Government of the Church in the Hands of the *Presbyterian* Ministers that had been Outed since *January* 1661. and 'were then restor'd, and in the Hands of such Ministers and Elders 'only, as they had admitted, or shou'd admit afterwards: and at 'the same time, they gave them a Power, either by themselves, or 'by a Committee, to purge out Scandalous and Insufficient Ministers 'and to suspend and deprive such as were Contumacious and prov'd 'Guilty. The first Assembly met *October* the 16*th* 1690, consisting of an hundred forty seven Ministers, and forty seven Ruling 'Elders, and proceeded according to this Power, but with *such Moderation*, as they had *no Pattern* for in the Proceedings of the 'Episcopal Party, towards them, as will appear by the following 'Instances.

'1. It is manifest by the *Index* of their Acts not printed, that 'on the 6*th* day of their Meeting, there was a Declaration publicly 'made by the Moderator, in Name of the Assembly, *That they 'wou'd depose no Incumbents, simply for their Judgment concerning the 'Government of the Church, nor urge Re-ordination upon them*, tho' we 'have heard before, that by the Influence of the Prelates and their 'Adherents, Presbyterian Ordination was declar'd null and void by 'Act of Parliament; and all Preachers that did not submit to Episcopal Jurisdiction, and to take Presentations from Lay-Patrons, 'were to be punished as Seditious Persons.

'2. In their Printed Instructions to their Committee for Visitations, 'they Order'd the Commissioners to be *very Cautious* of receiving Informations against the late Conformists; and that they proceed 'in the Matter of Censure very deliberatly, so as none may have 'just cause to Complain of their Rigidity,; and that they shou'd not 'proceed to Censure but *upon sufficient Probation.*

'3. That if they were informed of any *Precipitant*, or *Unwararntable* Procedure of Presbyteries in Processes, which might 'prove of ill Consequence to the Church, they shou'd interpose 'their Advice to those Presbyteries, to stop such Proceedings, till 'either the Synod or next General Assembly took Cognizance of it, '&c. as may be seen by the Acts of the General Assembly, Printed 'at *Edinburgh* by *George Mosman*, in 1690.

'4. In their Letter to his Majesty, they acquaint him, that they had 'given Instructions to their Commissioners, that *none of the late Conformists*

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'*formists shou'd be remov'd from their Places, but such as are either In-*
'*sufficient or Scandalous, or Erroneous, or Supinely Negligent; and that*
'*such of them be admitted to Ministerial Communion*, who upon due
'Tryal shou'd be found Orthodox in Doctrine, of Competent Abi-
'lities, of a Godly, Peaceable, and Loyal Conversation, and who
'shou'd be Judg'd Faithful to God and the Government.

'Thus the Assembly concluded to his Majesty's great Satisfaction,
'having done nothing against any of the Episcopal Incumbents, but
'Mr. *James Forsyth*, of St. *Ninians*, whose Deposition they confirm'd
'for Celebrating an Incestuous Marriage, and they deputed two of
'their own Number to attend his Majesty, and give him an Account
'of their Proceedings.

'The Assembly, according to the Power vested in them by Law,
'appointed one Committee for the *South*, of sixty of the most Grave
'and Experienc'd Ministers, and another for the *North* of forty, to
'visit the Churches, to Purge out Insufficient and Scandalous Mi-
'nisters, and to Redress those that they found had been wrong'd by
'Presbyteries, or other Inferior Judicatories. The Committee for
'the *South* held their first Meeting in *January*, 1691. and receiv'd
'several of the Episcopal Clergy into Ministerial Communion, and
'a Share of the Government of the Church; they Revers'd Senten-
'ces pass'd against several others by Inferior Judicatories, and
'depos'd some who Declin'd their Authority, as they were Impow-
'er'd to do by the Act of Parliament.

'At the same time, several Inferior Judicatories, *viz.* Synods and
'Presbyteries began to receive the Episcopal Clergy into Minister-
'ial Communion, and a share of the Government of the Church, even
'in these Parts of the Kingdom where the Presbyterians were most
'Numerous, and accounted most Rigid, particularly in the Presby-
'tery of *Irwin*, and in the Synods of *Glasgow* and *Argyle*.

'The Enemies of the Revolution and of Presbyterian Govern-
'ment in *Scotland*, perceiving this, knew well enough that their In-
'terest must dwindle to nothing, and that they cou'd make no Figure
'either at the Court of St. *Germains* or *England*, if the Presbyteri-
'ans were suffer'd to go on in this manner. Therefore they first
'rais'd a Mighty Clamor against 'em, represented the Rash Pro-
'ceedings of any Inferior Judicatory, tho' the Comittee was actu-
'ally Reversing them, as the Procedure of the whole Church; and

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'the Shyneſs of ſome Young Miniſters, to receive into Miniſterial Communion ſuch as they thought they had Reaſon to ſuſpect, was Complain'd of to Court, as *the Sentiments of the whole Party*. With theſe Calumnies they poſt to *London*, where by the Intereſt of the High-Church-of-*England-men*, who are very apt to receive bad Impreſſions of the *Presbyterians*, they procur'd a Letter from his Majeſty then in *Flanders* to ſtop the Progreſs of the Committees until his return, and a further ſignification of his Pleaſure. This Letter tho' contrary to Law, which Authoriz'd the Aſſembly to give the Committee that Power, was according to the Method of the *Epiſcopal Adminiſtration* in the two former Reigns, *embrac'd by that Party*, as a Sufficient Authority to decline the Power of any Church-Judicatory; and they, and their Friends the *Jacobites*, took care to ſpread it all over the Kingdom.

A Certain Faction in *England* taking Advantage of the King's Neceſſities, endeavor'd to put him upon ſuch Meaſures, as they hop'd wou'd end in a Breach between him and the *Scots* Aſſembly, which met at *Edinburgh*, *January* 15. 1692; to whom his Majeſty ſent a Letter, ordering 'em to admit into Miniſterial Communion, and a Share of the Church-Government, ſuch of the Epiſcopal Clergy, as ſhou'd make Application to them, and Subſcribe a *Formula* refer'd to in the ſaid Letter, and ſent to 'em. The Aſſembly's Proceedings in this Matter are fully vindicated in the laſt mentioned Book from *p.* 98. to *p.* 106. The Aſſembly cou'd not Comply with his Majeſty's deſire in this particular, for two Reaſons, 1. Becauſe there was no ſufficient Teſt of the *Orthodoxy* of the Epiſcopal Miniſters, provided for by the ſaid *Formula*: For all it contain'd with Relation to the Doctrine of the Church was in theſe *Ambiguous* Words, 'And I do 'further promiſe, that I will ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith, and 'larger and ſhorter Catechiſms, now confirm'd by Act of Parliament '*as containing* the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Religion profeſs'd in 'this Kingdom'. Now, any Man might Subſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith, according to that *Formula*, and *yet deny all the Articles* of Faith contain'd in it; for he is not oblig'd by it to Subſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith, *as the Confeſſion of his Faith*, but only as containing the Doctrine of the Proteſtant Religion profeſs'd in this Kingdom; and in the like Senſe, a Man may Subſcribe the *Alcoran*, as containing the Doctrine of the *Mahometan* Religion profeſs'd in *Turky*. The Committee of that Aſſembly, who were conſidering of a proper *Anſwer* to his Majeſty's Letter, did expreſly ask the Epiſ-

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copal Ministers, what they mean'd by this ambiguous Clause of the *Formula*, and whether they were *willing to declare*, that they believ'd the Doctrine of the Church contain'd in the said Confession of Faith *to be true*? but they refus'd to give the least Satisfactory Answer to that Question, insisting on their being receiv'd upon the Terms of the *Formula*, without any Explication of their own Sense and Meaning of it. Part. 2.

2*ly*. The *Assembly* thought the *Formula* Defective, because it did not provide any Security against the *Endeavors* of these Episcopal Ministers to overturn the *Ecclesiastical* Constitution, shou'd they be admitted to a share in Church-Government. And they look'd upon this Reason to be so much the stronger, because of the *Ambiguity* of that part of the *Formula* which related to the Doctrine of their Church; concluding, that those who wou'd not plainly declare their Approbation of the *Doctrine*, cou'd be no Cordial friends to the *Government* of the Church; and especially, considering that many of 'em had gone in with all the Measures of the *two former Reigns*, for Persecuting the Professors of Presbyterian Principles, even to the Death. And yet the Assembly, under all these Discouragements, were thinking of Expedients for receiving and Comprehending such of their Episcopal Brethren as were *sound Protestants*, *good Ministers*, and *faithful Subjects*: but in the mean time by the Artifices of a *certain Party*, the Assembly was *abruptly* dissolv'd. The Parliament of *Scotland* finding it necessary and just to Countenance the Assembly, and support their Authority in what they had done, made *an Act*, *June* 12. 1693, *for Settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church*, wherein they Enact divers Particulars which are a *plain Approbation* of the Assembly's Conduct with Respect to the *Formula* abovemention'd. And tho' they made divers Laws very favorable to the Presbyterian Government, yet to show their *Moderation* towards all Men of Worth of the Episcopal Persuasion, in their *Act concerning the Church*, *July* 26. 1695. they allow *all Ministers that were at the time of his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, and have since continu'd Actual Ministers in particular Parishes, and no Sentence either of Deposition or Deprivation pass'd against them, and who shou'd swear the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the same with the Assurance, in the time limited by the said Act; and who shall behave themselves worthily in Doctrine, Life and Conversation as becomes Ministers of the Gospel, to enjoy his Majesty's*

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'PROTECTION, *as to* THEIR RESPECTIVE KIRKS, BENEFI-
'CES OR STIPEND'S, And this Benefit they had by way of a Civil Comprehenſion, without being oblig'd to join in Miniſterial Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church. And by virtue of this Act, a Conſiderable Number of 'em enjoy'd the Legal Maintenance during their Lives; and in the Year 1710. above an hundred of 'em continu'd to enjoy their Churches upon theſe Terms; how many of 'em ſince are dead, I do not know: Upon the whole, 'tis Evident that greater Inſtances of Moderation can't be given by any Eſtabliſh'd Church within her Majeſty's Dominions, than thoſe I have already mention'd of the Church of *Scotland* towards the *Epiſcopal* Diſſenters there. And the Reader is referr'd for his farther Satisfaction in this point to the Book Entitul'd *Presbyterian Perſecution.*

Having thus examin'd our Author's Complaint againſt the *Scots* Preſbyterians during this Reign, I ſhall next take a Trip into *Ireland*, and examine the Account he gives of the *Conduct of Diſſenters there*, during this Period. The faults he finds with them are reducible to ſeven General Heads. 1. Their Petitioning the King by their Commiſſioners in *London* againſt the Church. 2. Their *Invading of Churches*, and refuſing to pay Tyths. 3. Their refuſing to pay their Landlords Rent. 4. Their *engroſſing* of Civil Power. 5. Their making a *Monopoly* of Trade. 6. The Confinement of their Charity and Alms Deeds to theſe of their own Perſuaſion, And 7. Their *unfair Practices* againſt the Church in the Matter of their *farming*.

As to the firſt, *viz.* Their *Petitioning the King by their Commiſſioners at* London, *againſt the Church*: Our Author inſerts an Account of it (*p.* 45.) which he ſays he receiv'd from a Reverend and moſt Worthy Prelate, as his Lordſhip had it out of the Secretary's Office in *London*. The whole Narrative of that Prelate runs thus,

SIR, *Dublin, January*, 3. 1711.

'I do remember, That *July* 1690. or thereabouts, I heard of ſome
'Deſigns of Diſſenters to the Diſadvantage of the Church in *Ireland*;
'upon it I went to the Secretary's Office, and there I underſtood,
'that Two Petitions had been preſented to the King by the Lord
'*Maſſareene*, Sir *Robert Adair*, and one *Abernethy*, in the firſt there
'was a Project to Aboliſh Epiſcopacy in the North of *Ireland*, accor-
'ding to the Model of *Scotland*. The Reaſons for this were, That that
'Country was entirely *Scotch*, at leaſt of the Presbyterian Perſuaſi-

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'on; That they had the whole Charge or Care of the Souls of that 'Part, and that they were the great Instruments of Setting up and 'supporting his Majesty's Interest in that Country. This Account 'I had of the first Petition, but I cou'd *never get a Copy of it.* Of the 'second Petition deliver'd by the same Persons I have a Copy, the 'substance of which *I remember* sets out the Purity of their Worship, 'and their many Services, the great Weight upon them from the ne-'glected Cures. And for their support in the Discharge of their Du-'ties, they desired, in order to Encourage their Worship and Dis-'cipline, *till their could be a Legal Establishment of both*, that the little 'Profit of the Deserted Livings of that Country might be Collected 'by them. This they said wou'd encrease Prayer for his Majesty, 'and highly advance and strengthen the Protestant Interest and Reli-'gion.

That Prelate has been Misinform'd in several Particulars; For 1. He has mistaken the very Names of the Petitioners: Instead of Sir *Robert Adair*, he shou'd have said Mr *Patrick Adair*; And tho' the late Lord *Massareene* and that Noble Family, were pleas'd to favor Presbyterians with particular Marks of their Friendship, yet his Lordship did not present that Petition. A Second Mistake in that Prelate's Account of this Matter is, *That two Petitions had been presented to the King by the* Lord Massareene, &c. Whereas there was none but One Petition presented (not by his Lordship but) by *Coll. Arthur Upton*, *Mr Adair*, and Mr *Abernethy*. His third and greatest Mistake is, in his wrong Recital of the Contents of the Petition it self, as will appear from the true Copy of it, which is as follows.

'To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The Humble 'Petition of Coll. *Arthur Upton*, *Patrick Adair* and 'John *Abernethy*.

'SHEWETH

'WHEREAS Your Petitioners did present a Humble 'Address to your Majesty from the Presbyterian 'Ministers, &others of that Persuasion in the North of *Ireland*, which 'your Majesty was graciously pleas'd to *Accept*, & they being instruct-'ed Humbly to Request your Majesty's Protection & Favor in some

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'Particulars, not yet offer'd to your Majesty's Consideration: Do most 'Humbly *Pray*, That their former and present Sufferings well known 'to those who liv'd amongst them, as well as their *Continu'd Loy-* 'alty and *Early Appearing* for Your Majesty, may be favorably Con- 'sider'd.

'That all Sufferings for Non-Conformity may be for the future 'prevented.

'That as by Your Princely Care, Relief is sent to that Languish- 'ing Poor Country, which by the Blessing of God, hath already 'and will further produce Happy Effects; so Your Majesty will ap- 'pear as a *Nursing-Father*, for Encouraging the Purity of the Gos- 'pel in Worship and Discipline, till there be a Legal Establishment 'of both.

'That those Ministers and their Families, some of them having been in *London-Derry* during the late Siege, Others yet remaining in their 'Places of *Ulster*, And the rest forc'd to fly to *Scotland*, being re- 'duc'd to Insupportable Straits, may for their present necessary sup- 'port have a Proportionable Share of the Public Charitable Collec- 'tions, and forthwith Encourag'd to return to their Respective Pla- 'ces by your Majesty's allowing them a *future Competent Support*, 'until the Peace and Quiet of these Parts of that *Despoil'd* and *Im-* 'poverish'd Nation enable the Inhabitants to Maintain the said Mini- 'sters, in such a Way as your Majesty in your Great Wisdom shall 'find just. Which will greatly Conduce to the Replanting those 'Parts of that Kingdom, Augment your Revenue there, increase 'Prayers for your Majesty's Success, endear the Affections of your 'Loyal Subjects, and strengthen your Hands against your Rebellious 'Enemies.

Which is your Petitioners daily Prayer &c.

The Reader will perceive that there is no such *Expression* in the Petition as that Prelate hath Represented in these Words *viz. That the little Profit of the Deserted Livings of that Country might be Collected by them*; and which our Author *(p. 46.)* calls a *Petitioning the King for the Church-Livings*. Instead of which, all they Petition'd for, was a share of the *Public Charitable Collections to supply their present Straits*. If there be any such *Expression* in the Copy which that *Reverend Prelate* says he has got, it *can't be a true Copy*: For what I have Publish'd is taken from the Copy which Mr. *Adair*, who presented the Original, hath

hath left amongſt his Papers; and the ſame Reverend Divine kept a Journal of his Proceedings in *London*, wherein he gives the exact Hiſtory of the Compoſition and Management of that Petition, and hath left amongſt his Papers the very *firſt Rough Draught* of it that was prepar'd, which I have ſeen, and which has not any Expreſſion or Phraſe in it of the like Import with that ſet forth in the above Prelate's Account. The firſt Rough Draught being thought too long, was Abridg'd and put into the Form in which I have Publiſh'd it. Mr. *Adair* in his Journal gives us the Heads of the Petition, and ſome of the Expreſſions which exactly agree with the above Copy. The Original was Preſented in *Auguſt* 1689, and lodg'd with the Right Honorable the Earl (and now Duke) of *Shrewsbury*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, who on the 28*th* day of *September* following deliver'd his Majeſty's moſt *Gracious Anſwer* to it, to Mr. *Adair* and Mr. *Abernethy*; which his Lordſhip read out of a Paper he had written from the King's own Mouth. Part 2

Before the preſenting of the above Petition, there was a Humble Congratulatory Addreſs preſented to his Majeſty by the ſame Perſons, wherein (as Mr *Adair* aſſures us in his ſaid Journal) there was *no Mention* made of any of the Grievances of the Presbyterians in *Irel. nd*, nor the leaſt Inſinuation of anything that was Petitory; but only Loyal and Dutiful Expreſſions of their Zeal for the late *Happy Revolution*, for which they Ador'd the Infinite Goodneſs of Almighty God; and with all poſſible joy Embrac'd their *Great Deliverer*, and Congratulated his Happy Acceſſion to the Crown, with Aſſurances of their *Steady* and *Inviolable Reſpect* to his Perſon and Government. And beſides that Addreſs and the above Petition, there was no other Paper preſented by theſe Miniſters to the King in *London*; and in *neither* of them was their Mention made of a *Project to Aboliſh Epiſcopacy in the North of* Ireland, *according to the model of* Scotland

And there are divers Circumſtances (beſides what I have ſaid from Mr *Adair's Journal* all written with his own Hand) which farther Confirm the ſhort Hiſtory I have given of this Tranſaction. For theſe two Miniſters got their Commiſſion and Inſtructions from their Brethren of the North of *Ireland* at *Connor* in the County of *Antrim January* 22. 1688; and among all their Inſtructions there is no mention made of any Project for the Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy. After theſe Miniſters had gone to *London* and preſented their Congratulatory Addreſs, before they preſented their Petition they waited for farther

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farther Directions from their Brethren, who at that time were baniſh'd from their own Country by the *Iriſh*; and had taken Sanctuary in *Scotland*, and who all met at *Glaſgow* the third *Wedneſday* of *June* 1689, and wrote a Letter to their Brethren in *London* which came to their Hands on the 8*th* day of *July* following, wherein they gave no ſuch Inſtructions about *Aboliſhing Epiſcopacy*. When the two Miniſters came home they gave (as both aver'd) a full and faithful Account of their whole Management in *London*, to their Brethren in the North of *Ireland*; & yet Never Acquainted them with their Propoſal of any ſuch Project about Epiſcopacy; tho' they told them the whole Tranſactions wherein they had been concern'd: And the Characters of theſe two Miniſters are ſo well known to many worthy Gentlemen of all Perſuaſions, that their Fidelity and Sincerity can't be call'd into Queſtion by ſuch as knew 'em: as to Mr *Adair*'s Character, the Reader will find it in the 166*th page* of this Book; And the Reverend Mr *Abernethy* was well known to have been adorn'd with the Happy Conjunction of three Rare Qualities which ſeldom meet in one Man *viz.* a *Sprightly Quickneſs of Apprehenſion*, a *great Depth* of ſolid Judgment, & a *vaſt Memory* juſtly admir'd for ſingular *Celerity* and long *Retention*, & theſe Rich Intellectual Endowments were Repleniſh'd with a large Stock of acquir'd Knowledge, and accompany'd with a Generous *Public Spirit*, Great *Piety* and Remarkable *Candor* and Integrity; he was a Man of *Polite* Addreſs, and of that Peculiar Felicity in Converſation as made him fit to be a Companion to Men of all Stations and Perſuaſions; from whom, the Amiable Beauties of his Mind ſet off with a Countenance made Venerable with Majeſtic *Gravity* and humble *Sweetneſs*, did at once Command both Awful Reſpect and Endearing Love. Thus were Mr *Adair* and he pitch'd upon as two of the Brighteſt Lights, and amongſt the fitteſt of their Brethren, for Managing ſo *great* a *Truſt*: And 'tis hop'd, the joint Teſtimony of ſuch Men will be of Weight with all thoſe who are not *Blindly* Devoted to a meer *Party-Intereſt*.

But to allow (for Argument's ſake) that theſe two Miniſters had petition'd the King for a Legal Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery in the North of *Ireland*, I can't ſee how that it ſelf cou'd have proved them or their Principals guilty of Diſloyalty; For they *Conſpir'd not* againſt the Government, raiſ'd *no Tumults*, invaded *no Churches* but only petitioned in a humble manner for Eſtabliſhing that Church and

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Form of Diſcipline and Manner of Worſhip, which of all others they thought the beſt; and I will prove in the *Third Chapter* of the *Third Part* of this Book, that any Proteſtant's having a Principle which inclines him to deſign and endeavor by all Lawful means to have his *own Religion Eſtabliſh'd by Law*, does not prove him to be either Diſloyal or Intolerable, and thither I refer my Reader. And if it were not ſo, both the Lord *Inchiquin* and the Lord of *Airds* muſt have been concluded Guilty either of *Diſſimulation*, or *Diſloyalty*, or *both*; Imputations, which I am loath ſhou'd fall upon the Memories of theſe Noble Peers: For they both declar'd their Inclinations for the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government in the North of *Ireland*, in *July* 1649. The firſt of theſe Lords wrote to the Presbytery a Letter dated *July* 2. that year, yet extant in their Records, the firſt part whereof is in theſe Words, Part 2.

'*Reverend Sirs*,

'I have lately taken upon me to Write ſome things unto you, and 'fearing they may have Miſcarry'd, I do now Aſſume the Confidence 'to offer you my weak advice; being a Well-wiſher to the *Presby-* 'terian Government, and honor'd with a Public Truſt by his *Majeſty*; 'who, I know, *is Reſolv'd* for your Satisfaction, *to Eſtabliſh the* 'Presbyterian Government in theſe Parts, and I believe, it may be in 'other Parts alſo, of the Kingdom: And no Man knows whether 'the whole Number of *Proteſtants*, may not agree to Embrace 'it.

And my Lord of *Airds* in his Declaration dated *July* 4. 1649. expreſſes himſelf thus, 'But leſt any ſhou'd fear that Religion, may 'hereby be prejudg'd (tho I conceive my Conſtant Practices might if 'well ponder'd reſolve any ſuch Doubt) I do in the *Preſence of GOD* 'Proteſt, I ſhall uſe my Uttermoſt Endeavors, whilſt I am intruſted with Power, to Countenance and Aſſiſt the Exerciſe of our Religion in this Province, *as it is now practiſ'd*, and likewiſe as I have 'good Ground to hope, with Succeſs I ſhall ſolicit his *Majeſty*, for 'a Confirmation under his hand.

Upon his Majeſty's Happy Acceſſion to the *Throne*, it was the earneſt deſire of many ſober Proteſtants of both Perſuaſions, *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian* to have a Coalition, and to have the National Eſtabliſhment *Enlarged* and *Strengthen'd* by the Comprehenſion of all the *Pious*,

Partt 2. *Orthodox* and *Useful* Ministers of both Sides: The Attempts that were made towards it, and by what means they Miscarry'd are sufficiently known. However, the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in and about the City of *London* thought it their Duty to apply to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for promoting so pious a Work, and receiv'd a *Gracious Answer:* Both the Addresses and Answers were Printed *May* 11. 1689, being publickly Licens'd: And whether Mr. *Adair* and Mr. *Abernethy* might not lawfully have Addres'd their Majesties in the same manner, is humbly submitted to all who love the *Union* of *Protestants* and the Peace and Welfare of their Country. These Addresses of the *London*-Ministers breath so much of a Catholic Spirit for Christian Concord, and withal contain so much Loyal Affection, that they Challenge a Peculiar Place in this Historical Essay. They run thus,

'An Address of the Dissenting Ministers (in and about the 'City of *London*) to the KING and QUEEN, upon 'their Accession to the CROWN. With their Majesties ANSWER to it.

To the KING,

May it please Your Majesty,

'The Series of successful Events that has attended your Glorious 'Enterprize for the saving these Kingdoms from so Imminent and 'Destructive Evils, has been so Visible and Extraordinary, that it 'may force an Acknowledgment of the Divine Providence from those 'who deny it, and raise Admiration in all who believe and reverence 'it. The Beauty and Speed of this happy Work, are the *bright 'Signatures* of his Hand, who *creates Deliverance for his People.* The 'less of Human Power, the more of the Divine Wisdom and Good-'ness has been Conspicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been ob-'tain'd by fierce and bloody Battels, *Victory* it self had been *dejected*, 'and Sad, and our Joy had been mix'd with afflicting Bitterness. 'But as the Sun ascending the *Horizon*, dispels without noise the 'Darkness of the Night; so your Serene Presence has, without Tu-'mults and Disorders, chased away the Darkness that invaded us. In 'the Sense of this astonishing Deliverance, we desire with all *possible*

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' *Ardency* of Affection, to Magnify the Glorious Name of *God* the ' Author of it, by whose entire Efficacy the Means have been successful: And we cannot without a warm Rapture of Thankfulness, recount our Obligations to your Majesty the happy Instrument of it. ' Your Illustrious Greatness of Mind, in an Undertaking of such vast ' Expence; Your Heroic Zeal, in exposing your most precious Life ' in such an Adventurous Expedition; Your Wise Conduct and Unshaken Resolution in Prosecuting your Great Ends, are above the ' Loftiest flights of Language, exceed all Praise. We owe to your Majesty the Two greatest and most valuable Blessings that we can enjoy, ' the Preservation of the true Religion, our most sacred Treasure, ' and the Recovery of the falling State, and Establishing it upon just ' Foundations. According to our Duty, we promise *Unfainting fidelity*, ' & true Allegiance to your Majesty's Person and Government. We are ' Encourag'd by Your Gracious Promise upon our first *Address*, to ' humbly desire and hope; that your Majesty will be pleas'd by your ' Wisdom and Authority to establish *a firm Union* of your Protestant Subjects in the matters of Religion, by making the RULE OF ' CHRISTIANITY TO BE THE RULE OF CONFORMITY. ' Our blessed Union in the Purity and Peace of the Gospel, will make ' this Church a fair and lovely Type of Heaven, and terrible to ' our Antichristian Enemies: This will make *England* the steady ' Centre from whence a powerful Influence will be deriv'd for the ' Support of the Interest of Reformed Christianity abroad; This will ' bring Immortal Honor to your Name, above the Trophies and ' Triumphs of the most Renowned Conquerors. We do assure ' your Majesty, that *we shall cordially Embrace the Terms of Union which* ' *the Ruling Wisdom of our* Savior *has prescrib'd in his Word.* We ' shall not trespass farther upon your Royal Patience, but shall offer ' up our fervent Prayers to the *King* of *Kings*, that he will please to ' direct your Majesty by his Unerring Wisdom and always encline ' your Heart to his Glory, and encompass your Sacred Person with ' his Favor as with a shield, and make your Government a Universal ' Blessing to these Kingdoms.

' His Majesty's Answer to the Ministers.

' *I take kindly your good Wishes; and whatever is in my Power shall*

be employ'd for obtaining a Union among you. I do assure you of my Protection and Kindness.

'*The* ADDRESS of the *Dissenting Ministers* to the *QUEEN*, upon her Accession to the *CROWN.*

May it please your Majesty;

'YOUR happy Arrival into your Native Country, and Accession to the Crown, has diffus'd an universal Joy through this Kingdom. 'Tis an Auspicious Sign of the Public Felicity, when *Supreme Virtue* and *Supreme Dignity* meet in the same Person. Your Inviolable Firmness in the Profession of the Truth, and Exemplary Piety, are the most Radiant Jewels in your Crown. The Lustre of your Conversation, unstain'd in the midst of Tempting Vanities, and Adorn'd with every Grace, recommends *Religion* as the most *Honorable* and *Amiable Quality*, even to those who are Averse from hearing Sermons, and apt to despise serious Instructions and Excitations to be Religious. We humbly desire your Majesty will be pleas'd by your Wisdom and Goodness, to compose the Differences between your Protestant Subjects, in Things of less Moment concerning Religion. We hope those *Reverend* Persons who Conspire with us in the main end, the Glory of God and the Public Good, will *Consent to the Terms of* Union *wherein all the Reformed Churches agree.* We shall sincerely Address our Requests to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich abundance his blessings upon your Majesty's Person and Government, and preserve you to his Heavenly Kingdom.

The *QUEEN's* Answer.

'*I will use all Endeavors for the Obtaining a Union that is necessary for the Edifying of the Church. I desire your Prayers.*

'*LICENSED, May* 11. 1689.

A Second fault our *Author* finds with the Dissenters in *Ireland* and particularly in the *North*, in the beginning of this reign is, Their *Invading of Churches and refusing to pay the Clergy their Tithes.* Upon these Heads he expresses himself thus, *p.* 15, 'They began to Seize 'on some parish-Churches in the *North* of *Ireland* particularly 'Mr. *Na-*

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'*Nathaniel Cooper* a Clergy-man in the Town of *Lutterkenny*, was by them pulled out of the Church. They in the same Church hinder'd Mr *Craford* to preach. Mr *John Lesly* officiating in the Church of *Rimogky*, Mr *Liston* the Presbyterian Minister, tho' they had a *Meeting-house* near the Church, came with a Party, forc'd him to give over, threatned to kill him, and Mr *Liston* went up and preach'd; and Mr *Hunter* in the Diocess of *Derry* had his Gown torn, and was pulled out of his Pulpit.'

'About this time the *Northern* Dissenters did generally refuse the Payment of their Tithes with such Obstinacy, that Duke *Schomberg* was obliged to interpose by public Orders and Proclamations.

These Instances about Mr *Cooper*, Mr *Craford*, Mr *Lesly* and Mr *Hunter* Conformist Ministers, and Mr *Liston* a Presbyterian minister, are very Disingenuously misrepresented by our Author's Informers. Its Confessed that Mr *Liston* preached some few Lord's Days in some Churches; But that he brought any Party that threaten'd any Clergy-man, is a mistake. Mr *Cooper* went into the Church of *Lutterkenny* early in the Morning before the usual time of meeting, and before he had Begun Divine Service, some few Women (*not one man being amongst 'em*) went and spoke to him, and bid him forbear, because Mr *Liston* was to preach there; and while they were talking together he got between them and the Church door, and the Women moving towards the same door, press'd him out without touching him with their hands; but Mr *Liston* getting Information of this, sent for the people that were to be his Hearers, to *Castlebane* where he preached to 'em that very day, and Mr *Cooper* preach'd in Church, without any farther molestation. and where Mr *Liston* preach'd in any Church, the meeting-House was either quite Ruinous, or very much out of Repair: The whole Circumstances relating to these Stories can be produc'd, but seeing I don't pretend to Justify, but only extenuate 'em, and show that they were not so bad as our Author makes 'em; I shall not trouble my Reader with any farther Account of 'em.

But what ever might be thought blameable in *Mr. Liston*'s Conduct, the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* are so far from being Chargeable with it, that they Reprov'd him for it; and from their General Meeting at *Belfast July* 3. 1690. sent him the following

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lowing Letter, which I publish from the Original now in my Hands, Subscrib'd by the late Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hall* of *Larn*, Moderator of that Meeting, a Man of profound Learning, great Abilities and Piety, and long Experience; whose Subscription can be Attested to be Genuine by many Persons of Unquestionable Integrity. The Letter runs thus,

'*B.* 3. *July* 1690.

'The Brethren here met from *all our several Meetings*, being inform'd that some of our Brethren (in remote *Corners* of the Country, and under some *extraordinary* Circumstances,) have for *some few* Sabbath-days made use of some Churches, by Law belonging to the Prelatical Clergy; and considering, that as this *is illegal in it self*, spoken of to the Reproach and Prejudice of our Interest by our Adversaries, and *unsuitable to our former Commendable Practice*; so likely to *create great Offence* to the Government, and may give occasion for evil Thoughts of all of us and our Way: Have thought fit hereby *earnestly to advise all* the several Meetings and Brethren in them to *abstain from all such Practices in time to come*, and every such Thing or Practice whereby Reflection may be justly cast upon our Way as *Invaders upon the Law, or Right of any Subject.* And further to declare, that it is their Judgment that, if after Intimation to the several Meetings of this our Advice, any Brother shall insist in these or the like Practices, that they are in that Case liable, as to *Civil Punishments by the Law of the Land*, so *to Ecclesiastical Censure*, as giving great Scandal and Offence thereby.

THO. HALL *Modr.*

I'm persuaded the above Letter will be allow'd by all Impartial Sober Church-men, to be an Undeniable Proof of the *Peaceable* and *Friendly Temper* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland.*

That the *Northern Dissenters did generally refuse the payment of their Tithes with Obstinacy*, is a very unfair Account. While the Calamities of the War had destroy'd Corn, Cattle and the People's substance, the Tythes cou'd not be expected, where the People had little or nothing to themselves; When Duke *Schomberg* came to the Country, he publish'd Orders and Proclamations for settling and restoring People's Rights whether Clergy or Laity, and kindly and favorably Protected Protestants of all sorts, but found no Obstinacy in Dissenters (and far less any General one) to occasion such Orders, as our Author Represents.

Doctor

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Doctor *King* (now Archbiſhop of *Dublin*) gives a juſter Account of this matter than our Author, and when their Teſtimonies are Confronted, I believe few men will be at a loſs which ſide to fall in with, or which of the two Authorities is moſt to be regarded. The Archbiſhop in his *State of the Proteſtants of* IRELAND. &c. *p* 260. relates the matter thus, 'Many Clergy-men were forc'd to remove, 'becauſe they had nothing left to live on, their Pariſhioners were 'as poor as themſelves, and utterly unable to help them, I do con- 'feſs that there was *no Reaſon to complain of the People's Backwardneſs* 'to maintain the Clergy; on the contrary, they Contributed to the 'utmoſt of their power, and beyond it, and made *no Diſtinction of* 'Sects; MANY DISSENTERS *of all Sorts* (except Quakers) *con-* 'tributing liberally to thisgood end, which ought to be REMEMBRED 'TO THEIR HONOR.

A *Third* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians during this Reign is, their *Refuſing to pay the Landlords Rent*, which he repreſents with very ſevere Reflections (*p.* 15, 16.) in theſe Words, 'Nor did 'the zeal of theſe *untained Loyaliſts* only reach the Property of the 'Church; but it may ſeem, Numbers of them thought they had a 'Title, not only to what they call'd their *own Inheritance* of Church 'Revenues; but to the *Inheritance* of Lay-Proprietors, which as it 'was then expreſs'd they had preſerv'd when their Landlords de- 'ſerted them, of which take the following Inſtance.

'The Earl of *Donegal* hath a Conſiderable Eſtate in the County of 'Antrim, call'd the *Six Mile-Water*. At the late Revolution, when 'the *Iriſh* had been beaten quite out of thoſe Parts of theKingdom, 'his Lordſhip was inform'd, that the whole Body of his Tenants at '*Six-Mile-Water* being all Diſſenters, had refuſ'd to pay any Rents, 'his Lordſhip with a Great many Gentlemen of the Country, went 'as it were to Repoſſeſs himſelf of his Eſtate; the Tenants roſe 'againſt him, in a body Arm'd with half-Pikes, Pitch-forks, &c. 'and had it not been for ſeaſonable and prudent Advice given to 'his Lordſhip by ſome of his Company, it is generally believ'd, that 'many of them had loſt their Lives; they wounded ſeveral of 'thoſe Gentlemen, which my Lord had brought with him, par- 'ticularly Sir *Thomas Dancer*, & Mr. *Tiſdal* of *Carrickfergus*, who came 'up to expoſtulate with theTenants, and advanc'd nearer them than 'the reſt, & his Lordſhip was oblig'd before he cou'd bring them to

Reaſon

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'Reason, to procure some of the standing-Army to be sent against them, commanded by Captain *Sterling*, who brought several of them to *Carrickfergus* Goal.

What a Groundless Bustle our Author has made about this story, and how wretchedly he has mangl'd and misrepresented the whole matter will appear by the following true Relation of it, subscrib'd by two Gentlemen who have an Interest in the Parish were that Riot was committed, were particularly acquainted with the whole Passage, and are Gentlemen of good Reputation in their Country; The first of them *William Shaw* of *Bush* Esq; commanded a Company of the *Militia*, and did good Service against the *Irish* in the *late happy Revolution*, had the honor to be *High Sheriff* of the County of *Antrim* where he lives, and to be a Justice of the peace for many years. The Narrative is this;

'*An Exact Account of the Riot Committed at* Priest-Town *on the* Six-Mile-Water &c.

'It wou'd seem the Author was scarce of Arguments to prove the 'Disloyalty of Presbyterians when he advances this Story, which is 'neither true in Fact, *as he relates it*, nor any thing to his purpose, 'were it ever so well Attested; both which will appear by the following Candid Narrative of the whole Matter. It must be own'd 'that some of my Lord *Donegal*'s Tenants made Opposition first to 'his Servants and then to Himself in their Distraining for the Rents 'due in the Year 1689. but then that Opposition is so far from being Chargeable on the whole Body of Presbyterians on the *Six-Mile-Water*, that there were but about *forty Persons* concern'd in it '(whereof a good number were Women) and those of them that 'were the most Active, not of the Presbyterian Communion, but a 'People call'd *Houstonites*: The only Place it fell out in, is a Farm 'call'd *Priest-Town*, and what Encourag'd the People to that Foolish 'Unjustifiable Undertaking was,

'1. They apprehended the Landlord cou'd not justly Crave any 'Rent where the Tenant was not kept in Peaceable Possession, which 'every Body knows they were not that Year, having very little but 'their Lives left, that the Enemy cou'd take from them.

'2. That a *Danish* Collonel quarter'd at *Belly-Clare*, wou'd not 'suffer the Bayliffs to Distrain for Rent, but Order'd his Soldiers to Op-

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'Oppoſe them; Tho' Capt. *Shaw* of *Belly-gelly*, & ſeveral other Presbyterian Gentlemen us'd all the Intereſt with the ſaid Collonel not to interpoſe in that Matter, but without Succeſs.

'3. That one *John Gueſt* an Attorney at Law fill'd the Country with Expectations that either the Parliament of *England* or *Ireland* wou'd by a Law free the Proteſtant Subjects of this Kingdom, on Account of their Sufferings, from paying any Rent for a certain Term; which *Gueſt* had ſo far won on the Credulity of the People, by a Propoſal which ſeem'd ſo very Reaſonable in it ſelf, that they afterwards employ'd him to go to *England* to Manage that Affair for them at the Parliament, and for his Encouragement and Support Advanc'd a Sum of Mony to him. But the People that made that Reſiſtance being a handful of *Ignorant*, *Headſtrong* People, apprehended whatever their Neighbours cou'd ſay to the contrary, that there was already a Law in their Favor, but that the Landlords for their own Ends ſuppreſs'd the Publication of it; and thence concluded, That if they Reſcu'd their Cattle, they cou'd not be in Danger of any Legal Proſecution. It's true, the Conjecture was ill grounded, but what Party looks upon themſelves Accountable for the Folly of a Mob?

'How weak ſoever theſe Reaſons were, *Alexander Wallace* of *Prieſt-town* refuſ'd to pay Rent to Mr. *Benjamin Adair* his Immediate Landlord, nor wou'd he ſuffer him to diſtrain, whereupon Mr. *Adair* made Complaint to my Lord *Donegal* (the chief Landlord) who ſent Sir *Thomas Dancer* with ſome of his own ſervants to aſſiſt, but came not himſelf, as the Author Alledges; then it was that the Oppoſition was given, Sir *Thomas* wounded ſlightly with a Pitchfork, and the Cattle reſcu'd. The next day indeed, Sir *Thomas*'s Expedition being ſucceſsleſs, My Lord himſelf came out Accompany'd by Capt. *Leſly*, Capt. *Shaw* of Belly-Gelly, Capt. *Shaw* of *Buſh*, Mr. *John Crafford* of *Belly-Savage*, Mr. *Robert Crafford* of *Hole ſtone*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of Diſtinction in their Country, tho' the Author, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, thinks fit only to take notice of Corporal *Tiſdale* of *Carrickfergus*; his Lordſhip was pleaſ'd to bring with him a Company of foot Commanded by Captain *Stirling*, who ſtrictly charg'd his Men to do the People no harm, but only if they oppoſ'd driving the Cattle to fire upon them with Powder, which they did, and there was

'no more Opposition given either then or any time after; but what will sufficiently vindicate the Presbyterians from any Imputation of Disloyalty in this Matter is,

'1. That the chief Actors, as I observ'd before, were Separatists from them, as well as from the Establish'd Church, such particularly as *Alexander Wallace*, *Thomas Lindsay* who wounded Sir *Thomas Darcer*, and *James Thompson*, &c.

'2. My Lord *Donegal* was so far from Judging *Lindsay* Disloyal, that he employed Mr *James Craford* to persuade him to inlist in his Regiment.

'3. That the Presbyterian Gentlemen of best Note did joyn with my Lord *Donegal*, and went to the place where the Riot was committed, to have Aided him if there had been need; nor wou'd it be forgot that my Lord himself did so far own the Justice of their Cause (tho' every wise Man will Condemn their foolish Proceedings,) as afterwards to *forgive one Quarter's Rent* in consideration of their Losses by the *Irish*. But what will demonstratively prove that my Lord *Donegal* had no such Opinion of the Presbyterians of the *Six-Mile-Water* or of any other in the Kingdom, as the Author wou'd have the World to have of them, is, that my Lord did on all Occasions appear for them in Parliament, and constantly affirm'd 'em to be good and loyal Subjects; and none had better Reason to know them than his Lordship.

'After all, we can't imagine how this Instance serves the Author's Design, or how he comes to found a Charge of Disloyalty upon it. As the People made no Pretensions to any Right of Inheritance, what ever the Author Alledges, so my Lord *Donegal* made no Demands on behalf of the Government, only was endeavoring to recover his own Right: He may as well say, every Man is Disloyal who refuses to pay any other just Debt, and it must be a *prodigiously large* Notion of *Disloyalty* that takes in every Case of that sort. Given under our Hands *August* 7. 1713.

William Shaw
James Crawffwrd.

'Tis known to all Men of Sense and Intelligence in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, that in consideration of the Losses sustain'd by the Tenants, during the War, the Landlords generally forgave some of the bygone Rents,

Rents, some *one year*, some *two*, more or less in Proportion to their Losses; and that before the said Abatements cou'd be well adjusted, their happen'd several Debates between Landlords and Tenants in that *Unsettled Condition* of the Country, the *former* Distraining, and the *latter* resisting; which was done without any Distinction or Regard to the Diversity of Persuasions in *either*: For Mr. *Upton*'s Tenants in *Templepatrick* resisted him, tho' he was and is still of the Presbyterian Persuasion. And in the Year 1691, divers Tenants in the *Falls* of *Belfast* (most of 'em being Churchmen) refus'd to pay the Rent due to the Family of *Donegal*, and made a very brisk Opposition to *James Macartney* Esq; who was demanding the said Rents in behalf of that Noble Family, and was oblig'd to take several Persons out of the Town of *Belfast* to his Assistance. And many other Instances of the same kind can be given: Which shows our Author's Reflections upon this Fact to be very *Uncharitable* and *Partial*. Part 2.

A fourth fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Reign is, their *Engrossing of Civil Power*. He Ushers in his Account of this Fact with this solemn Preface *p.* 18. 'No sooner was the *Oath* 'of *Supremacy* (the greatest Impediment in their Course) remov'd, 'but they drove on at so furious a Rate, that they bore down all be-'fore them: Perhaps there can be no Instance given of a Design 'wrought with *more Subtilety*, & carry'd on with *greater Harmony*, than 'that of the Dissenters of *Ireland*, to *sink the Church Interest* in the *North*: 'the whole Machine was so Uniform, that there did not appear the 'least Jar in the Movement.' His Historical Mistakes in this point are *Gross*, and the Consequences he draws from these *Fancied* Facts are *Wide* and *Uncharitable*. He remarks severely upon the Progress of the Presbyterians in the Corporations of *Belfast*, *Londonderry*, *Colerane*, and *Carrickfergus*; adducing these Instances to prove his General Charge; the Unreasonableness whereof will appear by the following just and true Account of the Management of *Presbyterians* in these Corporations.

And first as to *Belfast*, all the Dissenting Burgesses who are now alive and were in that Office at the Commencement of the *Test Clause* (except one *viz.* Capt. *Brice*, who being at present out of the Kingdom had not the Opportunity of Subscribing the following Paper) have Subscrib'd a Vindication of themselves in these Words,

' *A VINDICATION* of the late Burgesses of the Corporation of ' Belfast, *of the PRESBYTERIAN Persuasion.*

' Whereas the Author of a late Pamphlet Entitul'd the *Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland* &c. hath thrown divers groundless Aspersions upon those of the Presbyterian Persuasion, who had the honor to be Burgesses of the Corporation of *Belfast*, from the time of the late *Happy Revolution* in 1688. to the Commencement of the *Test-Clause* in the Act to *prevent the further Growth of Popery*; We do therefore, in Behalf of our Selves and of the Rest of our Persuasion who were Burgesses of the said Corporation during that Period or any part of it, beg leave to set our Innocence in a true Light with Respect to the Facts misrepresented, to our Prejudice, by the Author of the said Book.

' The Author (*p.* 19) lays down this Conclusion, *Within the Compass of a very few Years after the Revolution, the Dissenters manag'd matters with such Artifice and Success, that they had obtain'd a Majority of Aldermen, Burgesses or* Freemen *through all the Considerable Corporations of the North of* IRELAND.

' The Instances he gives to prove his *Assertion* are four, *viz.* the Management of Dissenters in *London-Derry*, *Belfast*, *Colrane* and *Carrickfergus*. What he advances concerning *Belfast* is in these Words (*Ibid.*) ' In BELFAST, *the Election of Magistrates and Representatives is by Charter vested in the Burgesses of that Corporation, of which at the beginning of the late Revolution, there were Ten to Two of the Twelve Burgesses, who were Conformists, and before the passing of the Test-Act, the Dissenters had gain'd a Majority of Eight to Four.*

' When he has finish'd his Account of these four Instances, he treats the whole Dissenters and their Managements in these Corporations with the following Calumnious Misrepresentation *p.* 22. ' *These Instances, which I have given, shall serve to discover the Advances made by the Northern Dissenters in our most considerable Corporations. The difficulty remains to know the steps they made towards it, which I freely own is a Mystery I cannot perfectly unfold. 'Tis plain, so great a Majority of Dissenting Aldermen, Burgesses &c. cou'd not succeed by the Death of their Predecessors within so short a Compass of Time; it was Effected with the same quickness and dexterity, that Jugglers play their Tricks, and in a great Measure by the same Amusements, viz. by Appealing with the*

' *greatest*

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'*greateſt Confidence to thoſe very Senſes, which they intended that Moment to Deceive and Impoſe upon.*

'*For during the Interval before mention'd, the Diſſenters expreſs'd the greateſt Tenderneſs and Regard for their Epiſcopal Brethern; they were all true Proteſtants, there was little or no difference betwixt them;* — '*By ſuch Amuſements as theſe, ſupported by the Influence of Public Funds, it is very probable the Northern Diſſenters made this Progreſs in our Corporations, and wrought upon the Credulity, Ignorance and Poverty of many of the Conforming Burgeſſes, and to reſign to them.*

'It is Evident the Author deſign'd that a Part of thoſe heavy Reflections ſhou'd fall to our ſhare in *Beltaſt*; but with how little Truth or Candor, any of them can be charg'd upon us, will appear from the following Account. Thoſe of our Perſuaſion, who were elected to be Burgeſſes *of Belfaſt*, between the Year 1682 and the Commencement of the *Teſt-Clauſe* in 1703. were *William Craford*, *William Lockhart*, *James Buller*, *David Smith*, *Arthur Macartney*, *John Chalmers*, Captain *Brice*, *David Buttle*, *Iſaac McCartney*, and *Neil Mc Neil*. The perſons in whoſe Room they were elected, the Times of their Reſpective Elections, and the Perſons who were Magiſtrates when they were choſen, are exactly as follows (for the Truth whereof we appeal to the Public Town Book of *Belfaſt*). Mr *Craford* was Elected *March* 24. 1686. in the Room of Mr. *John Hamilton* Merchant, Capt. *Robert Leaths* being *Sovereign* of the Town. Mr. *Lockhart* was Elected *May* 7. 1687. in the Room of Lieutenant *Tooley*, Capt. *Leaths* being Sovereign. Mr *Buller* was Elected *Feb.* 25. 1689. in the Room of Mr *Thomas Walcoat*, Capt. *Leaths* being Sovereign. Mr *David Smith* was Elected *May* 26. 1690. in the Room of Mr. *Francis Thetford*, Capt. *Leaths* being Sovereign: Mr. *Arthur Macartney* was Elected *June* 1. 1691. in the Room of his Father *George Macartney* Eſq; Mr. *Lockhart* being Sovereign. Mr. *Chalmers* was Elected, *Apr.* 8. 1695. in the Room of Enſign *Leaths*, Mr. *Craford* being Sovereign. Capt. *Brice* was Elected *December* 17. 1697. in the Room of *Tho. Knox* Eſq; the Right Honorable the Earl of *Donegal* being Sovereign. Mr. *Buttle* was Elected *October* 4. 1700. in the Room of Capt. *Edward Harriſon*, Mr. *Black George McCartney* being Sovereign. Mr. *Iſaac Mc Cartney* was Elected *April* 26. 1701. in the Room of the Honorable Capt. *Charles Chicheſter*, Mr. *Black George Mc Cartney* being Sovereign. Mr. *McNeil* was Elected *February* 6. 1702. in the

Room

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' Room of Mr. *Buller*, Mr. *Buttle* being Sovereign. All the Persons ' in whose Room any of our Persuasion were chosen Burgesses were ' Dead before they were chosen in their Rooms, except *Thomas Knox* ' Esq; who having Purchas'd an Estate worth near 1000 *lib. per Annum* in and about *Dungannon*, went to live upon his Estate, and Re- ' sign'd in favor of Capt. *Brice*, his Brother-in-Law.

' Let the World judge whether the Author has not been as Injurious ' to Truth, as to our Reputation, when he has asserted that *all this* ' *Majority of Dissenting Burgesses cou'd not succeed by the Death of their* ' *Predecessors in so short a time*; and whether it be not a gross Abuse ' put upon us, and an Imposition upon his Reader, to tell the World, ' *that this was Effected with the same Quickness and* Dexterity, *that Jug-* ' *glers Play their Tricks, and in a great Measure by the same Amusements,* ' *viz.* by *Appealing with the greatest Confidence to those very Senses, which* ' *they intended that Moment to deceive and impose upon.* And let all who ' know Mr. *Knox* (the only Person who resign'd in favor of a Pres- ' byterian) judge whether he be Chargeable with either *Credulity*, ' *Ignorance* or *Poverty*. And we put the Author and all his Abettors ' to Defiance to prove, that there was the least unfair and indirect ' Method taken by us or any of our Persuasion to procure our selves ' to be Elected into the said Offices; and as a farther Confirmation ' of the truth of what we alledge, we assert and are ready to prove, ' that all of us were Elected not only with the Consent, but by the ' Interest and Recommendation of the Right Honorable Family of ' *Donegal*, except two *viz.* Mr. *Chalmers* whom the Burgesses Elected ' according to the Rules of their Charter which oblige them to chuse ' a Burgess in seven Days in the Case of any Place become Vacant by ' Death: In which time, as matters were then Circumstantiated, ' there was not an Opportunity of knowing the Inclination of that *No-* ' *ble Family*; tho' all this Respect was paid to 'em in the Election of ' any Dissenting Burgess, without any Obligation by vertue of the Char- ' ter. And my Lord *Donegal* was so well satisfy'd with Mr. *Chal-* ' *mers* being Elected Burgess, that by his Lordship's Interest and Re- ' commendation he was afterwards chosen and serv'd *Sovereign* of the ' Town for one Year, and *press'd* to serve a second Year, tho' Mr. ' *Chalmers* declin'd it. The second was Mr. *Buller*, who was Elected ' when the Family was abroad in the time of the troubles, but was ' in good Reputation with them. And we do Aver, that 'tis utterly

' false

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‘ falſe, that we ever had the Benefit of any Public Fund for providing ‘ or promoting the ſaid Elections: Nor do we believe nor know, ‘ that ever there was any *Public Fund* rais'd or apply'd to ſuch Uſes ‘ either in *this Corporation* or *any other* in this Kingdom by any of our ‘ Perſuaſion; And we are confident, that conſidering our Station and ‘ Circumſtances, we wou'd have been told or conſulted with about ‘ ſuch a *Fund*, had there been the leaſt *Reality* in what the Author ‘ Advances concerning it.

‘ And whereas divers of our Perſuaſion had the Honor to ſerve in ‘ the Office of the Magiſtracy of this Corporation, *viz.* Mr. *Crafford*, ‘ Mr. *Lockhart*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. Black *George Mc Cartney*, Mr. *Chalmers*, and Mr. *Buttle*; We Appeal to all our Impartial Conformiſt ‘ Neighbours, whether we did not Impartially Puniſh theſe of our ‘ Perſuaſion, when Convicted of any Crimes againſt the Laws of the ‘ Kingdom, as well as others; and whether we did not carry with ‘ all Peaceable and friendly Temper towards thoſe of the Eſtabliſh'd ‘ Church, without the *leaſt Contempt* or *Diſreſpect* to the National E- ‘ ſtabliſhment, unleſs our frequenting the Public Worſhip of God ‘ in the way moſt agreeable to our Conſciences may deſerve that ‘ Name.

‘ The Author (p. 20.) caſts ſome more groundleſs Reflections ‘ upon us and thoſe of our Perſuaſion in *Belfaſt*, in theſe Words ‘ There “ was one *Pottinger* a Profeſs'd *Presbyterian*, an Inhabitant of *Belfaſt*, “ who when King *James* was in *Ireland*, prov'd a zealous and avow- “ ed *Jacobite*, and made Intereſt to have the Old Charter of that “ Town broken, and a New one granted. Upon what Motives this “ was done, I will not Determine, but thus far I affirm to be Fact, “ That at the time, when that Charter was broke, there were but “ One or Two of the Twelve *Burgeſſes*, who were Diſſenters; but “ by the New Charter the Number of Burgeſſes was Augmented to “ *Thirty four*, whereof, by the beſt Computation I can make, there “ were *Eleven* or *Twelve* Diſſenters & *Nineteen* Papiſts; ſo much greater “ Credit had the Diſſenters at that time with King *James* than the “ Conformiſts. It is further Remarkable, that this ſame *Pottinger* left “ *Belfaſt* ſome time after the Troubles, and liv'd for many Years in “ *London* a known and Profeſs'd Factor and Solicitor for the *Jacobites* “ there, and that he has lately return'd to *Belfaſt*, during Mr *Mac-* “ *Bride*'s Proſecution for his Refuſal of the *Oath of Abjuration*, and

ſtill

" ſtill continues his Conſtant Hearer, has been kindly receiv'd with-
" out the leaſt Mark of Diſeſteem from any Perſon of Conſideration,
" or the leaſt Popular Reſentment, as might be fear'd for his Treach-
" erous Behavior to that Corporation.

' The Author has miſtaken his Computation of the Number of
' Diſſenters who were inſerted in the late King *James*'s Charter as
' Burgeſſes, for there were none ſuch, but thoſe *viz. James Shaw, Will.*
' *Lockhart, John Eccles, William Craford, Henry Chads, David Smith,*
' and *John Chalmers*; which are at leaſt four or five ſhort of the Num-
' ber Alledg'd by the Author; and it's hereby declar'd by ſuch of us
' Subſcribers as were inſerted in the ſaid Charter in behalf of our
' Selves, that our Names were made uſe of without our Knowlege,
' Conſent or Privity, and that we never accepted of, nor ſerv'd
' in the Office of Burgeſſes in *Belfaſt*, by Virtue of the ſaid Charter:
' And 'tis hereby Certify'd and Declar'd by all of us, that we have
' heard (and do verily believe) all the Reſt of our Perſuaſion who
' were Nominated Burgeſſes in the ſaid Charter *ſolemnly proteſt* and
' *Declare*, that their Names were likewiſe inſerted and made uſe of
' without their Knowlege, Conſent or Privity; and we know and
' Certify that none of them did ever Accept or Serve in the Office
' of Burgeſſes in this Corporation, by Virtue of the ſaid Charter, the
' ſaid *Thomas Pottinger* only excepted. And we look upon our ſelves
' to be oblig'd by the Rules of Common Juſtice, and Friendſhip due
' to our Brethren of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, to declare and farther
' Certify that we do not know nor believe that any of their Perſuaſion
' were Nominated Burgeſſes in the ſaid Charter, with their Know-
' ledge or conſent. And that we neither know nor believe that
' they Accepted of or Serv'd in the ſaid Office, by Virtue of the
' ſaid Charter.

' The *Author* is very Unwary in Reflecting upon us and theſe of
' our Perſuaſion for not ſhewing ſome *Mark of Diſeſteem or Popular*
' *Reſentment* of Mr *Pottinger*'s Behavior againſt the Liberties of the
' Corporation: Becauſe if there be any Ground of Reflection, it muſt
' rather fall on thoſe of the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church;
' for when Mr *Pottinger* return'd to *Belfaſt*, none but Conformiſts
' were Burgeſſes; and it being proper for them as the Repreſen-
' tatives of the Corporation, to Reſent the Injuries done it, if there
' was any blame, the Author's Paper wou'd fix it upon them: But

to

' to do *them* as well as *our ſelves* Juſtice, the true Reaſons why none Part 2.
' of us have mov'd in the Matter were, becauſe Mr *Pottinger* having
' been a Conſiderable Dealer in Town, and now in Declining *Age*
' (near 80) as well as Circumſtances, and being marry'd in a Family
' of good Reſpect, Intereſt, and Loyalty, Proteſtants of all Per-
' ſuaſions wav'd taking any Notice of the Matter, further than De-
' claring in all Companies, and upon all Occaſions, and frequently
' to his face, that they did not Approve, but Condemn the ſaid Practice.
' And we humbly conceive it were time enough to make this Objecti-
' on againſt us, when all thoſe who betray'd the Liberties of *England*,
' by ſurrendring Charters there, ſhall be firſt call'd to Account and pu-
' niſh'd.

' And we can't but Obſerve. that 'tis a Conſiderable Vindication
' of theſe of our Perſuaſion, that this *Author* is not Able (after all
' the Pains he has taken) to produce any but one ſingle Inſtance of
' any of our Perſuaſion in this Kingdom, who cou'd ever be tax'd
' with the like Practice. Given under our Hands at *Belfaſt* this 2*d*
' of *September* 1713.

William Crafford, *Iſaac Mc Cartney.*
John Chalmers. *Neil Mc Neil.*
David Buttle,

Our Author's Miſrepreſentations and falſe Reaſonings are ſo fully Detected in the above Vindication, that I have no occaſion to add any thing to it. I ſhall next give an Account of the Management of Presbyterians in the Corporation of *London-Derry*, as I had it in the following Narrative from a Gentleman who was Intimately acquainted with all their Tranſactions there, Appeals to the *Records* of the *City* for the Facts he repreſents, and offers to prove the Truth of the whole, ſhou'd any point be conteſted.

' In 1688. the *Iriſh* Government had Arbitrarily Diſſolv'd the Pro-
' teſtant Corporation of *London-Derry*, and Introduc'd a *Popiſh* one,
' which continu'd till the ſhutting of the Gates againſt the *Iriſh* Ar-
' my. The Diſſenters that were Members before the *Iriſh* Corpora-
' tion came, were but a few, not for want of ſuch who were fit for
' thoſe Stations, but becauſe the *Oath* of *Supremacy* then in force, hin-
' der'd all Diſſenters who Scrupled the taking it, & thoſe who cou'd Diſ-
' penſe with the taking it, & were in at that time were theſe *viz. Joh*
Campſie,

Campsie, *John Craig*, *William Smith*, and *Alexander Lecky* Aldermen, and *John Burnside*, *James Fisher*, *James Coningham*, *William Kyle*, *Henry Long*, *James Sympson*, *David Cairnes* Esq; *John Ewing*, and *Robert Shennan* Burgesses; *Horace Kennedy*, and *Edward Brooks* Sheriffs: Thus it was 1688.

'The Siege soon follow'd which dispers'd most of the Members of the Corporation, as well as other Citizens, some few Surviv'd it, *viz.* *Ger: Squire*, *Matthew Cockain*, and *James Hobson*, Aldermen; *John Mogridge*, *Robert Shennan*, and *James Strong* Burgesses, all the rest were either Dead or gone into *South or North Britain*. Alderman *Cockain* went immediately after the raising the Siege into *England* and Died. The *other five* taking into consideration the Deplorable State of the City, and seeing it absolutely necessary for the good thereof that the Body of the Corporation shou'd be fill'd up to at least such a Number, as by their Constitution they might act as a body Politic, for the Support and Comfort of the Inhabitants: And by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made at *Westminster* in the first Year of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, Intitul'd, *An Act for the better Security and Safety of their Majestie's Protestant Subjects* of Ireland: They the said five, of whom only *Robert Shennan* was a *Non-Conformist*, call'd together all the most Eminent Citizens that were then on the spot, either such as had been in the Siege, or such as had return'd from beyond Sea, and out of them made choice of 14 or 15 into the Office of Burgesses, and this was done without any Regard either to Conformist or Non-Conformist: But according to what they judg'd most for the Public Good. And as an Incorporate Body they made Application to their then Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* of ever *GLORIOUS MEMORY* for some Relief to the many poor Perishing Widows and Orphans that were then in the place, and obtain'd a Royal Bounty of Provision and Firing, by which the Lives of many were preserv'd. As the Old Members return'd from beyond Sea, they join'd the rest, and Elected others into Offices for the Public Good of the Place.

'It is by *Custom Immemorial*, that out of the Gentlemen that had serv'd *Sheriffs*, the Corporation ever chose the *Burgesses*, and out of the *Burgesses* the *Aldermen*, and out of these *Aldermen* the *Mayor*; and their Choice was made by the Rule of Seniority, thus he that first had serv'd Sheriff or Fin'd for not serving (as several had done be-

Part 2.

before the Revolution as *Fred. Coningham*, *Alexander Gordon*, *Hugh Eadie*, *James Lenox*, &c.) they were held to be the first Elected into the Office of Burgesses. Then he that was first Burgess, became capable of being first Elected an Alderman, and so the eldest Alderman to be Mayor. This Rule was observ'd in *all Elections*, where there was not a Visible Cause of Exception, as some who had serv'd Sheriffs fell afterwards so low by some cross Accidents, as render'd them rather *Objects of Charity* than fit for Offices. The Office of Sheriff was very Chargeable, and had often prov'd very Fatal to severals, wherefore it was always laid on such Citizens as were thought able to bear the Charge best. And after the Revolution, the Corporation fill'd up the Body out of those who had serv'd or had been fin'd, and out of the most able Citizens who had not serv'd, and made Choice of Sheriffs, *Hen. Ash*, *William Newton*, *Hen. Ash*, *Thom. Moncreff* and *Samuel Leeson* all Conformists, who all soon became Aldermen.

At that time and for some Years none were in Town of the Conformists who were able to bear the Office of Sheriffs, but who were Elected and had their Turns of Offices, as occasion offer'd, but the Number of such in the City was but small, the Dissenters being much more Numerous till at last there was scarce A Conformist to be had capable to serve, and the Persons who had served or fin'd for Sheriffs being the Nursery as it were out of which to Elect to the Office of Burgesses was the sole Cause of the prevailing Numbers of Dissenters coming into these Posts, and all this while the Affairs of the City were well manag'd, yet even then Misrepresented by some of their Conformist Neighbours, which the Government took so much Notice of, as to appoint Commissioners *viz.* the then Bishop of *Derry* now Arch Bishop of *Dublin*, and *George Philips* Esq; to examine Witnesses on both Sides; and upon a full hearing; the Conduct of the Corporation was approv'd and Applauded. This began to sour the Minds of the one Party against the other, and till then no Parties had been known amongst 'em. Then the City having a Lease from the See of *Derry*, of certain Lands which of right belong'd to the Society of *London*, the Corporation made Application to the Bishop for a Renewal on the same Terms upon which he renew'd to other Tenants, but he delayed it a long time, at last utterly refus'd it; and the Term by the Lease from the See expiring, the Society's

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Agent entred on the Lands as a Vacant Poſſeſſion, and ſet them to a Member of the Corporation who held them for the Society. This greatly exaſperated the Biſhop; and ſeveral of his Tenants or Adherents, tho Members of the Corporation, ſided with him. This broke out into a great flame, and engag'd the Houſe of Lords both of *England* and *Ireland* in the Quarrel, which running ſo high made the Faithfulneſs of ſome *Con's* to ſtagger, & to be much ſuſpected by the *Non-Conformiſts*; as for example *G. T.* being Sheriff with J. D. both Conformiſts, yet *G. T.* wou'd at the Cutt of *Colrane* have put the Biſhop into Poſſeſſion of the Society's *Eſtate* without a Writ for it, on the bare Word of the Biſhop, had not J. D. oppos'd it vigorouſly. So that either Party took their Advantage as far as they cou'd. Yet ſtill the Non-Conformiſts kept cloſe to the Fundamental Rules of bringing in Burgeſſes, Aldermen and Mayors according to their Seniority: But when a Non-Conformiſt was Elected to the Mayorality, ſome of the Conformiſts made Objections againſt it at the Council-board, and put the Corporation to great Expences in defending their Rights. The firſt Non-Conformiſt Mayor ſince the Revolution was *A. L.* who came in thus. The Corporation had Elected *G. S.* a Conformiſt; yet the Biſhop &c. objected againſt it at the Board, and the Election was not approv'd, then the Corporation on a New-Election Elected *A. L.* Such was the good Management of the Non-Conformiſts in the Corporation, that altho' they got it in 1690, in or about 400 *lib.* in debt, yet they left it in 1704. with 1000 *lib* in Caſh, which the preſent Corporation well Improve, and do manage with a great deal of Eveneſs of Temper, following the *Example* of the late Members in diſtributing Juſtice and Charity *equally* to *Non-Conformiſts* as to *Conformiſts*, and continue ſtill to ſay that the City *has no real Advantage by the Change*, and that the Members laid aſide by the Teſt-Clauſe were as fit and Worthy to do the City buſineſs as any others in it. But the Clamorous *High-flying Clergy* in their heat of Zeal raiſe Crys againſt their *Peaceable Neighbours*, and fail not both publicly and otherwiſe to Arraign and Condemn the preſent for their *Moderation*, as much as they did their *Predeceſſors*, uſing the utmoſt of their Endeavors to widen the Breach; But, Bleſſed be God, without Succeſs as yet.

Part 2.

' If the Records of the City be look'd into, all that is above Nar-
' rated will be found evidently true.

This plain Narrative shows that the Presbyterians came *fairly* and *honestly* into the several Offices they enjoy'd in the City and Corporation of *London-Derry*: For they came in according to the *Stated Rule* that had been observ'd in Elections there, which very well accounts for their *gaining such a Majority* of Numbers, and Demonstrates the Author's Account of it to be Calumnious, and that there was no *Juggling Tricks nor Appealing to Mens Senses with a Design to deceive and impose upon 'em*, as our Author with as little truth as Charity suggests: And if our Author had been at a little more pains to inform himself, his *own Senses* wou'd not have been so much impos'd upon. He has been so careless as not to inform himself right of the Number of Presbyterian *Aldermen* and *Burgesses* in *London-Derry* at the breaking out of the late Troubles; for at that time, there were four Presbyterian Aldermen there, *viz. John Campsie*, *John Craig*, *William Smith* and *Alexander Lecky*; tho' he says there were but three (p. 19.) and he Asserts (*ibid.*) that of the 24 Burgesses there were but *five* of them Presbyterians at that time, whereas there were NINE, *viz. David Cairnes* Esq; *James Fisher*, *James Conningham*, *James Sympson*, *Robert Shennan*, *William Kyle*, *John Ewing*, *Henry Long*, and *John Burnside*. This List is return'd by the same Gentleman that gives the above Narrative.

I have been the larger in Vindicating the Election and Managements of Presbyterians in the Corporations of *London-Derry* and *Belfast*, because they had more Power and Interest in these two Corporations than in any other whatsoever within the Kingdom of *Ireland*: And 'tis reasonable to believe, that if they behav'd well in them, there can be very little laid to their Charge in other Places. For if they did not abuse their *Power* where it was *Greatest*, and where they had the greatest Opportunities of doing it, can any body believe that they wou'd abuse their Power where it was *lesser*, and where it cou'd be so readily check'd and control'd? And therefore I shall make but some short Remarks upon what he offers with respect to *Colrane* and *Carrickfergus*.

With Respect to *Colrane* he publishes a Certificate, which, he says, was *given him by one of the most considerable Members of that Corporation* (p. 19.) But I don't find any thing in that Certificate, to our Author's purpose; for there is not a Syllable in it, which so much as insinuates that

Part 2. that the Presbyterians us'd any *indirect* or *unfair* Means to procure Offices to themselves in the Corporation, or that they behav'd unjustly or unfriendly towards their Conforming Neighbours. While the Law made 'em Capable, 'twas no fault in them to use lawful Means for getting into the said Offices: For there were several Merchants there of the Presbyterian Persuasion, who were as *public-Spirited*, and made as good a *Figure* for their Worldly Circumstances, and had *deserv'd* as well of the Corporation, as any of their Neighbours; and were short of none of 'em, in their Fidelity to the Government; and consequently were very fit for such Imployments.

As to the Corporation of *Carrickfergus*, our Author's Account of it is a little extraordinary; he begins it thus (*p.* 21.) In *Carrickfergus* 'the Election of Representatives and Magistrates &c. lies in the Voi-'ces of the Freemen of the Corporation. I cannot at present get the 'true Proportion betwixt the Numbers of *Dissenters* and *Conformists* be-'fore the late Revolution, who were Freemen; But thus far is ma-'nifest, that the Dissenters have encreas'd to a vast Disproportion, 'and have entirely sunk the Church-Interest in that Place, in so much 'that at this time there are near *four* to *one* of the Inhabiting Freemen, 'and at least *six* to *one* of the Foreigners Dissenters.

'Tis hard to guess, what our Author wou'd be at in this Passage, unless he wou'd have all Dissenting Freemen Disfranchis'd for fear of their *sinking the Church-Interest*; and that wou'd be a very hard Case, and the Height of Persecution; for 'twou'd be the taking away a Man's bread, *meerly because he is a Presbyterian*: If Men can't get Liberty to follow their Trades (which they can't in Corporations, without being Freemen) they must starve. And if the Number of Conformist Freemen in *Carrickfergus* be lessen'd, that has not happen'd by any *unjust* or *unkind* Treatment they have met with from their Presbyterian Brethren. And considering the great Decay of that Antient Corporation, which is still poor enough after all that the Inhabitants of all Persuasions can do for supporting it, let the World judge whether our Author hath the Prosperity of that Corporation very much at heart, when he wou'd discourage *four* parts of *five* of the Inhabiting Freemen; and whether 'twou'd be any Credit to the Church, to *advance* her Interest by sinking that of the Corporation. If the Church cou'd persuade a great many of her Communion to go & live in *Carrickfergus*, and follow Trade and Business,

and

and ſpend their Eſtates there, the Diſſenters wou'd rejoice in it, and promote it as a public Good; and they can't but think, that the Church ſhou'd and will ſo far conſult the *Common-Intereſt* of the *Place*, as to return their Compliment. Part 2.

But our Author ſeems to be much upon the fret, when he tells us (*Ibid.*) 'There is one unhappy, and indeed Prepoſterous Circumſtance of this Corporation, which I can't help mentioning, with ſome Peculiarity. There are of the Inhabitants of *Belfaſt*, who are Freemen of *Carrickfergus* and generally Diſſenters about *one hundred and Forty*, and the Number of Church-Freemen, who are Inhabitants of *Carrickfergus*, are but *forty*; by which Means the Diſſenting Inhabitants of *Belfaſt* who can neither chooſe their own Repreſentatives nor Magiſtrates, do actually govern all the Elections of *Carrickfergus*, and this you may judge by the following Specimen, of what Choice they have made of Magiſtrates for theſe many Years paſt.

This Objection will appear to be very frivolus, to all who conſider that the Inhabitants who were made Freemen of *Carrickfergus* had that Honor conferr'd upon them by the Mayors of *Carrickfergus*, of the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, no Diſſenter having been in that Poſt, or in the Office of an Alderman there ſince the late happy Revolution; and the Diſſenters of *Belfaſt* did not court their Freedom there, but were generally courted to accept of it: and the moſt of 'em were made Freemen, not by any of thoſe whom this Author is pleaſ'd to Dignify with the Titles of the *Quadrumvirate* and the *Rota-Government*, but from others who were not eſteem'd to be very much in that Intereſt, and who were never ſuſpected of being Enemies to the Church. What he ſays of four Aldermen of that Corporation is full of perſonal Reflections, which are brought in with a Deſign to blacken the Diſſenting Freemen, for making Choice of 'em to the Office of the *Mayoralty*. But 'tis a ſufficient Anſwer, that the Government approv'd of theſe Elections; which, according to our Author's Reaſoning, wou'd have been as Criminal in them as in the Diſſenters who made 'em; and it is a ſhrewd Evidence, that our Author was Conſcious to himſelf he had little to ſay to the Diſadvantage of theſe Gentlemen's Character, when he begins his furious Attack with upbraiding 'em, that they had been *private men in the late Lord* Donegal's *Troop*; whereas ſome of that *Noble Lord*'s near-

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Part 2.

eſt Relations rode as private Men in his Troop, as well as they; and 'tis very well known, that all theſe four Aldermen are *Gentlemen* deſcended of Creditable Families.

But I muſt not omit a Remark upon the *Unreaſonable Jealouſies* our Author endeavors to foment, in the Concluſion of his Hiſtory relating to *Carrickfergus*, in theſe Words (p. 22.) 'It is here with the greateſt Deference humbly ſubmitted to the Legiſlature, whether a Place of that vaſt Importance, being a Fortify'd Town, a Harbour Scituated in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, in the very Center of the *Northern* Presbyterians, the Queen's great Magazine for the *Northeſt* Parts of *Ulſter*, ought to be entirely in the hands of ſuch Magiſtrates at this Juncture; and whether the Poſture of the Preſent Affairs wou'd not require an Eſtabliſh'd Governor of experienc'd Abilities and ſound Principles, to command in a place of that Importance'. It is highly Uncharitable and tends to promote Miſunderſtandings and National Quarrels between her Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects to inſinuate (as our Author does here) that it's dangerous to live in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*; as if that People were Enemies to her Majeſty's Government, and dangerous to the Peace and Liberties of *Ireland*. If what he inſinuates of them be underſtood of a *certain Party* there who are avow'd *Jacobites*, and who adhere to the Principles and Addreſs of the *Scotch* Biſhops to the late King *James*, what he has ſaid is very true; but then it can't reflect on the Eſtabliſh'd Church there, who are unanimouſly oppoſite to the *Pretender*, and Cordial Friends to her Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, as ſhall be made appear in it's proper Place. As to the Northern Presbyterians, in the Center of whom our Author aſſerts *Carrickfergus* to be Scituated, and to be the Queen's great Magazine for the Northeſt parts of *Ulſter*, and for thoſe Reaſons offers his Opinion againſt *it's being intirely in the Hands of ſuch Magiſtrates*; this carries in it a very Groundleſs Suſpicion, as if the Northern Presbyterians were ſo Unpeaceable and Unneighbourly, as to put the Government under a neceſſity of keeping 'em in Awe with *Garriſons* and *Military Force*.

Our Author cloſeth his Hiſtory of the Presbyterians unfair Engroſſing of Civil Power, with a very palpable Miſtake, in theſe Words, *p.* 23. 'No ſooner had they obtain'd a Majority, than they acted like 'Tyrants, with reſpect to the Minority of *Conforming* Burgeſſes or 'Free-

Part 2.

' Freemen of such Corporations, they fortify'd themselves by firm ' Alliance and Confederacy, never to admit any more *Church*-Aldermen, Burgesses or Freemen, than they cou'd controul and govern ' in all their Elections'. But let us hear what the Presbyterians offer in their own Defence in their first Apology to her Majesty (*vide Present State of Religion in* Ireland p. 23.) ' And whereas their Lordships ' have been inform'd, that whenever we obtain'd the Majority in Corporations, we excluded all such as were not of our Persuasion: We ' can produce Undeniable Instances in several Towns, particularly ' in *London-Derry* and *Belfast* (the most considerable in *Ulster*) where ' the Dissenters chose those of the Establish'd Church to the chief Offices in Corporations, when they had Interest enough to have Elected those of their own Communion'. The truth of what is offer'd here is Confirm'd from the Narratives already given of their Behavior in *London-Derry* and *Belfast*, wherein Men were chosen to Offices according to their *fitness*, Abstracting from their Persuasion. And no Dissenting *Mayor* or *Sovereign* in either of these Places refus'd to make any *Church-man* a *Freeman*, who was an Inhabitant in the Place, and wou'd comply with the Rules of the *Charter* and Laws of the *Corporation*. And there being many more Presbyterian than Episcopal Inhabitants in these places, the Presbyterian freemen must of Necessity be *superiour* in *number* to the Church-Freemen, in proportion to the number of Inhabitants. And therefore 'tis a very unhandsome Expression in our Author to say that the Dissenters *Acted like Tyrants, and fortify'd themselves by firm Alliance and Confederacy* &c.

The *Fifth* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Reign is, their *making a Monopoly of Trade*, which he aggravates in very Indecent Terms (p. 23, 24.) ' The natural and ' immediate Consequence of this *Monopoly* of Power prov'd a *Monopoly* of Trade, which was effectually compass'd by the Dissenters ' at the same time, tho' by a different Artifice. It seems to me, that ' the *Church*-Traders dealing promiscuously without respect to Persons, did thereby sink their Mony into *Presbyterian* Hands, which ' never was permitted to return to them, except for such Necessaries, as could not be so easily procur'd by the Dissenters amongst themselves. The Dissenters at the same time confining ' their Commerce (as much as possible) to themselves, were qualified upon several Accounts to Underlive, by which Means they ' cou'd also Undersel them; however this might be, the different ' Movements of each Party were Visible to the least Discerning Eye;

'the *One* rising from Pedlars to Merchants, the *Other* sinking 'from Merchants to Bankrupts: insomuch that at this present time 'it is a rare thing to see a Thriving Dealer in the *Northern* Parts 'of *Ireland*, except he be a Profess'd *Dissenter* or an Occasional 'Non-Conformist. I profess, I cannot recollect, that there is one 'at this time in that part of the Country where I live, tho' the most 'Populous and Trading Part of the *North*, and where, before the 'late Troubles, Church-Traders were Considerable both in Number 'and Business. I speak with greater concern in this point, from 'the repeated complaints made, and the common cry which I have 'heard from the church-Dealers, Farmers, Tradesmen and even 'Laborers, for (I had like to have said) the Persecution they lay 'under for their Conformity to the Church Establish'd by Law, 'and that from the Dissenters; who only subsist by a Connivance.

If any Presbyterians have been so Unneighbourly as to *confine Commerce* to those of their own Persuasion, it is more than I know of, or than can be charg'd upon the Bulk & Generality of that Persuasion. Our Author seems to think, that he can charge this home upon the Presbyterians in *Belfast*; for he speaks of that Part of the Country where he lives, and calls it the *most Populous and Trading Part of the* North, which Description can agree to no other but *Belfast*; and if I prove that he has Misrepresented this Fact in the very Place of his own Residence, which of all places he had reason to know best, let the World judge whether the Account he gives of other Places is *wholly to be rely'd upon*. At the desire and for the Vindication of the Presbyterian Inhabitants of *Belfast*, their Brethren of the Establish'd Church there have been so just and honest as to Subscribe the following Certificates, which I Transcribe from the Original.

'WE do hereby Certify that the Presbyterian Inhabitants of *Bel-* '*fast* Deal and Trade with Us as freely and readily, as they 'do with one another, tho' we are all of the Communion of the E- 'stablish'd Church, that we have the greatest part of our Trade from 'them; and that we do not perceive, know, nor believe that they 'use any unfair Practices in Confining Trade amongst themselves: 'Given under our Hands at *Belfast* September 8*th* 1713.

Henry Ellis.	*Nicholas Thetford.*	*ROB. LEATHES.*
Nich. Garnet.	*George Portis.*	*Nath. Byrtt.*

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Robert Dowglaſs.	*Alexander Legg.*	*Barth. Mcnaghten.*
Thomas Taverner.	*Edward Turley.*	*Francis Thettford.*
Richard Lamb.	*Joſhua Turley.*	*James Harriſon.*
John Parner.	*Hugh* Sherwood	*Iſrael Cotes.*
John Stuart.	*Nicholas Brooks.*	*Michael Gregſon.*
John Anderſon.	*George Lacels.*	*James Ratcliff.*
John Worthington.	*Edward Gardner.*	*James Whitlock.*
Ephraim Wills.	*John Imbly.*	*William Babie.*
Brian Mercer.	*Matthew Philips*	*Hen. Kelly.*
Henry Douglaſs.	*James Wilſon.*	*James Ogins.*
Thomas Henderſon	*William Beaty.*	*Robert Skirries.*
Elias Adudell.	*Charles Ward.*	*George Kerren.*
George Mankin.	*Thomas Graham.*	*George Kempſon.*
John Mankin.	*William Salters.*	*Will. Johnſon* Junior
Francis Mankin.	*John Joy.*	*Richard Crutchly.*
Patrick Allen.	*Iſrael Clotworthy.*	*William Dormont.*
John Mc. *Goun.*	Barnaby *Mc.Curdy.*	*John Mc.Cahy.*
John Langdell.	*John Riddagh.*	*Thomas Witnal.*
Henry Bulhatchet.	*Robert Story.*	*Edward Mullan.*
Edward Harris.	*Pat. Phipps.*	*John* Burns.
Richard Wilſon.	*Robert Ainſworth.*	*David Leathom.*
Thomas Parker.	*William Aſhmore*	John Nowland.
Robert Potter,	*Robert Whitfield.*	*Roger Slemons.*
George Turley.	*Sampſon Dixon.*	*Alexander Imbly.*
John Rice.		

Tho' I am no Dealer in Town I am an Inhabitant, and never did Obſerve any Diſtinction made by the Diſſenters in Matters of Dealing ſo far as I have been therein Concern'd. *Richard Hodgkinſon.*

We do Verily believe the Certificate on the other Side of this Paper True. Given under Our Hands Sept. 12. 1713. *GEO. MACARINEY.*
ROGER HADDOCK.
GEO. MACARINEY Junior.

The Subſcribers of the above Certificates are eight of 'em Burgeſſes, ſome of 'em Gentlemen of the beſt Station in Town, ſome of 'em among the Wealthieſt Dealers, and Keepers of Public Houſes, & the reſt are generally ſuch as reſpectively follow the handycraft Trades of Tobacco-ſpinners, Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, Sadlers, Glovers, Butchers, Carpenters, *&c.* And there is no ſort of Goods to be Sold or work to be wrought by any of theſe Subſcribers, but what the Presbyterians in *Belfaſt* can buy or have done for 'em by thoſe of their own Perſuaſion. And 'tis remarkable that ſome of theſe Subſcribers are among the *Oldeſt Inhabitants* of the Town & Pariſh of *Belfaſt*, one of 'em being near an *hundred Years of Age*, divers of 'em *eighty*, and particularly the firſt

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Subscriber Capt. *Leathes*, an honest Gentleman, who has been a Burgess in the Town of a *long time*, has been often *Sovereign*, is at present *Deputy-Sovereign*, and Elected *Sovereign* for the Ensuing Year. There are indeed very few in *Belfast* of the Communion of the Establish'd Church, who are considerable Dealers; but then this cannot be in the least imputed to any unfair Practice in the Presbyterians, who were still ready to join in Partnership in Trade with Churchmen as well as with one another, as can be made appear by Instances of the most considerable Merchants of that Communion, and particularly in the Case of Mr *Knox*, *George Macartney* Esq; and Mr. Black *George Mc. Cartney*. And there can be no other Reasons why there are not now such considerable Merchants there, of the Establish'd Church, as there were at the time of the late Troubles, but these; Some of 'em are dead, and their Children Educated to other Employments; or, that their Children are of the Communion of Dissenters, which some of 'emselves embrac'd *viz.* Mr. Black *George Mc. Cartney*, some Years before he Died; or, that others have quit their Employment and live upon their Estate in the Country, as Mr. *Knox*; And few or none of the Establish'd Church, of any considerable Station or Wealth, have apply'd themselves to Merchandizing since. But the Dissenters never discourag'd any of 'em from attempting it, or from the Prosecution of Trade and Business amongst 'em: and if any of 'em have sunk from Merchants to Bankrupts, (which our Author alledges, tho' there are few or no Instances of that in *Belfast*) this was not owing to any *Severity* or *Unkindness* in the Dissenters; They gave 'em Credit, as much as they did to one another, they never Rigorously and Unseasonably put hard to 'em for exacting their own, which sometimes may sink a Merchant of good Credit.

How the Dissenters shou'd be qualify'd upon several Accounts to *underlive*, and by that Means to *undersel* their Conforming Neighbours, is a Mystery which he hath not *unfolded*, and perhaps *cannot*. The Dissenters live suitable to their Stations and Circumstances, and some of 'em (as our Author very well knows) are both Capable and Willing to give Gentlemen of all Persuasions (Clergy and Laity) as Generous & Liberal Entertainments in their houses, as their Neighbours. And if any of 'em have *risen from Pedlars to Merchants*, they have no Cause to be asham'd of it, being the Effect of the Blessing of God upon their honest Commendable Industry. And why such an Industrious

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duſtrious Trading People as the Diſſenters of the North of *Ireland*, ſhould be diſcouraged and reproach'd, I ſee no *Reaſon*. Trade has been always juſtly look'd upon as one of the great Means to make a Nation flouriſh : It makes Mony Circulate thro' Town and Country ; and Men of all Stations reap the benefit of it. And therefore all wiſe People have ever made it their buſineſs to ſupport and encourage it, and to countenance the Promoters of it.

But before I leave this Head, I muſt take Notice of another Reaſon our Author gives, why the Presbyterians have ſo great a ſtroke in the Trade of the Kingdom ; It is in theſe Words, (*p.* 17, 18.) 'The failure of our Woollen Manufactory ſunk the Church intereſt 'of *Ireland* in the ſame proportion that the Encouragement of the Linnen Manufactory did raiſe the Intereſt of *Presbytery*. The Weavers &c. of 'the former being generally Conformiſts, who were oblig'd to return 'for *England*, or diſperſe themſelves in the *Low-Countries*, as thoſe of the 'latter were as generally *Diſſenters*, who came from *Scotland* ſince the Re'volution.' 'Tis evident the Diſſenters ſeem at preſent to be almoſt in 'full Poſſeſſion of that Conſiderable Branch of our Trade, and 'what has mainly conduc'd to it, is this Revolt of the *French* Pro'teſtants from the Church ; of which the Principal Directors and 'Managers in that Manufactory, with a very Conſiderable Colony, 'have ſettled at *Liſburn*, in the Center of the *Northern Presbyterians*, 'and have all declared for *Presbytery*, and choſen a Teacher, who 'will not receive Epiſcopal Ordination. From whence it is evident, 'that Matters have been ſo Concerted in favor of the Diſſenters; that 'the *French* Refugees diſtinguiſhed with ſuch Marks of Favor by the 'Government, and the Eſtabliſhed Church, which might have in'fluenc'd a grateful People to be true to our Eſtabliſhment, have 'now proved a dead Weight againſt it in the Scale of *Presbytery*.

The Cauſes of the failure of the Woollen Manufactory in *Ireland* are ſo well known, that no body can juſtly impute it to the *Diſſenters*: And tho' the Linnen Manufactory be chiefly promoted by Presbyterians, the Parliament of *Ireland* have made ſeveral Acts to encourage it, which ſhows that they believed it to be for the *Public Intereſt* of the Kingdom : And it can't be denyed that the *French* in *Liſburn* have been highly ſerviceable to the Nation, by their frugality and Skill in Managing, and much improving that Manufactory ; whereof the Houſe of Commons were ſo ſenſible, That they chearfully *recommended* 'em to the Government for their favor, tho' they very well

well knew that they retain'd the Principles and followed the Practises of the Famous Protestant Church in *France*. And in their Choice of a *Minister* who will not receive *Episcopal Ordination*, they have done nothing but what the Laws of the Kingdom allow 'em to do, they having the benefit of a Legal Toleration; which being an Act of Pity to the Persecuted, ought not to raise the envy of any good Protestant; And when that same Government that hath *distinguished 'em with such Marks of Favor*, hath Indulged 'em in a Liberty of Dissenting from the National Church, our Author's Insinuation of their being *Ungrateful* for taking the benefit of it, is an *Unreasonable* Accusation; especially considering, that they behave 'emselves with all the *Loyalty* and Modesty that becomes *Dutiful Subjects*, and in the Matter of Trade, promiscuously employ and deal with People of all Persuasions, without Distinction.

But he can't get off this *Imaginary Crime*, about the *Monopoly* of *Trade*, until he runs into one Mistake more in these Words (*p.* 25.) 'At the same time that the Dissenters made this *Monopoly* of the 'Trade, they laid a lasting Foundation to perpetuate the same in 'their own hands. They wou'd take no Apprentices without de- 'manding solemn Assurances both from Parents and Children of 'Church-men, to quit the *Establish'd Church*, & go constantly to *Meet-* 'ing. Which Agreement they were sure to see punctually perform'd.' 'I am credibly informed, that there are several Instances can be 'given, where they have had Clauses of this Nature inserted in the 'Indentures; by which Means many Church men both of Figure 'and Fortune in the *North* of *Ireland*, have been reduced to this 'fatal *Dilemma*, either of giving up their Children to Idleness and 'Poverty, or to *Presbytery* '. But let us hear what the Presbyterians have offer'd in their own Defence against this Accusation, in their *first Apology to her Majesty*, *vide Present State of Religion in* Ireland (*p.* 23.) 'Their Lordships proceed to charge our People, that in 'many Towns they refuse to take Apprentices that will not covenant 'to go to their Meetings. The true State of which Case is this: 'Some Merchants of our Persuasion having had their Goods imbez- 'zeled by their Apprentices on the Lord's Day, when they were 'at our Meetings, and their Apprentices, upon the pretence of 'being at Church were ill employed else-where (which they do not 'impute to their Persuasion, their being some such profligate Youths 'of all Persuasions) were obliged for their *own Safety* to take such 'as they could have under their Eye at the time of Public Worship. 'But wherever they can, meet with Apprentices of known *Probity*

' and *Honesty*, they take them without any Distinction of Persuasions ' in all the Trading Towns of this Kingdom ; of which many Instances may be given. Part 2.

I don't believe that there are such Instances as our Author is informed of, of inserting the Clauses he speaks of in the Indentures ; nor do I believe there is any Church-man of *figure or fortune in the north of* Ireland, but who may have his son bound Apprentice to a Presbyterian, if he pleases, without being oblig'd to change his Principles : For the most Considerable Presbyterian Merchants both in *Derry* and *Belfast* have taken such to be Apprentices, without *any such* previous Articles or Conditions put upon 'em.

As a Conclusion to his rare Discoveries about Trade, he falls foul upon some Dissenting *Post-Masters* for acting as Deputies to those in that Office, tho' they have not occasionally Conform'd, which he calls a *scandalous eluding of the Act of Parliament for Excluding Dissenters from Places of Trust*, and he says, this seems to have its *Effect in their General Scheme of this Monopoly of Trade*, and then he descants upon it thus (p. 26.) ' I desire to know, whether any instance can be ' given of this Nature in any Nation, that the whole Business, ' Secrets and Correspondence of those, who are Conformable to the ' Establishment, should be left in the Power of such who are Dissenters ' from that Establishment.

' Is it reasonable, that at a Critical Juncture, when Faction and ' Intreague are so far advanc'd, the Conformists shou'd be put under ' such necessary Jealousies and Confinement in their Correspondence ; ' that the Secrets and Business of Persons, who by the Laws of our ' Nation are only qualify'd for Public Trusts, shou'd be left in the ' Power of those, who by the same Laws are excluded from any share ' in that Trust'. I shou'd have been far from thinking it worth while, to have taken the least Notice of this *Trifling Accusation*, were it not for the sake of one Observation, which can hardly escape any Man of Common Sense that reads it. It is this, that our Author and *those of his Temper* are dispos'd upon all Occasions *to Magnify* and *Aggravate* things beyond Measure, and to raise a *Hideous Outcry* for little or nothing. For here are but about four or five Men or at most *half a score*, acting but as Servants in some Post-Offices under *Qualify'd Conformists*; and yet this must be call'd a *Matter of the last Consequence*, as if it were ready to Sap the Foundations of Church and State ; and these poor men

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Men represented as ready to betray their Trust, as if they wou'd Knavishly open or keep up the Letters of Conformists that come to their Hands: For he asserts the Conformists to be put under *necessary Jealousies, and Confinement in their Correspondence, by having their Business and Secrets left in the Power of those Dissenting Deputies*, which insinuates his believing them to be Knaves; this is a way to Dissolve all Confidence among Protestants: But I hope there are so many wise and good Men among 'em of all Persuasions, as to prevent the Success of this *Uncharitable* Hint.

The *Sixth* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* is, the *Confinement of their Charity and Alms-deeds to those of their own Persuasion*, which he represents in these Words, (p. 24, 25.) 'Nay, I am 'Credibly inform'd that the *Northern* Dissenters have Confin'd their 'very Charity to Circulate amongst themselves, whilst the *Conformists* deal it promiscuously. And an Instance can be given, that in 'the most Considerable Parish of the *North* of *Ireland*, whereby a 'List of the Poor in the Church-Books subsisted only by the Weekly 'Collection; *Eighteen* in *fifty five* are Dissenters. And by a List of 'the Dissenting Poor in the same Parish, Subscrib'd by eleven Ruling 'Elders, only *six* in *Ninety-seven* are Conformists: That Proposals 'have been made by the Establish'd Minister and Church-Wardens 'to the Dissenting Elders, to join the Charity-Money of *Church* and '*Meeting-House*, and deal it out to the Poor of the Parish, and that 'they were utterly Rejected by the Dissenters of the Parish. Frequent 'Instances of this can be given in the Case of the Collections for '*Lisburn*, both Notorious and Scandalous; and particularly Mr. *Mc. Crackan* and Mr. *Maxwell* of *Drum* a Ruling Elder, have been publicly Tax'd, and Informations given upon Oath of Unfair Practising in the Clandestine Manner of Raising the Collections for the 'poor Inhabitants, who suffer'd by the Fire, and Applying it wholly to the use of the Presbyterians; whereas the Collection pursuant 'to the *Queen*'s Letters Patents was to be *General*, and dispos'd of by 'the Commissioners (who were part *Church-men* and part *Dissenters*) 'to the Inhabitants, according to the Proportion of their Losses, 'without respect to Persons.

As to the General Charge against the Northern Dissenters, that they have *Confin'd their very Charity to Circulate among themselves*, 'tis utterly deny'd; and the few Instances our Author pretends to give of it in two

Part 2.

two places only. were they true, as they *are not*, can never affect the Body of the *Northern* Presbyterians. And these pretended Instances show the Groundlesness of his General Charge. The two Places he refers to are *Belfast* and *Lisburn*. He does not Name the first, but by calling it the most Considerable Parish of the North of *Ireland*, he sufficiently declares 'twas *Belfast* he had in View. He tells a Story of it, that *Eighteen* in *fifty-five* Subsisted by the Weekly Collection of the Church are Dissenters, and by a List of the Dissenting Poor in the same Parish, Subscrib'd by Eleven Ruling Elders, only *Six* in *Ninety-seven* are Conformists. The true State of which Case is this; the *Sovereign* of *Belfast* usually returns every Year a List of the Poor of the Parish who are exempted by Act of Parliament from paying *Hearth Mony*, to the Quarter-Sessions: And for his better Information, the Establish'd *Minister*, *Curate* or *Church-Wardens* Acquaint him with those who are Subsisted by the *Alms* of the *Church*: And the Presbyterian Minister, or *Ministers*, or *Elders* give him the like Information with respect to their Poor; according to which Scheme, the above List of *Ninety-seven* was Subscrib'd by these Ruling Elders; And the Reason why there might be only *Six Churchmen* return'd in that List was, because no more of 'em Apply'd to the Elders, but went to their own Minister: But 'tis a very Unreasonable Inference from hence to conclude, That the Presbyterians Confine Charity among themselves, and 'twou'd equally conclude that the Conformist Minister and Church-Wardens are Partial in the Distribution of their Charity; for *Eighteen* in *Fifty-five*, which that Author says was the Proportion in the Church-Book, is not the *just Proportion* of the Poor of the Parish at *large*, there being at least *Two* Dissenters for *one* Churchman in the Parish, that are Subsisted by Public Alms.

As to the Proposal which he says was made by the Establish'd Minister and Church-Wardens to the Dissenting Elders, to *join the Charity Mony of Church and Meeting-House, and deal it out to the Poor of the Parish*, the Elders might very well reject it, without incurring the Censure of Partiality in the Distribution of their Charity; for they believe that the Poor of the Parish, both Churchmen and Dissenters, are very well supply'd according to the Methods that have been still follow'd in the Respective Congregations to which they belong. And I suppose the Minister and his two Church-Wardens wou'd hardly submit the Distribution of such a Common-Stock to the Majority of

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Voices of the Presbyterian Ministers and Elders, acting in Conjunction with 'em. He has represented these Elders so odiously from *p.* 52, to *p.* 55. of his *second Letter*, and set off a supposed Conflict he has there mentioned between the *Establish'd Minister* and his *two Press'd Men* on the one part, and the *Dissenting Minister* and his *Eighteen Volunteers* on the other part as so *very Unequal an Engagement*, that I believe he will scarce venture any Ecclesiastical business upon the Issue of their Common Suffrage: But shou'd he be so good-natur'd after all as to do it, when he produces some *Canon* or *Order* of the Establish'd Church whereof he is a Member to Warrant it, his Proposal shall be consider'd.

The true Regard which the Presbyterians in *Belfast* have been still dispos'd to show to such of the Episcopal Communion as are Real Objects of Charity, can be made appear by many Instances, were it needful; of which I shall only mention two, that were very Remarkable. About thirteen Years ago one Mr. *Fairfoul* who assisted the Reverend Mr. *James Ecclin* as his Curate in *Belfast*, fell into a Languishing Disease, and during his Sickness was reduc'd to Poverty and Want, which mov'd the Charitable Compassion of the Presbyterian Minister and Elders of *Belfast* to that Degree, as they sent him at once the intire Sum of *five pounds sterl.* And such was the Respect paid to Mr. *Fairfoul*'s Character in the manner of doing it, that the Minister went and deliver'd it to him out of his own Hand. the Reverend Person who gave it, Dr. *Ferguson* who attended Mr. *Fairfoul* as his Physician, beside others to whom Mr. *Fairfoul* gratefully own'd the favor, are living Evidences of this Fact. The second instance is express'd and attested in the following Certificate.

'WE do Certify that having on *Monday April* 21. 1707. seen 'the Ruinous Condition of *Lisburn* by a Dreadful Fire 'which happen'd on the Day before, and Commiserating the Case 'of many of it's Inhabitants, thereby reduc'd to the last Extremity 'for want of *Bread* and *Houses*: We the Subscribers, with Mr. *Hen. Chads* Deceas'd, did on *Tuesday* the 22*d* of said Month go thro' 'the Town of *Belfast*, and represented the same to all our Neighbours 'we cou'd meet with, and in less than 12 hours Collected about 54 '*lb.* for supplying the present Straits of said Distress'd Inhabitants 'of all Persuasions without any Distinction, tho' of the said Sum 'there was 51 *lb.* 15 *shil.* given by those of the Presbyterian Persuasion.

'That the said Sum was immediately carry'd to *Lisburn*, and by

Or

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' Order of the Bishop of *Doun* and *Connor* and Dean *Wilkins*, paid to
' the two Church-Wardens and two of the Elders of the Presbyteri-
' an Congregation, to be distributed as aforesaid.

' That some time after, in Pursuance of her Majesty's Letters Pa-
' tents for a Collection to *Lisburn*, the Presbyterians of *Belfast* gave
' near 47 *lb.* to the Minister and Church-Wardens, as by the List may
' appear, tho' their Proportion was never intended to be Computed,
' nor their Charity to be Publish'd till now, That their Candor and
' Impartiality, as well as Loyalty are Arraign'd by a late Pamphlet,
' Entitul'd, *The Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland* &c. Given under
' our Hands at *Belfast*, *September* the 10*th* 1703.

Isaac Mc. Cartney.
Alexander Adair.

Having disproved our Author's Allegations of the Dissenters Confining their Charity amongst themselves in *Belfast*, I come next to show, that the Instances he pretends to give of that kind in the Case of the Collections for *Lisburn* are very *Unlucky* Mistakes, tho he is pleased to call them *both Notorious and Scandalous*; he calls them *frequent Instances*, but mentions only two, relating to and fixing this supposed Guilt upon *Arthur Maxwell* of *Drumbeg* Esq; and Mr Alexander *McCrakan* Presbyterian Minister in *Lisburn*. Mr *Maxwell* is known to be a Gentleman of that Probity and worth as sets him above such Calumnies, which are so much the more Inexcusable, because Mr *Maxwell* had the honor to be one of her Majesty's *Trustees* (in Conjunction with several other Gentlemen both Episcopal and Presbyterian) Nominated in her *Letters Patents*, for the Distribution of that Public Charity. *I* have seen a Letter from him to his Friend, fully vindicating himself from this Aspersion, the true Copy whereof is as follows.

Sir.

' The Author of *the Conduct of Dissenters in Ireland &c. page* 25*th*
' suggests against me, That I *Apply'd the Collections raised for the Poor*
' *Inhabitants* of Lisburn *who suffered by the Fire, wholly to the Use of the*
' *Presbyterians, Whereas the Collection pursuant to the Queen's Letters*
' *Patents was to be general, and disposed of by the Commissioners to the*
' *Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their Losses without Respect*
' *to Persons.*' To which *I* answer, that the very reading of the

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'Letters Patents will Discover this to be an imposing upon his Reader, for the Queen's Letters Patents require the Minister and Church-Wardens to raise the Collections within their several and Respective Parishes: How then could Mr *Maxwell* Apply the Mony raised by them to the Use of the Presbyterians or of any Else, unless the said Minister and Church-Wardens had given the same to him, contrary to their Duty and the Direction and Appointment of the said Letters Patents; which I believe, for their sakes, he will not affirm.

'All the Colour the Author can have for this Calumny, is that there were some Private Charitable Collections raised from the Dissenters only, for Rebuilding the Meeting-House of *Lisburn* that had been burnt, and accordingly Apply'd to the said Use, as other *Voluntary* Subscriptions at the same time from the Churchmen were to the Rebuilding of the Church, without *any Relation* to the Letters Patents and before they had any Existence; his Censure (like what he says of his Charity) shou'd have been bestowed on both promiscuously, to avoid keeping of *divers Weights and Measures*, and calling that Unfair on the one Side of the *Lagan-Water* which was very fair on the other side of it; but after all, tho' I contributed, yet I never Collected one farthing for any of the said Uses.

'*Sir*, I never heard and I cannot believe that ever any such Information upon Oath was given as he affirms, because 'twould have been plain Perjury, and I cannot avoid either the suspecting his Veracity or admiring his Credulity, rather than believe any Man guilty of so great a Sin. When he says that Mr *Maxwell* was publicly taxed, he should have told *when*, *where*, and by *whom*, *what* he answered; he should have set down the Copy of the *Information* upon Oath, and have told what Event it had, and why he was not obliged to Refound the Mony so Misapplyed by him, but general Terms were the fittest for his Purpose for *Dolus Latet in generalibus*; he is a true Disciple of him who taught, *Calumniare Audacter aliquid adhærebit*; can I expect better Measure from him than he affords to her Majesty's Letters Patents, which he either Disingenuously or Ignorantly Misrepresents, while he says, that by *the same the Collection was to be dispos'd of by the Commissioners to the Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their Losses*; as if there were no Charitable Design in the Letters Patents, which order the Money to be dispos'd of to the Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their

Losses

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'*Losses* and *Circumstances*, so he leaves out the most Material Word of the two viz. CIRCUMSTANCES; I call it the most Material, because no Man's Losses either do or can make him an Object of Charity, but the Circumstances that by his Losses or otherways, he is brought unto. What if a Man had lost 20000 *lib*, can that make him an Object of Charity, if he have 60000 *lib*, left behind? If it be said, a man has lost all he had, *Ergo* his Losses makes him an Object of Charity; the answer is obvious, viz. that Proposition includes his *Circumstances*, as well as his *Losses*, whilst it implys that he has *nothing left him.*

'Sir, I can't but observe a strange Spirit of *Animosity* and *Bigotry* running thro' the Writings of this Author, and he seems to me to have been Industriously watching for *Men's halting*. He falsly represents the Presbyterians as a people who Assume the Power of *Annulling the Laws of the State*; whereas, had I a mind to Recriminate, I wou'd tell him that there has been a late Instance of some Person or Persons in *Belfast* who have indeed exercis'd such a Power, upon pretence of Zeal for the Church; and seeing this Author has Describ'd the Place of his Residence to be the most *Populous and Trading Part of the North*, I must conclude him to be an Inhabitant there, and if he be neither the Author nor Abettor of the Printed Paper, I am going to mention, I hope he will fairly and honestly Discountenance those who are. There was a Paper Printed (which I now have before me) and publicly Posted in *Belfast* bearing date the 27*th* of *March*, 1713. *Advertising the* 3*d of April then next ensuing, viz. Good Friday to be observ'd with all due Solemnity by Shops being Shut* &c. and affirming *that the same is appointed by the Laws both of the Church and State*; and yet notwithstanding this Confident Affirmation, if you'll please to peruse and consider the Statute *Anno Regni Septimo Gulielmi Tertij*, Entitul'd, *An Act declaring which Days in the Year shall be observ'd as Holy-Days*, you'll find that the said Day is not only not appointed, but forbidden to be observ'd, whilst all the Holy Days to be kept are there Enumerated and mention'd (*of which Good Friday is none*) and all other Days not there mention'd *forbidden to be kept.*

'Sir, I have purposely avoided Recrimination against any Party and have medled with none but the Author, lest I might offend Persons *E Meliore Luto* than his own self, and yet if I had been dis-

‘ disposd to imitate him, I cou'd have produc'd my *Quibusaam positis* and have strain'd an Universal Conclusion from particular Premisses, as my *Conductor* does, contrary to the Old Maxim *Conclusio sequitur Partem Debiliorem:* His Insinuations against the late Lord Chief Justice *Broderick*, a Gentleman Honor'd by her Majesty, amidst the Glories of her Reign, and by his Country who know him best, from whom he Adventures to Detract, and whose Character is beyond the Malice of his worst Enemies and the Praise of his best Feiends, puts me in mind of Sir *Teague O Regan*'s Bell, that had an empty Pate and a loud Tongue, I am, SIR,

Drumbeg, 11*th* of *August* 1713. Your very Humble Servant. *ARTH: MAXWELL.*

As to Mr *McCraekan*, and what the Author says against him as if he had been guilty of Unfair Practises about the Public Collections for *Lisburn*; I have seen a full Narrative not only of that Matter, but of the other Facts laid to his Charge by this Author, under his own hand; of which I shall give a short Abstract as they come to be consider'd in their proper Places. The Presbyterians in *Ulster* were so far from being Partial in their Collections for *Lisburn*, that the Author cou'd hardly have fix'd upon an Instance that cou'd have done 'em *more Service*, for demonstrating that they did not *Confine* their Charity to those of their own *Persuasion.* For immediately after the burning of *Lisburn* the Church-People and Presbyterians there entred into A Concert, that both Church and *Meeting-house* shou'd be Rebuilt out of the Public Collections, and the Remaining Part of the said Collections shou'd be distributed amongst the Distress'd Inhabitants, without *any Distinction of Persuasions*; And in Consideration hereof, that each Party shou'd use their best Interest with those of their own Persuasion both in *England* and *Ireland* for exciting 'em to make liberal and *Generous* Contributions for these Ends; which Agreement was entred in their Books. And in Pursuance of it, The Dissenters of *Lisburn* Applyed in *June* following to the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* then met in their *General Annual Meeting*, who Approved of the Christian and Amicable Agreement between the Protestant Inhabitants of *Lisburn* of all Persuasions, and accordingly us'd their best Interest with their own People at home and with their Friends in *England*, for encouraging the Collections; which is a Demonstrative proof that they *Did not Confine their Charity to those of their own Persuasion.*

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Upon this Encouragement, the Diſſenters of *Liſburn* fell preſently to work, Rebuilt their Meeting Houſe, and borrowed mony for defraying the Expence, hoping to be enabled by the Public Collections to repay it, but they ſoon found themſelves Miſerably diſappointed: for when the Collections came in, the *Truſtees* finding that they were far ſhort of what was expected, did not think it Expedient that either *Church* or *Meeting-Houſe* ſhou'd be Rebuilt out of that Fund, & allow'd 'em only the Proportion that wou'd have fallen to them as *Private Houſes in Cumulo* with the reſt. In this Caſe the Diſſenters of *Liſourn*, being diſabled by the Fire to Defray the Expences of their Meeting Houſe, were obliged to *Apply again* to their Friends for Aſſiſtance; but moſt of 'em having given ſo liberally before to the Proteſtants of *Lisburn* at large, were Uncapable of giving more for that End; tho' ſome People of better Circumſtances Contributed Towards it.

In the mean time, while the Diſſenters in *Liſburn* were Receiving & Procuring from their Friends what Aſſiſtance they cou'd, ſome were pleaſed to take *Umbrage* from this Practice, as if they had in a *Clandeſtine* Manner got into their Hands ſome of the Mony that was Collected upon the foot of the *Public Brief*, and Appropriated it to the Rebuilding of their Meeting-Houſe. *But* after ſeveral Conferences between 'em and their Neighbours, for removing all ground of Suſpicion, the *Principal Managers* and *Overſeers* about the *Meeting-Houſe* gave their Voluntary Oath, the true Copy whereof I ſhall here inſert, taken from the Original *all written with the Biſhop's own hand*, and ſubcribed by thoſe who took it; which is likewiſe ſubſcribed by *four Gentlemen* of the Church, to ſhow that they were not guilty of any Unfair Practiſes in that Matter, at the End of each of *their four Names* I have added the Letter *(C.)*. And the Order of the Truſtees upon the ſaid voluntary Oath is likewiſe Copy'd from the *Original*, ſubſcribed by ſeven of 'em, whereof the firſt four are of the Eſtabliſh'd Church *viz.* the Biſhop of *Doun* and *Connor*, Dean *Wilkins*, Dr. *Leſly*, and Mr *Haltridge*.

Liſburn 26th September 1710.

'I do ſwear, that I will pay to the Treaſurer for the time being 'any ſum or ſums of Mony whatſoever, that came to my Hands for 'the Uſe of Sufferers in General by the late Dreadful Fire at *Liſ-'burn*. That I will diſcover to the Commiſſioners for the benefit 'of *Lisburn* or any Perſon Authoriz'd by them any Mony that I *know* '*or ſhall hereafter know* to be Collected for the ſaid Sufferers, in *whoſe hand*

'*hards* it is, *how much* there is, or was of it, and to *what use* it was or is to be Apply'd, if it has not been already paid, or shall not be hereafter paid to the said Treasurer. That whatever Mony has been Collected, or shall be hereafter Collected for the said Sufferers, and has been or shall be Apply'd to any other use whatsoever, *I will faithfully and honestly make a Discovery thereof immediately.* That *no Money* rais'd for the said Sufferers, *has to my Knowledge been Apply'd to the Meeting-House*, or *any Buildings* about it, or *any use* relating to it; And if it shall be hereafter so Apply'd, to my Knowledge, I will make an *Immediate Discovery of it to the said Treasurer.* That if any Money has come to those of my Persuasion in General, or to me in particular, I will declare it to the Treasurer. That in Order to have the Money given to the said Sufferers fairly Apply'd according to the Intention of the Donors, I will use my best endeavors to know the design of such Donors, and to see the Mony given by them Apply'd accordingly. And all this I Swear Voluntarily and freely upon the Faith of a Christian, without any Evasion, Equivocation or Mental Reservation, So help me God.

Ralph Smyth C.	*Edward Mc. Comfey*	*Daniel Kenley.*
Val. Jones C.	*William Rothell*	*John Charters*
E. Wogan C.	*Alex. Taylor*	*Richard Grainger.*
Ed. Obrey C.	*Will. Livingston*	*Jo. Martin.*

'At a Meeting of the Trustees for *Lisburn* Brief this 26*th* day of *September* 1710: Concluded for the *ending of some Suspitions* and *Disputes* about Private Collections, That the Oath in the *annexed Leaf* taken voluntarily by every Person concerned shall *intitle him* so taking it to his Proportionable Share and Part of all such Mony that is already come in, and shall hereafter come in for the Use of the Sufferers in General, and that such as refuse to take the said Oath shall be excluded from such Share and Part till further Order.

Arth. Maxwell	*Edw. Doun and Connor*
Edwa. Brice.	*Jos. Wilkins*
John Chalmers	*Hen. Lesly.*
	John Haltridge

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It must be own'd, that there can not be a more Solemn vindication of the Innocence of the Dissenters in *Lisburn*, with respect to this Matter, than what is contain'd in this Oath, which gave full Satisfaction to the Bishop and the rest of the Trustees; and no Man ought to tax 'em with any Unfair Practices about the Public Collections, unless he allow himself the Uncharitable Liberty of calling 'em Perjur'd. And seeing no Mony cou'd be laid out for the Meeting House, but what must come thro' the Hands of these Men, and be narrowly enquir'd into by 'em, their Oath amounts not only to a Personal Vindication of themselves, but also of Mr *McCrackan* and of all the Dissenters in *Lisburn*. I would fain believe, for our Author's Credit, that when he wrote his Book he was Ignorant of the History I have given of this Oath and the Order of the Trustees upon it; otherwise he cou'd not have been so hardy, as to have published a Mistake in a point wherein a public Record doth so plainly refute him.

A *seventh* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Reign is, in the *Matter of their Farming*; and here he *RAISES A CRY* against the *Numbers of Presbyterians who swarm'd from Scotland after the late Revolution*, by whom he represents the Conformists to be sunk in their Farming (p. 26.) and he endeavors to unfold this Mystery in these Words, (*Ibid.*) 'These new Adventurers were in 'many Respects able to out-bid the Old Tenants, who had been in a 'great Measure ruin'd in the late Troubles.

'*First*, Because they were upon many Accounts able to under-live 'em, *Secondly*, Many of them came over born in the Habit and Quality of Beggars, who with their whole Families were subsisted by 'the Charity of the People; stroling through the Country, till they 'had fix'd themselves, where either they were directed, or where 'they liked, and then open'd their Rags, in which they had quilted 'considerable Sums of Mony, and were qualify'd to stock their Lands, 'and grew able Tenants, before the Old Tenants cou'd Recruit, 'after the Desolation of the War'. I believe our Author wou'd be hard put to it to prove that there were *one hundred* Families that brought considerable Sums of Mony out of *Scotland*, and *came over in the Habit and Quality of Beggars*; and shou'd he be able to make it out (which I despair of) that wou'd have but a small Influence upon the *whole Conformists in the North of* Ireland, *nor cou'd it ever sink 'em or their Interest in* Farming: And seeing of the Old Inhabitants that were in the North of *Ireland* during the late Trouble, many more

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~~of them~~ were Presbyterian than Episcopal, the *Old Presbyterian* Inhabitants must suffer more, according to our *Author*'s Argument, than the *Conformists*, by this New Accession from *Scotland*; for our Author Acknowledges (p. 27.) that *many of the Old Presbyterian Tenants were and still are Industrious and Substantial Tenants, and had follow'd the Example of the* English *Colonies in their Improvements and Plantations:* And consequently, the New *Scotch* Incomers had all the Advantages and Opportunities of *sinking 'em* in their Farming which they had in *Sinking Episcopal Tenants.* And if so, this cou'd never have been done with a design to sink the Church-Farmers more than Presbyterians, which *intirely destroys* the Foundation of all his Reasoning on this Head.

And let the *Gentlemen*, whose Desolated Estates were seasonably Replanted by many of these new *Scotch* Tenants, declare, whether their coming into a Ruinous Country was not an Accession of Strength to the Protestant Interest, and Beneficial for Improvement of the Landlords Rent. 'Tis true, our Author calls it *Imprudence and Avarice in the Church-Proprietors to prefer these New Scotch Presbyterian Tenants for some small Advance in the Rent of their Lands*; but 'tis certain, that in many Places 'twas the Landlord's Real Interest to receive 'em as Tenants, and had they not found it so they wou'd not have done it.

Our Author is aware that the Objections he has been making against the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland*, and the Representation he has given of the low Condition into which the *Church-Interest is sunk by their means*, can't but make people believe that the *Conformists* in the *North* are a very Inconsiderable Part of the Protestants; and therefore he seems to be under some Difficulty, how to preserve the Reputation of his own Party as *Considerable* and *Numerous*, without Contradicting his *own History* of the Presbyterians. He says the Conformists in the North are *much more Considerable in their Numbers than they are represented by the Dissenters and their Abettors*, that they have *Considerable Congregations in most Towns & in great Numbers of Country Parishes throughout the whole Province.* But seeing our Author does not inform us what Representations or Computations the Dissenters have made of their Numbers in Proportion to Church-men, his Reader can make no Judgment of the Truth of what he says: and yet, after all, I think 'tis not quite so easy to *Reconcile this Account* with what he had *said before*; for he Assures us that the Church-men *perceived*

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ed themselves at once undone, their Farmers sunk, their Freemen lessen'd, their Merchants Bankrupt, and their Tradesmen out of Business and Imployment, scarce a Thriving Dealer *among them in the North*: And if all this be true, I wou'd fain know what *sort of members* those considerable Congregations are made up of, which he says they have in most Towns and in many Country Parishes thro' the whole Province? For surely *Bankrupt Merchants, decay'd Traders, Ill employ'd Tradesmen*, and *sunk Farmers* will hardly ever make considerable Members of any Congregation.

But our Author has found out another Reason for sinking the Church-Interest in the North, in these Words, (*p.* 28.) 'The *Conformists*, however united in Principles of Religion, are most Miserably divided in 'Principles of Policy, in which one part joins intirely with the *Presbyterians*: So that really the Church-Interest in the *North* is sinking not so 'much from the Dead Weight of *Presbytery*, as from that false Ballance of *Occasional Conformists*, and of those *Constant Conformists* who 'are Political Dissenters.

I am heartily sorry that the Conformists are so Miserably divided in Principles of Policy (as our Author represents 'em,) and I'm confident that such of the *Conformists*, as join entirely with the Presbyterians in *Political Principles*, are in the Right: And had they not join'd for promoting the *late Happy Revolution*, the Protestant-Interest had been *ruin'd*. The Dissenters have no Political Principles but what are founded upon and Agreeable to the Happy Civil Constitution and Limited Monarchy of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; which they look upon to be one of the *best in the World*; and therefore 'tis an Abuse put upon 'em, to call them *Political Dissenters*: For tho' they are *Religious Dissenters*, they are *Political Conformists*; And all such Conformists as agree not with them in Principles of Civil Policy, are *Political Non-Conformists*.

Our Author concludes his Account of this Period with a Representation he gives of an Attempt made by the Presbyterians for procuring a *Repeal of the Penal Laws*, which he Describes in these Words (*p.* 28.) 'It is evident, that the Dissenters of *Ireland*, conscious of 'their growing Power and Trade, and having Cultivated a strong 'Interest with some Leading Members of the *House of Commons*, began to think themselves so Formidable, not to be disoblig'd in the 'Refusal of any Demand they should make. And a Tryal was made in an

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'Affair of no less Consequence, than that of a Motion in the *House of Commons*, for a *Repeal of all the Penal Laws against Dissenters for a time*.

'This Dispensing Motion was made by Coll. *Cuningham* in an Evening after a tedious Sitting, when the *House* was thin, and was warmly and strenuously oppos'd, particularly (as I am inform'd) by Mr, *Dopping*, and thrown out with Indignation by a great Majority.

The Dissenters were resolv'd (and are still) to make no Unreasonable Demands, and never demanded any thing of the Government but by way of Humble Petition, and with all suitable Modesty and Decency. He gives a Wrong State of the Case; for he distinguishes between the *Repeal of the Penal Laws against Dissenters*, and the *Toleration which they were desiring*: For he brings in (*p.* 29.) a Dissenting Burgess discoursing a Parliament-Man thus, *We scorn their Toleration and will accept of nothing less than a Repeal of the Penal Laws.*

Our Author loves dearly to pick up a little private Chat and to represent it as the sense of a Party. But I confess he must have a very Metaphysical Head, who can have an Idea of a *Legal Toleration*, without a *Repeal of the Penal-Laws* that have been Enacted against the Party *Tolerated*: For without such a Repeal there can be no Toleration; & therefore the *English* Toleration repeals *all the Penal Laws* against the Separate Congregations of Dissenters there. And at the time mentioned by our Author, there was no Motion made either by Coll. *Cuningham* or any other Gentleman, for any *other* Repeal of the Penal-Laws than what is *Essential* to every Legal Toleration as such; all that was debated at that time was, not whether they shou'd have a Toleration and a Repeal of the Penal Laws necessarily included in it (for that was not oppos'd) but whether a *Toleration-Act* shou'd be Clog'd with the *Sacramental Test*: Upon which Occasion, the *Case of the Protestant Dissenters in* Ireland *in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence* was publish'd, showing the Reasonableness of such a Toleration as should not Disable the Dissenters from serving their King and Country. The Point came to be Debated in the House of Commons: But the Debate was Adjourn'd from time to time, the Sessions *concluded*, and the Business *dropt*, without any Resolution of the House upon it. What our Author offers concerning the Pamphlets published on that Occasion, shall be considered afterwards; and what he advances in general Terms concerning the frequency

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of *Presbyteries* and *Synods* and their raising *Public Funds* during this Period, shall be fully answer'd when I come to consider in the *third Part* of this Book the more particular Account he gives of *these Facts*. Part 2.

CHAP. IV.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians, from Her Present Majestie's Happy Accession to the Throne, to this present Year 1713.

WHen Almighty God afflicted these Nations with the Death of that *Illustrious Hero* and *Incomparable Prince*, King WILLIAM the GREAT, of *Immortal Memory*; He supported at the same time the Sinking Spirits of a Sorrowful People with New Joys, upon the Accession of her Present Majesty to the *Throne* of her *Royal Ancestors*. The Presbyterians in the three Kingdoms paid her all the *Dutiful Homage* of *Loyal* Subjects, and approached the Throne with their Humble Addresses of *Congratulation* and Condolance. They considered her Majesty's Government as one of the *great Blessings*

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ſings ſecured to theſe Nations by the *late Happy Revolution*; and 'twas not poſſible that they who had been ſo Active in promoting it, ſhould be Diſloyal to a Queen that had Acted ſo great a Part in it her ſelf, and who was now come to be poſſeſs'd of that Royal Dignity which was *owing to* it, and to defend our Holy Religion & Liberties, which that Glorious Enterprize had Reſcu'd from *Popery* and *Slavery*.

The Happy Union of Hearts and Intereſts, which the Proteſtant Diſſenters in *England* cultivated and chearfully Improv'd with their Conformiſt Brethren for advancing the Glories of her Majeſty's Reign, to the *Terror* of her Enemies, *Comfort* of her Allies, the *Joy* of her good Subjects, and the *juſt Amazement* of all *Europe*, is a Demonſtration of their Loyal Affection to her Majeſty. And they defy their Worſt Enemies, to ſhow wherein they have done any thing Unbecoming their Duty to her Sacred Perſon & Government, or to forfeit her Royal Protection & Favor. And not only her repeated *Gracious Anſwers* to their Humble *Addreſſes* fill'd with her Royal Promiſes to Protect 'em, but her public Speeches from the Throne are as *Ample* and *Honorable Teſtimonies* of their Loyalty, as they themſelves cou'd deſire.

The General Aſſemblies of the Church of *Scotland* have been, from time to time, honored with her Royal Letters expreſſing her Satisfaction in their *Conduct* & *Loyalty*. And Her Majeſty's Letter to the very laſt Aſſembly (to mention no more) is a convincing proof of this, it runs thus,

Her Majeſty's Moſt Gracious Letter to the General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh *the* 30*th day of* April 1713.

ANNE R.

Right Reverend and Well-beloved;

'WE Greet you Well. We have had ſo *many Proofs* of Your Good 'and *Prudent Managements* in former Aſſemblies, and parti-'cularly in the Laſt, that we have Chearfully by our Authority ap-'pointed this your Meeting, and we doubt not but you will take 'it as a particular Mark of our *Regard to you*, that we have appoint-'ed our Right Truſty and Right Entirely Beloved Couſin and Coun-'ſellor *John* Duke of *Athol* to be Our Commiſſioner, who We perſuade

'Our

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'our selves will be Acceptable to you. Our concern for promoting true Piety and Godliness, the great End of the Gospel, is 'such that you may be fully Satisfied it shall be Our Care to Employ 'such, as shall be faithful in Executing the Laws, in punishing all such 'Practices as are a *Scandal* to the *Christian Profession*, and against 'which We have signify'd our Displeasure in our Proclamations. We 'are sensible that a *Pious* and *Learn'd Ministry* is under God, the Great 'Support and Ornament of Christianity; and therefore We are Re-'solv'd to *Countenance you* in your Endeavors to Promote it, and to 'employ Our Power and Authority for Advancing of it to *your just 'Satisfaction.* We take this solemn occasion to Renew the Assurances 'We have formerly given you of Our *firm purpose to Maintain the 'Church of* Scotland *as Establish'd by Law.* The Address of the late 'General Assembly did so much MANIFEST THEIR LOYALTY 'and AFFECTION to Our Royal Person and Government, and their '*true Concern* for the Succession in the Protestant Line of the House 'of *HANOVER* as Establish'd by Law, that it cou'd not but be very 'Acceptable to Us, and your *Moderation* and Unanimity amongst 'your selves is not more for your own Good, than it will be for Our 'Satisfaction. And We *assure our selves* that there will be nothing 'in your Procedure, but what shall be *Dutiful to us*, and shall Mani-'fest the Wisdom of your Conduct, and so we bid you heartily fare-'wel. Given at Our Court at St. *James*'s the 15*th* day of *April* 1713. 'in the 12*th* Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,
DARTMOUTH.

There can't be a greater Demonstration of Loyalty to Her Majesty, than to Oppose a *Popish Pretender* to her Crown, and to use all possible endeavors for supporting and Maintaining the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*; wherein the Assembly have shown themselves so Zealous as to recommend it to all Ministers of that National Church with all *possible Earnestness*, to *pray heartily for the said Succession of the HANOVER-FAMILY.* And in Regard there are no *Jacobites* within her Majesty's Dominions that are so Open and Barefac'd in venting their *Pernicious* Principles as some of the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, that Church have taken all possible Precaution and Care for preventing the spreading of that Contagion, and for

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for Preserving their own Members from being infected with *Jacobitism*; as will appear by *two excellent Papers* Published by the *Commission of the General Assembly*, both which I shall here insert, the first runs thus,

At Edinburgh, December 5. 1712.

'The *Commission of the General Assembly* considering how much 'it is the Interest of all Protestant Churches, and of the Church of 'Scotland, in particular, that Her Majesty's Title to the Crown 'of these Realms, and the succession to the Crown in the Illustrious Family of HANOVER, upon which under God, the Preservation of our Religion and Civil Liberties do's depend, be INVIOLABLY MAINTAIN'D; and that there is ground to think 'that not a few are industrious in spreading and propagating 'Prejudices against the same, and to dispose People to have 'favourable thoughts of the *Pretender*; Therefore, the Comission of the General Assembly being HEARTILY CONCERNED 'for the Maintenance and support of Her Majesty's Title and 'Government, and for the Preservation of the Protestant succession in the *foresaid Family*; and entertaining An *utter Aversion* 'to the said Pretender, do UNANIMOUSLY & seriously recommend 'to all the Presbyteries, Ministers and Members of this Church 'in their Respective Stations, to the UTMOST OF THEIR 'POWER to use all prudent and proper Methods, for discouraging 'and disappointing all Designs and Attempts of that kind, by 'Popish and other *Jacobite* Emissaries, and to *confirm* and *establish* 'the people in their Loyalty and Duty to the Queen, their aversion to 'the Pretender, and Zeal for, and affection to the said Protestant 'succession; and for that end, The Commission recommends to all 'Ministers and Members of this Church, that they continue in frequent Prayers for the Queen, and for the Protestant Succession in 'the Illustrious House of *Hanover*. And appoints Copies hereof 'to be sent to the Serval Presbyteries.

Extracted by

JOHN DUNDASS *Cler. Eccl. Scot*

The second Paper of the Commission is much larger, and contains a most solid and Judicious Confutation of the Arguments made use of by the *Scots Jacobites* for poisoning the Minds of the People, the

the People, the whole Paper runs thus, Part 2.

A Seasonable Warning by the Commission of the General-Assembly, Concerning the Danger of Popery.

At *Edinburgh* 19*th August*, 1713.

'WE the Ministers and Elders met in the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, taking to our serious Consideration, the inveterate Malice of Papists against the true Reformed Religion, and their Restless Endeavours, *particularly at this Time*, to Ruin the Protestant Interest in *Britain* and *Ireland*, the great Multitudes of their Priests and other Emissaries now Trafficking, for carrying on this Pernicious Design in several Parts of this Country, whereby many are already Perverted; their setting up openly in divers Places their Idolatrous Worship, notwithstanding of the Penal Laws which stand in Force against them, and of Her Majesties Royal Proclamations, and what the Judges have done in their Circuits. And their behaving themselves with as great Insolence as they have *ever showed since our Reformation from Popery*. And likewise considering the bold Attempts of other Adversaries to our present Constitution both in Church and State, who do openly in our chief Cities, and through the whole Country *promote the Interests of a Pretender to the Crown*, who has been *educated in all the Maxims of Popish Bigotry, and* French *Tyranny*. And we being touched with a just and deep Sense of these dangerous Evils, do judge it our Duty, from the Zeal we owe to the Glory of GOD, the Preservation of our Holy Religion, the Safety of Her Majesty's Government, and the Welfare of our Country, and in Pursuance of the Trust committed to us by the last General-Assembly, to give this Publick, Solemn and Serious Warning to all Ranks of Persons, of the Imminent Danger which doth arise from such Pernicious Practices, not only to Our Pure and Holy Religion, but to Our Civil Rights and Liberties: And therefore we do *EARNESTLY OBTEST* all good Protestants and Lovers of their Country, That they look diligently to themselves, that they be not deluded by the subtile Devices of a *Popish* and *Jacobite* Party, who so manifestly design to bring us under the Yoke of the said Pretender, and thereby to deprive us of

'these most valuable Blessings, which the Great and Gracious GOD did so remarkably restore unto us by the Late Glorious Revolution.

'To preserve the Members of this National Church *from being Imposed upon* by the cunning Artifices of such Enemies, We beseech them to Advert how deceitfully many of these, who are Notoriously disaffected to Her Majesty's Government, do with great Appearance of Zeal, Espouse and Promote the Ceremonies and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, a Yoke which neither We, nor our Fathers were able to bear, and which this Nation would never submit to, even in the Times of Prelacy; but altho' the *Jacobite* Party do now so earnestly contend for that Form of Worship, to impose upon, and Ingratiate themselves with the Church of *England*, and to strengthen themselves under her Protection, their Zeal for the Pretender is such, that they generally omit the Prayers in that Liturgy for our Sovereign Queen *Anne*, and the Illustrious Princess *Sophia*, upon whom the Succession to the Crown is settled, which Succession we cannot but esteem to be, under God, the *GREATEST SECURITY*, not only to the Protestant Interest in these Lands; but also to the *Reformed Churches abroad*, in whose Safety we are confident, That *all good Protestants* will find themselves deeply concerned, both in Point of Duty and Interest.

It's also very common with that Party, to make a great Out-cry, especially at distant Places; where the Matter is not so well known, of their having suffered grievous Persecution, meerly because of their being of the Episcopal Persuasion. This is *another of their Artifices*, to procure unto themselves the more Favour and Countenance from others, whose Protection they abuse, to Prosecute their Malicious *Designs against the Revolution-Settlement:* But this their Clamour and Noise is altogether groundless; and blessed be GOD, we can Appeal to the Consciences of all who know our Conduct, That we have never since the late Happy Revolution, in the least returned the Severities, and unparallelled Cruelties which we met with, when they had the Ascendant; and which we from their present Temper, as well as their Behaviour, may reasonably conclude, they want nothing but Power to Renew against the Ministers and Members of this Church.

Moreover, That they may diminish the *just Auersion of the People of this Land to the Pretender*, and engage them to his Interest, they do Artfully suggest, and with the utmost Confidence assure them, That

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'were he once advanced to the Throne, he would procure the Dissolution of the Union. But we intreat all Persons to consider, That whatever be the Inconveniencies, and dangerous Consequences of the Union to our Civil Interests, or the Grievances of this Church under it, against which last, both the Commission and General Assembly gave solemn and seasonable Testimony, particularly, in the Tenth Act of the General Assembly held *Anno* 1712, Entitl'd, *Act approving the Representations and Addresses by the Commission, concerning the Toleration and Patronages*; yet to *expect a Remedy* to these Grievances *from the Pretender*, is a MOST GROSS DELUSION, and a Bait which we cannot think will catch any, but such as are *very simple* and *credulous*; yea, supposing there were Ground, as there is none, to expect that the Pretender would dissolve the Union, if he should come to the Throne; yet that could not be at all a sufficient Compensation for the Dreadful Train of the far greater Evils of Tyrannical Government, and the Abominations of Popery, which we could not but meet with, if a Person of his Principles and Education should be advanced to the supreme Authority; *any Remedy that can be looked for from him would prove so much worse than our present Disease*, that we cannot but be confident, there is none who have any just Concern for our Religion and Civil Liberties, which ought to be dearest to us, as Protestants and free-born *Scots* Men, will suffer themselves to be deluded with such an absurd and ensnaring Insinuation.

'We find it necessary also, to Guard People against another Artful Contrivance of the *Jacobite* Party: These of them that profess to be Protestants, that they may the more easily engage People into their Measures, do frequently declare, That they are *for a Protestant Succession*, and with *great Assurance advance as a thing to be relied upon*, That the Pretender hath declared, or will declare himself to be a Protestant, But this is an *Artifice so gross* that it can take with none who do consider, That the *Pope* doth dispense with the fairest Profession of the Protestant Religion, and the most solemn Oaths to maintain it, for advancing that hellish Design of extirpating the Protestant Religion, under the opprobrious Name of the *Northern Heresie*; and which all Papists by their cruel and bloody Principles, are obliged to endeavor to the utmost of their Power, upon Pain of Damnation; and likewise that a Prince who is a *Papist* at Heart, may

the more securely and easily work the Ruin of our Religion and Liberty, that his Designs are covered with the *Mask of a Protestant Profession.* Such therefore, as are imposed upon with the fond and groundless Expectation of the Pretender's being Protestant, and would thereupon intrust him with all our valuable Concerns, must needs bewray the greatest Ignorance of the Principles of Papists, and the many obvious Instances of their Dissimulation; nay, bring upon themselves not only the Brand of *Weakness* and *foolish Credulity*, but the heinous Guilt of Treachery to God, from inexcusable running into Measures, which so manifestly endanger our holy Religion, and the happy Constitution of this Church, Founded upon and agreeable unto the Word of God.

, Wherefore we do with the GREATEST EARNESTNESS Recommend to all the Ministers of this National Church, that they endeavor by Public and private Instruction to impress the People of their Respective Charges, with a due Sense of the *Evil* of Popery, and extreme Danger these Lands would certainly be brought into, of being overrun with it, and ruined with Oppression and Tyranny, if ever the LORD should for our Sins permit the Pretender, Educated and confirmed in the Popish Religion, and instructed in all the Principles of Arbitrary Government, to bear Rule over us: And we do seriously exhort all the Ministers and Members of this Church, to testify all Duty and Loyalty to our only rightful and lawful Sovereign Queen *Anne*, and a zealous Concern for the Protestant Succession settled upon the most Excellent Princess *Sophia* Electoress and Dutchess *Dowager* of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants; And we judge it proper at this Occasion to put them in Mind, That this Illustrious Princess is the Grand Daughter of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England* by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, for whom and her Children our worthy Predecessors did publickly pray in their Churches, and whose Husband was descended of a Family which was remarkably zealous for the Glorious Work of Reformation, and who himself did endure great Tryals of Affliction for his stedfast Adherence to the Protestant Interest.

When we therefore consider, how much both our present and fu-

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future Safety, under GOD, doth depend upon that Family's succeeding to the Crown, and how necessary the Preservation of that Succession is, for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and of all that is dear to us as men and Christians; we cannot forbear at such a Juncture as this, to Excite our selves, and all of our Communion to Testifie, as blessed be GOD THEY HAVE HITHERTO DONE, a firm and steady Adherence thereto, under *whatever Discouragements may happen*; and in the Bowels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we do seriously obtest and beseech all Ranks of Persons, to hear the Voice of God's Dispensations to us in these Lands, and to humble themselves deeply under the many sad Causes and Tokens of the LORD's Anger, to prepare to meet our God by turning unto him with all their Hearts, by unfeigned Repentance and Reformation of Life, fleeing to the Blood of Sprinkling for Reconciliation and making known our requests to God with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, That he would continue, strengthen and perfect what he has wrought for us, disappoint the Designs and Hopes of a Popish and *Jacobite* Party, preserve the happy Constitution of this National Church, sanctifie and remove our present Grievances, and teach us to profit by all his Dispensations; That he would prosper and bless our Sovereign Queen *Anne*, direct Her Councils and prosper Her Government; That He would preserve and maintain, against all it's Opposers, the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and Eminently bless that Illustrious Family; That He would give Wisdom to all Ranks to Understand the Times; that he would pour out a Spirit of Love, of Power and of a sound Mind upon Ministers, That with one Heart and Mouth they may strive together, in Defence of the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of this Church, as now settled; That he would bless them with Meekness, Wisdom and Zeal, to avoid all Divisions that bring a Scandal upon Religion, Endanger our Constitution, and expose us to the Scorn of our Enemies, and give them Advantage over us; That the LORD would give to all of us, to reflect seriously on the many Troubles which have afflicted our *Sion*, and to shun carefully all those Sins which procured them, That he would keep up in our lively Remembrance, the great Danger our Religion and Liberties were in, when in his Infinite Goodness he surprized these Nations, with the late happy Revolution, a mercy never to be forgotten, without the highest Ingratitude to GOD and

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'and the greatest Injustice to the Memory of the late glorious King *William*, which ought always to be savory to all good Protestants; 'That he would enable us to make a right Improvement of that 'Gospel Light and Purity, which we now enjoy; and work in us a 'Temper of Spirit suitable thereto; That he would make serious 'Godliness and Christian Charity to flourish amongst us, and give 'all Ranks one Heart, and one Way to fear him, and keep his Commandments always, That so our gracious God would dwell in our 'Land, and that it may be well with us, and our Posterity after 'us.

'The above written Warning and Exhortation having been read 'at sundry Dyets of the Commission, and fully considered, was this 'Day voted and UNANIMOUSLY APPROVEN BY THEM. 'And they appointed the same to be forthwith Printed, and Copies 'thereof to be sent to the Respective Presbyteries, and recommends 'to them to take the most effectual Way to publish the same to the 'several Ministers and Members of this Church. *Subscribed by*

WILL. WISHEART. *Modr.*
Jo. DUNDAS *Cls. Eccl. Scot:*

It will be acknowledg'd by all *Sound Protestants*, who adhere to the *late Happy Revolution*, that a more *Seasonable Paper* has not been publish'd by any Church within her Majesty's Dominions. It savors so much of a most *Hearty Concern* for the Queen and House of *Hanover*, and so effectually lays open the Cursed Artifices us'd by the *Scotch Jacobites* to delude the People, that it clearly proves the Church of *Scotland* to be Acted by the utmost of Loyal Affection to her Majesty, and by a just Detestation and Abhorrence of the Traiterous Designs and Practices of her Enemies. So *Noble* a *Christian* Temper, as well as so *Loyal* a Disposition is the more *Remarkable in the present Conjuncture*, when so *many* things have concur'd of late to try the Patience and *sour* the Temper of that *Establish'd* Church, as may be seen in the Public Papers both of the *Assembly* and *Commission*, occasion'd by the *Patronage* and *Toleration* Bills. Yet that Church has behav'd with the *greatest Modesty* under these *Pressures*, and Apply'd her self with all the *Earnestness* and *Vigilance*, to the promoting of the Public *Peace* of their *Country*, and the Honor and Safety of the Government, as if they themselves had met with no Discouraging Treatment.

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But let us take a View of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Period; of whom it may be juſtly obſerv'd, that there is not *any one* Denomination or Party, amongſt all her Majeſty's Subjects, that is more *firmly United* in Principles of *Loyalty* to her Majeſty, and more link'd into the Intereſts of the *Hanover-Succeſſion*, and the Liberties of their Country, than they. They have during her Majeſty's Auſpicious Reign, ſteer'd the ſame Courſe, and Acted by the ſame Principles they follow'd in Aſſiſting our *Great Deliverer* to Retrieve our *Violated Liberties* in 1688. Her Majeſty hath expreſs'd her Satisfaction with their Dutiful Behavior and Conduct, by her *Gracious Anſwers* to their *Loyal* Addreſſes, and by her *Continuation* of her Royal *Bounty* and *Protection* to 'em; Bleſſings, which the Ungenerous *Envy* of their Enemies wou'd willingly blaſt, and which themſelves thankfully Improve for the Service of their Queen and Country.

But I ſhall farther Illuſtrate the Loyalty and Peaceableneſs of their Behavior, by Anſwering our Author's Objections againſt it, which conſiſt of a parcel of Stragling Disjointed Stories; and for Order's ſake, I ſhall reduce 'em to theſe five Heads, 1. Their *Evading* the Force of the Teſt-Act, and continuing in Offices in *Contempt* of that Law. 2. Their refuſing to Inliſt in the *Militia*, and to take the Oaths, on the Array appointed by the Government when the *Pretender* Attempted to Invade theſe Kingdoms. 3. The Inſolency of their Addreſs to the *Queen*, upon that occaſion, and the Unfair Methods they took to procure Addreſſes from Others, to that purpoſe. 4. Their Joining with the Town of *Belfaſt* in Defending a ſuit againſt the Intereſt of the Church. 5. Their Inſolent Behavior about the *Tithes*, inſtanc'd in the Caſe of Archdeacon *Ford*'s Proctor, & the People to whom he was ſetting his Tiths.

As to the firſt *viz*, Their *Evading the force of the Teſt-Act, and continuing in Offices in Contempt of that Law*, he affirms that Numbers of Diſſenters evaded the force of this Law by *Conforming Occaſionally, and taking the Sacrament to Entitle them to Places of Truſt and Profit.* Were this *true* in fact, it ought not to be turned to the *Reproach* of Diſſenters by any who Approve of the Teſt-Act, and are ſo fond of it as this Author ſeems to be; becauſe that Law allows the Receiving of the Sacrament to be a Legal Qualification for Civil and Military Imployments. But what he aſſerts is not Fact: For in *Ireland* there are *very few Occaſional Conformiſts* amongſt the Diſſenters. But our Author complains (p. 30), 'There was another Rank, who wou'd not Profeſſ-

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'titute their Consciences, but had the Hardness against the Letter 'and Construction, and in Contempt of that Law, to continue *Bur-'gesses* and *Aldermen* of Towns, without ever qualifying themselves'. He aggravates this Matter thus, 'And in all likelihood had continu'd 'so till this day. Had it not been for a Resolution of the *House of 'Commons*, obtain'd in their Debates upon a Petition prefer'd by the 'Lady *Donegal*, charging Mr. *George Macartney* with some Irregu-'larities in the Government of the Corporation of *Belfast*. How that 'Affair was Drop'd and Miscarried in the *House*, I know not; but 'this is certain, that it produc'd the Sense of the *Commons*, with Rela-'tion to the *Test-Clause*, which seem'd of vast Importance to the In-'terest of the Church, *viz.* That all the Burgesses of *Belfast* were 'obliged by that Act to take the *Sacramental-Test*; and consequent-'ly the Places of those Dissenting Burgesses, who had refus'd to 'Qualifie themselves were void. No sooner was the sense of the *house 'of Commons* given in this point, than Mr. *Macartney* call'd an As-'sembly and filled all the Places of the Unqualify'd Burgesses with 'Churchmen.

'It was then expected, when all the Corporations in this King-'dom, in the same Circumstances with *Belfast*, wou'd follow that 'Example: But to the Amazement of all Men, who reflected upon 'the thing it self, and the Consequences, which might follow, there 'was scarce one of the Inferiour Corporations of this Kingdom, 'that thought fit to follow that Precedent; but most of all the places 'of the Unqualifyed Dissenting Burgesses are kept Vacant to this 'Day, without the least Regard to the Letter, Intention or Con-'struction of that Act of Parliament, to what End is much more 'easy to see than to be well accounted for by the Magistrates of 'such Corporations, who were obliged to put the Laws in Exe-'cution.

Ans: The Protestant Dissenters of *Ireland* did indeed believe (and do still,) That that Law put a *hardship* and *Mark of Infamy* upon 'em, which they had not Merited, and which will be set in a farther light in the last Chapter of this Book; but they were not guilty of the Contempt of that or any other *Law*. And their Conformist Neighbours, who continu'd in the several Offices in the Corporations since the Commencement of the *Test-Act*, were so sensible of their *Loyalty* and Peaceable Behavior, that they delay'd the filling up of their Places (in di-

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vers Corporations) as long as they cou'd; and when the *Restless Importunity* of some *Zealots* extorted from 'em the Execution of that Law, 'twas with some Aversion and Uneasiness they comply'd with it: And 'tis very observable, that a certain Set of Men on the other Hand, are much more *keen* for the *Rigorous* Execution of the *Test-Clause* against Protestant Dissenters, than for the Execution of the substance of the *Act to prevent the farther Growth of Popery*, against the Papists; for what Reasons, they themselves best know. Part 2.

It is hard to conceive what our Author's Intention cou'd be in Misrepresenting the Proceedings of the House of Commons in the Case of *George Macartney* Esq; Council at Law, and at that time Sovereign of *Belfast*, by telling his Reader, *that that Affair was Dropt and Miscarry'd in the House*: Tho' it be notorious, that between thirty and forty Witnesses were summon'd by the *House*, and most of 'em went from *Belfast*, attended the Tryal, divers of 'em were examin'd, and after a Tryal which lasted near eight or ten hours, Mr. *Macartney* was clear'd by a Vote of the House *Nemine Contradicente*, as will appear from the Printed Votes of the *House*.

Veneris 24 *die Oct.* 1707.

'THEN the House according to Order, proceeded to hear the 'Matter of Complaint on the Petition of *Arthur* Earl of *Donegal* a Minor, by *Catherine* Countess of *Donegal* his Mother and 'Guardian, in behalf of himself and divers Inhabitants of the Burrough of *Belfast*; against *George Macartney* Esq; a Member of 'this House; and having heard Council and Witnesses on both sides, 'and they being withdrawn. *Ordered*, That Candles be brought in. 'Ordered, That the Key of the Gallery-door be brought, and laid 'upon the Table.

'*Resolved*,

'*Nemine Contradicente*, That *George Macartney* Esq; hath fully 'Acquitted himself of the several Matters alledged against him, in 'the Petition Preferr'd against the said *George Macartney*, to the Satisfaction of this House.

I am not in the least imbark'd on *either side* of the Unhappy Debate which occasioned the above Proceedings and Vote, and what Account I have given of the Matter is, purely to Caution my Reader against taking things upon Trust from our Author.

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A second Fault our Author finds with Dissenters in *Ireland* during this Period is, their *refusing to inlist in the Militia, and to take the Oaths, on the Array appointed by the Government, when the* Pretender *Attempted to invade these Kingdoms.* There are several particular Circumstances in his Relation of this fact, which reflect upon particular Persons, and from which he draws general Conclusions. I shall first give the Reasons why some of the Presbyterians refused to inlist in the Militia at that time, or to take the Oaths upon that Occasion; they are represented in their *second Apology* to her Majesty (*vide Present State of Religion in* Ireland *p.* 35, 36.) in these Words,

'The Convocation seem to lay great stress upon what they say in these Words, *Nor can it ever be forgotten what Numbers of them (meaning Presbyterians in the North) positively refused the Oath of Allegiance when the Militia was to be Arrayed in this Kingdom for opposing the Invasion of the Pretender.* But those who consider the true State of that Matter, will readily perceive that this Practice of theirs did not proceed from the least Disloyalty, but from different Reasons in different Persons. The Common People who can't be supposed to understand the Niceties of the Law, were afraid that the Test-act would reach 'em if they shou'd be inlisted in the *Militia*, especially if carry'd abroad and brought under Pay, which some Eminent Lawyers suppose, or at least doubt of: And therefore they had no mind to lay themselves open to every ill-natur'd Informer, in whose power it might be to ruin 'em: especially under this Discouragement, that they must not have *one single Officer* of their own Persuasion in the *Meanest-Post*, and must *never hope for Advancement* nor any other Reward from the Government, shou'd their services prove ever so great.

'Some of 'em imagined that if they shou'd take the Oaths publickly before the Commissioners of *Array*, that wou'd have been an inlisting of 'em in the Militia, and a running the Risque of the Penalties of the Test-act; And therefore refus'd 'em, not that they had any Scruple against Them upon any other Account.

'This was indeed a Mistake, but it was such an one as their Education and Knowledge was not able at that time to correct, and which was very consistent with Loyalty and Affection to your Sacred Majesty's Person and Government. Others, who had more

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'Understanding, took the Oaths, but desired for the above Reasons 'to be excused from serving in the *Militia*. Others having only 'heard the Oath of Allegiance & Declaration against *Popery* and *Foreign jurisdiction* read publickly, and having never heard 'em before 'did not understand 'em, and for want of time to be informed of 'the Meaning of some Expressions in them, which tho' earnestly 'desired, was refus'd 'em, could not conscientiously take 'em at that 'time. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are INTIRELY UNANIMOUS in *Opposition to the Pretender*; notwithstanding of this or any other Insinuation to the Contrary.

Every Impartial Man must be satisfy'd, that these Reasons sufficiently prove the Conduct of the Dissenters in the Matter of the *Militia* to be very consistent with Loyalty & Duty to the Queen, and with a just Abhorrence of that Attempt of the *Pretender*, which was over before the *Militia* was array'd. Our Author publisheth farther Accounts of the said *Array* subscribed by two Gentlemen, that were concerned in it *viz.* Mr *Spencer* and Mr *Waring*, wherein there are several things Misrepresented; and upon which mistakes our Author builds his severe Reflections upon *Dissenters* in general, as well as upon particular Persons. He speaks very indecently of a very Worthy Gentleman *viz. Clotworthy Upton* of *Castle-Upton* Esq; whose *Candor* is Acknowledged by his *Worst Enemies*, and was particularly known to the late House of Commons in *Ireland*, whereof he was a Member, having had the Honour to be one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Antrim*. I have seen a Letter from Mr *Upton* to his Friend, wherein he Vindicates himself from the Calumnies of this Author, a true Copy whereof is as follows.

Sir, *Castle-Upton*, *Feb.* 14*th.* 1712.13.

'So many Concurring Circumstances have happen'd, since the Publication of that Pamphlet, Intitul'd the *Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland &c.* to delay my Answering what relates to me; that while 'now I have not put Pen to Paper. And now that I am begun, I am so far 'from making any further Apology for my Delay, that I am in doubt 'whether I ought to take any Notice of what is said of me.

'I assure you the Credit of the Author, whether Clergy or Layman, shou'd by no Means Engage me to regard it, as being above his 'Malitious, Vindictive, False and *Contradictory* Glosses. And clearly

to show that he has not the least Regard to his own Credit, or the Credit of the Church he pretends to Write for, I am perſuaded he do's not believe what he Inſinuates of me, *viz. That I am a JACOBITE, and COMMONWEALTH's-MAN*; an Undeniable Contradiction; and were it poſſible to be true, no ways Concluſive againſt Presbyterians: More than that becauſe the Author is Malicious, Vindictive, without Regard to *Truth*, or *Chriſtian Charity*, therefore the Church of which he is a Member is Malicious *&c.*

'The only Reaſon why I take Notice of what this Pamphleteer ſays of me is, the Credit of his Informers, being both *of late* Juſtices of the Peace; and from that Character only, what they Inform may have ſome Weight *with thoſe that know neither of us*; but this I may ſay, without Vanity, that where the Author, his Informers and I are known, what they Alledge will have little Effect to my Prejudice.

But I ſhall not detain you longer from the Conſideration of the Particulars charg'd on me. The firſt is in Mr. *Waring*'s Letter dated at *Belfaſt*, *May* 25*th*, 1710. *p.* 36, 37. which runs thus, *When we came to tender the Oaths to the Diſſenters, they ſhew'd themſelves Averſe to take them, very unwilling to ſerve in the* Militia *for the Defence of the Country; and thoſe of them that did take the Oaths, ſeem'd to take them thro' fear of Puniſhment, and by Compulſion, and with an Apparent great Reluctancy, and many of 'em Abſolutely refus'd to take the ſaid Oaths, or to be inliſted in the* Militia, *particularly when I Array'd the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of* Temple-patrick, *all or moſt of them being Tenants to* Clotworthy Upton *Eſq*; *wou'd not take the Oaths, or be Inliſted. Mr.* Shaw *and I committed fourteen of 'em whom we had pitch'd upon for the Service, upon their Refuſal to take the ſaid Oaths, or to ſerve in the* Militia, *the Names of thoſe Perſons are* John Jackſon, John Green-hall &c. *before the Mittimus for thoſe Perſons to ſend them to Goal, cou'd be drawn, they Petition'd to be Bail'd till the firſt of June following, being the next Meeting of the Commiſſioners upon Adjournment; Alledging they were Unacquainted with the Nature of the Oaths, and that in that time they wou'd inform themſelves from their Landlord Mr.* Upton, *and the Presbyterian Teacher in the ſaid Pariſh of* Temple-patrick, *of the Signification, and Import of the ſaid Oaths, and wou'd be advis'd with 'em about taking the ſaid Oaths &c.*

'I deſire to be Reſolv'd in ſome plain Queſtions I ſhall put, 1. What

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'was Mr. *Waring*'s Design in Writing that passage, and the Author's Design in *Printing* it? 2. Why Mr *Waring* Names me, and my Tenants so particularly, when he owns many *Dissenters absolutely refused to take the said Oaths*, or to be inlisted in the *Militia*? I will take upon me to give an obvious *Answer* to both, that must occur to every Reader at first View, *viz.* That those two Gentlemen design'd to mark me out as a *Jacobite*, and an Enemy to her Majesty, Tho' I am perswaded neither of them in their Conscience believes me so, and I am sure dare never say it. 3. By what law cou'd any man be compell'd to inlist in the *Militia*? 4. What Law impower'd the Commissioners of *Array* to press the Oaths upon all who were Summon'd upon that Occasion? 5 By what Law could the Refusers be sent to Goal? In other parts of the Country, tho' 'twas thought the necessity, our Constitution, & the *Protestant*-Interest were then under, oblig'd'em to Array the Country, yet generally they did not see that necessity for a general Tender of the Oaths, for which they cou'd produce no *Law*.

'But I shall with great Sincerity tell you the true Matter of Fact. I acknowledge that all the fourteen Persons nam'd, except one, were my Tenants, & most of 'em my Day-Laborers, some of them so to my Father between 30 and 40 years; some of 'em and other of my Tenants came to me the *Evening* before, and told me they were Summon'd to appear next Day at the *Array* in *Belfast* and desired of me to know what they should do; my Answer was, if they were summon'd they ought to appear, but for Directions what they should do when there, I wou'd give 'em none, but bid 'em do as they thought best.

'I have since discoursed several of 'em who all say they were in a House for some Hours under the Care of a Constable, or the High-Constable then Mr. *Alexander Adair* of *Belfast*, that they were advised to Consult me, but they told the Adviser, they did that before they left Home, but that I wou'd give 'em no Advice, that they never petitioned, to be Released, on any Terms; much less on the Terms mention'd; that they were in Custody while Twenty *Mittimus*'s might have been wrote, that they heard *James Craford* the Constable of *Templepatrick* had entred into Bail for their appearance, but not with their Consent which they are ready to swear. *And* further to shew the Falshood of the Information, there was then no *Presbyterian* Minister belonging to the Parish of *Templepatrick*.

'Now I shall give you the Reason why I did not advise 'em;

'and it shall be the same I gave in the House of Commons, as one Argument against passing the *Sacramental-Test-Clause*; I declar'd it then as my opinion, and do now, that every *Private Centinal* & every *Militia-man* by that Law is oblig'd to take the Sacrament according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Ireland*; the reason of my opinion then, and now is, because Centinals and *Militia-men* have that great Trust repos'd in them, of being the preservation of *Garrison and Camp*; many instances may be given, where the Treachery of such has ruined both army and Garrison: therefore I did not give my advice. And I must confess, were there nothing in it, but the Methods that have been sometimes taken to get Grand and petty Juries to find Riots, Trespasses, nay Treason, to serve a turn, when they have not had the tenth part of the Color of Law, as in this Case they have: it will make me more Cautious, how I *Act*, or Advise a thing whereby Men may be led into that, which may Ruin them by a pack'd Jury, of which there have been many Precedents in former Times.

'This the Author calls p. 21. a *Distinguishing themselves in all Marks of Passive-Obedience to the Pretender, upon his expected Invasion, of which more hereafter*. I may without any Force on that Expression *hereafter*, say it refers to Mr. *Waring*'s Letter; but I think I may say with greater Justice and Truth, that it's a distinguishing my self in all Marks of *Passive-Obedience to the Law*; and if my obedience to the law, *happens* to promote the *Pretender*'s Interest, he reflects on the Legislature that made such a law, whereby Men are involv'd in such Difficulties: yet after all the Difficulties, I dare be bold to affirm on sure and certain Grounds, that where the *Pretender* has one Friend amongst the *Presbyterians*, he has twenty amongst those of another *Persuasion*. May God of his infinite Mercy to these Kingdoms, her Majesty's Person, and our Happy Constitution, prevent the Experiment.

'The next place I am attack'd in is p. 41. where the *Author*, to show the Intenseness of his Malice, must Usher in his Invective against me, over Head and Shoulders, with a *Probability*, and such a Probability, that it's not in his power to give the least ground for. The Passage is this, *Mr* Charles *O* Neile *when Commissioner of Array, was Expostulating with such of the Dissenters, who had raised their Set of Scruples against taking the Oaths, and asked one of 'em whether*

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'*ther he would not swear to be true to the Queen? Sir, Reply'd the Fellow* '*in the Face of the Country, we'll be true to the Queen as long as she will be* '*true to us.* Then the Author proceeds thus,

' *It is Probable this Conditional Subject was a Disciple of a Celebrated* ' *Elder and Patriot in that Country who had the Hardyness to drink at a* ' *Public Table to his* Sovereign Lord the People. *But such Untainted* ' *Loyalists would do well to Consider, That our Monarchy is not yet re-* ' *duced so low, to be insulted in this Manner with Impunity, &c.*

' I own my self the Person here describ'd, because I did drink at a ' Public-Table to *our Sovereign Lord the People.* I am glad to find ' the Author obliged to own, that I am a Celebrated Patriot; a ' Title I am proud of, and what I will ever endeavor to deserve of ' my Country, but I desire to know how I can be that Patriot he ' describes me, and yet insult the Monarchy, for certainly no Per- ' son can be a *Celebrate Patriot* that wou'd *insult* that well-Ordered ' Government, Under which he lives, as I take the Limited Mon- ' archy of these Kingdoms to be the best in the World.

' I desire to know of the Author, whether he looks on the Con- ' stitution of the *English* Government to be a *Limited* or an *Abso-* ' *lute* Despotic Monarchy? What ever his Thoughts, or Wishes ' may be, I suppose he will say the *first*; If then the Constitution of ' the *English* Government be a Limited Monarchy, I desire to ' know how that can be supported without a *Conditional Subjection*, ' which in Truth is the very *Basis* of the *Revolution*, and own'd by ' the present Lord Chancellor, vide Dr *Sacheverel's* Tryal *p.* 109. But ' because *Necessity*, when the whole Frame and Constitution of the ' Government is Overturned; is a Condition in the *English* Monarchy ' that makes void Subjection, therefore *this Fellow it's probable is a* ' *Disciple of mine*, this is really strange Philosophy: and yet I dare ' be bold to say, he cannot produce a better Argument to prove ' his Probability. I know not the *Fellow* to this day, and never heard ' of this Passage but by this Author.

' I must beg your Patience while I give you an Account, how it ' came that I drank this health, in as short a manner as possible, and ' refer my self to the Informer Mr *Spencer* and the rest of the Com- ' pany present, whom I shall name as far as I can remember, for ' the Truth of what I shall now relate, at least the Substance of it; ' for I will not pretend to be particular in every Circumstance, and

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'Expression after so long a time: But do solemnly declare, that as 'I will not add to what I remember then past, so I will not dimi-'nish from the Truth.

'I remember the Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, Dean *Wilkins*, Dr. *Henry Lesly*, Mr. *Walkington*, Mr. *Magill*, Mr. *Spencer*, Capt. *Brice* Mr *William Craford* and my self, with two or three other Clergy-'men, & some others whose Names I can't remember, were in company; 'but the Occasion of the Health happening after Dinner, and some of 'the company going out and in, I cannot say they were all present 'at the whole Discourse. The Occasion of this Meeting was the 'Distribution of the Mony Collected for *Lisburn*, most of 'em named 'being Commissioners for that Purpose.

'After Dinner, One of the Company and I fell on the two 'General Topicks, then of Conversation; *viz.* Passive Obedience 'and Non-Resistance, and Hereditary Right; he alledg'd there was 'no Resistance made to the late King *James*; which oblig'd me to 'Instance the *Glorious Behavior* of our most *Gracious Queen*, when the 'whole Constitution was like to be overturn'd; the Bishop of *Lon-'don*'s being at the Head of a Troop of Horse, and Blood-shed in 'Skirmishes &c. I desir'd him to Reconcile Absolute Passive Obe-'dience and Non-Resistance to the *Revolution*, and *Hereditary Right* 'to our Glorious King *William*, who had no such Right when made 'King, and to the Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover* who 'now has none, and I had done. I alledg'd if the Queen had not 'a *Parliamentary* Right, her *Hereditary* Right wou'd be much weak-'ned, I alledg'd that if we had not had King *William*, we shou'd 'not have had the Happiness of our Gracious Queen *Anne*: that 'twas 'the *People* made King *William*, King, and by the same Act Queen '*Anne*, Queen; *THEREFORE I drunk to our Sovereign Lord the People*, as 'the *Original, under God, of Government*; by which Words *I* attributed no 'more Power to the People, than what the Lords and Com-'mons of *England* have asserted in their Vote of the 28*th of January* 1688. in these Words, '*Resolved, that King* James II. *having en-'deavored to Subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the 'ORIGINAL CONTRACT between King and People, &c. has AB-'DICATED the Government.*

'As to the Substance of the Discourse, I appeal to the whole Com-'pany for the truth of it, and for the Innocency of the Expression,

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' as it was Connected in my Discourse, I appeal to all the Lovers of
' our Constitution; and let them judge, whether I *insulted The Mo-*
' *narchy* (as this Author falsly asserts) by using an Expression, which
' imported no more than an Approbation of the late *Happy Revoluti-*
' *on*, which restor'd our *Monarchy to it's Glory* and the *People to their*
' *Liberty*; and therefore instead of insulting the Monarchy, I have
' shown an hearty Concern for the Preservation and Happiness of it.
' And I defy Mankind to lay to my Charge, from any thing in my
' Conversation or Behavior, the least Inclination or Tendency to
' *Commonwealth Principles*, as this Author wou'd seem to insinuate a-
' gainst me. I believe Mr. *Spencer* was the Author's Informer, because
' soon after it happen'd, Mr. *Spencer* spoke of it in *Dublin*, which
' made a great Noise; for the Story went then with a gross Additi-
' tion, and occasion'd a Friend of mine then in *Dublin* to speak to Mr.
' *Spencer* about it, who denied the Addition, but own'd he did say,
' I Drank the Health, which I likewise own, in manner above.

' The next place I am Attack'd inis *p.* 84. and here I must ob-
' serve, that the Author rather than miss me, will take up with a
' *second-hand Informer*, tho' the Original Informer was within seven
' Miles of him. The Passage in Mr *Waring's Letter*, I own to be in
' Substance true. I did accost Mr *Spencer* at *Carrickfergus* in the Fami-
' liar manner therein expres's'd, by calling him *honest Brent* &c. for
' there was no Reserv'd Conversation between us for several Years,
' we mutually us'd friendly Freedoms with each other of all kinds,
' he was as Welcome, and free in my house as in his own, and I ap-
' prehended I was the same in his; But now I find I was Mistaken: I
' wish I had been Undeceiv'd in a more Gentlemanny Manner, than
' by revealing Private Conversation.

' The whole Passage is not worth inserting; the only Use that
' the Author and his Informers seem to design it for, is, to insinuate
' that I am a *Jacobite*, because I'm a Friend to Mr *McCrackan* who
' hath not taken the Abjuration-Oath: To which I answer, that my
' having a very Particular Friendship for Mr *McCrackan* (which *I* free-
' ly own I have) do's not prove me to be a *Jacobite*: because I am so
' sure that Mr *McCrackan* himself is no *Jacobite*, that I am ready to
' Oblige my self to the Value of what I am Worth, for his Loyalty
' to the Queen, his Opposition to the *Pretender*, and for his being heart-
' tily in the Interest of the Protestant Subcession in the House of

Hanover. And I offer to find undeniable Security for *forty thousand pounds* for the Loyalty of all the *three Non-Jurants*, whom this Author groundlesly Accuseth of *Jacobitism*. And I can say it from my own Knowledge, and prove it by others, That that Great and Noble Patriot my Lord *Donegal* offer'd to be bound for Mr *MacBride* to the Value of his Estate, which may answer the last Paragraph of Mr *Waring*'s letter *p.* 80.

Tho' this Letter has exceeded what I at first thought it wou'd, yet I must beg your Patience while I make one Observation, *viz.* That since this *Word-Catching* Author has been at so much pains in examining my Public Actions, and us'd so great Industry as to pry into my *Private* Conversation, and after all is Capible to make no greater Discovery of my Disloyalty, *Jacobitism* and *Commonwealth Principles*, this proves me beyond Contradiction a most Loyal Subject, a true *Hanoverian*, and real Lover of our present Happy Constitution, as Restor'd by our Glorious King *William*, and Preserv'd by our Gracious Queen *Anne*, in which Principles I'm resolv'd to live and die. *I* am, *Sir*,

Your very Humble Servant, CLOT. UPTON.

In Mr *Spencer*'s Account of the Array, there is a Passage told of Mr *Grainger*, and the Elders and other Presbyterians in *Lisburn*, which plainly insinuates 'em to be *Jacobites* (*p.* 35, 36.) in these Words, Upon the Call of the Roll of such Persons, who were judged best Qualify'd to serve, one *Richard Grainger*, Merchant at *Lisburn*, at the Head of several Ruling Elders, and other Presbyterians, upon the said Mr *Spencer*'s tendring the *Oath of Allegiance*, absolutely refus'd to take the said *Oath* to her Majesty; in which they all concurred to a Man, saying that there was something in that *Oath* relating to the *Prince of Wales*, and that God forbid, they shou'd swear, That he was not King *James*'s Son; upon which they desired time to consider of it, and went immediately out of the Court and in a short time returned again, and said they had considered of it, and finding nothing in it relating to the *Prince of Wales*, were willing to take it, and accordingly did.

To this Mr. *Grainger* hath Reply'd in a Letter to his Friend as follows:

Sir,

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Sir, *Lisburn, September 8th.* 1713.

'ACcording to your Desire, I here send you what I can Remember, at such a distance of time, with Respect to what concerns me in the *Conduct of Dissenters.* (*p.* 35, 36.) especially considering that I never Dream'd the Passage shou'd be Printed: Upon the calling the Roll in the Market-House of *Lisburn*, I do perfectly remember, *James Whittell* who Lives in this Town and I were call'd, and we desir'd time to consider the Oath before we took it, which was easily granted by Mr. *Spencer* and Mr. *John Peers*: if there were any Elders while I was in Court, I do not remember that I saw them: but this I can say as if I were upon Oath, That my Neighbour *James Whittell* and I only *sought time to consider the said Oath*, and about half an hour after, we came and pleasantly took the Oath, and I declare I am as free to take the Oath against the *pretended Prince of Wales*, as any: I am,

Sir, *Yours* &c. *RICHARD GRAINGER.*

'*Sir*, I let *James Whittell* see the Above, and if necessary he will put his Hand to it, *R. G.*

Mr. *Spencer* has been Misinform'd about *John Young*, one of those who refus'd to take the Oath at *Lisburn* upon the Array, when he says that the said *Young* was Married to Mr. *Mc. Crackan*'s Sister; Mr. *Mc. Crackan* having had no Sister these Sixty Years past, and the said *John Young* has given it under his Hand in a Certificate which I have in my Custody, that he is neither Married to Mr. *Mc. Crackan*'s Sister, nor that he refus'd the Oath with the least degree of Insolence or Impudence, and that he spoke to Mr. *Spencer* in these Words, *as for to Swear against Pope or Popery, I'm very Willing, and to Maintain the Queen & the Protestant Religion as far as Life & Ability will go, but as to this Oath, I have never seen it before, do not understand it, and therefore cannot now take it.* This honest Man was just offering to Swear all that was in the Oath, which was the Case of divers who refus'd it at that time.

Our Author insinuates that the Presbyterian Ministers discourag'd the People from taking the Oaths, and that they did it from Disaffection and Disrespect to her Majesty's Service; of this he pretends to Name *but two* Instances; and tho' both of 'em be false, he draws a *general* Conclusion against the whole, which wou'd not follow, even tho'

Part 2: the two Instances had been both true: The first Instance he mentions is *(p. 39.)* that of the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair* Presbyterian Minister at *Carrickfergus*, of whom Mr. *Mathews* Curate of that Place tells a Story of Mr. *Adair's* going out of Town on the day of the Array in *Carrickfergus*, tho' the Mayor had desir'd him to stay, and advise the People to take the Oath. This is a mistake in Fact, as will appear by Mr. *Adair*'s Letter, and the Certificates he has obtain'd for disproving Mr. *Mathews*'s Narrative; which I will insert under the following Head, because the Letter has some things in it relating to that, as well as the *second Head*, which I am now upon. His *second* Instance is of Mr. *Mc. Craokan* whom he Accuses in these Words *(p. 41.)*

'Mr. *Mc.Crackan* the *Non-Juring* Teacher of *Lisburn*, at a Communion held in the Parish of *Anahilt*, in the County of *Down*, about 2 or 3 Years ago, Preached a Sermon upon a Text out of *Galatians*, Chap. 5. Vers. 1. His Method of speaking to it was, *First*, He Enlarg'd upon the Slavery of the Jewish *Yoke* of Ceremonies; *Next* he descended to the *Popish* Yoke; and then fell to a *Third* Yoke, in the manner following, *viz. There is (says he) another Yoke, as bad as any of the former, I mean the Yoke of Common-Prayer, of Kneeling, of the Sign of the Cross, of the Surplice* &c. *That is the Devil's Yoke, and they that bear it are in the way to Hell. I see a great many of you here that go that way, I tell you again it is the Devil's Yoke; but Christ's People they say are to be tryed by it; but I say, they that are Christ's People will never submit to it; and for my part I think the Government have no Good in their Eyes.*

Mr *McCrackan* owns that he preach'd at *Anahilt* on *Galatians* 5. 1. and that the Scope of his Discourse was to describe true *Christian Liberty*, & the Obligation the Church lyes under to *maintain* it, & that he took Occasion to discourse of a *six-fold Yoke*, from which Christ hath made us free, *viz.* 1. From the Law as a Covenant of Works, by bringing in a better *Heb.* 8. 6. 2*ly* From the Curse of the Law by being *made a Curse for us Gal.* 3. 13. 3*ly*, From the Dominion of Sin in our Souls and Bodies, *Rom.* 6. 11, 12. 4*ly* From the Tyranny of Satan, 2 *Tim.* 2. 16. *Heb.* 2. 14, 15. 5*ly* From the Ceremonial law injoining Priesty Sacrifices and Levitical Ceremoniss, *Acts* 15, 15 *Gal.* 4, 4, 5. *Col.* 2. 14. 6ly. From the whole Train of human Inventions; as parts in, or of the Worship of God: This takes in, 1. The Doctrines of Men, and Church-Traditions brought in as Rules to or

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parts of the Worship of God *Matt.* 15. 9. 2*ly*, That High Priestly Hierachy, supported now by the *Pope and* his *Subordinate* Prelates, he taking on him that of a *Head* to the Church, of which we know of none but our Lord Jesus, *Eph.* 2. 21, 22. nor are we left to be Subject ject to a *Lordly Domination*, which he hath not appointed, *Luke* 22. 25. 26. 1 *Pet.* 5. 3, 3*ly*, We are free from the Yoke of Uninstituted, Significant Rites, and Ceremonies, such as *Bowing*, *Kneeling*, *Crossing*, *Observation of Saints-days &c*: This he owns, but that he said the Common-Prayer, Kneeling, Cross, Surplice *were the Devil's Yoke*, he denies; and is willing to Appeal to any 4, 6. or 10. Judicious Hearers then present, nor doth he believe any such will say it. And He declares he was so far from saying it, that to his Knowledge he had never any such Thought in his mind, nor never remembers to have read or heard of such an Expression, but from this Author. He also denies, that he said those *who bear it* (if this be understood of *Common Prayer*, *kneeling*, *surplice* &c) *are in the way to Hell*: Tho' he do's not deny that he said so of *all those who bear the Devil's Yoke indeed*, and who *are under his Tyranny*: which he believes every true *Christian*, and every sonnd *divine* do's allow to be true. And he Absolutely denys, that he spoke these undecent and uncharitable words of the Government, *viz. that they had no good in their Eyes*; and says that the uttering of these or any such like words was what he always hated, as being very inconsistant with the duty and Gratitude he ows to *them*, for their great *lenity* towards him.

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A *third* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians during this Reign, is, the Insolency of their Address to the Queen upon the *Pretender's* design'd Invasion, and the unfair Methods they took to procure addresses from others, upon that occasion. In the beginning of the year 1708, while the Nations were alarm'd with an Invasion design'd by the *Pretender*, The Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* drew up a most Dutiful and Loyal Address to Her Majesty, with *fresh Assurances* of their steddy Resolution to adhere to Her Majesty's Interest, and to *that* of the *Protestant Succession* against the common Enemies of both; This is the Address our Author quarels with for *having most exalted Encomiums of their own great Merit from Her Majesty and the public p.* 33. That part of the Address he refers to and seems to Censure for it's Vanity is in these words 'Our un-'tainted Loyalty in *all turns* of Government, our early zeal for the late

'late happy Revolution and the *repeated proofs* we have given of the 'great warmth and concern for the support of it, the security 'of Your Royal Person and of the Protestant Succession, are the '*Natural Consequences* of our known Principles both from Duty and 'Inclination.' If all this be true, (as this Book will make it appear to be) I think it was very seasonable to assert it, when a *bold Pretender* with a *French* power was about to attempt the utter ruine of these Nations But our Author Adds his farther Censure upon this Address, in these *Ironical* words.' And afterwards with great Modesty 'and Deference give Her Majesty to understand, that they *deeply* 'regret, *that the Gentlemen and People of their Persuasion are deprived* 'of *serving her Majesty and their Country.* Meaning this or nothing; 'That while the *Sacramental Test* continues, neither the Gentlemen, 'nor Common People of their Persuasion shou'd serve Her Majesty, if 'she commanded their Assistance either upon an Invasion or upon an 'Insurrection of Her Subjects. For it is plain, when they say both the 'Gentlemen and people are deprived *of serving Her Majesty and* 'their *Country*, they must mean, that they are deprived either of 'the power or of the will of serving; they are indeed cautious not 'to mention either, and only say they are deprived of serving '&c.

Our Author spends more than a Page, in pretending to prove that the Ministers cou'd not mean that their People were depriv'd of a Power of serving Her Majesty; and thence concludes, that seeing there was no *Medium* between the *Power* and *Will* of Serving Her Majesty; it must be the *latter* they mean'd, and consequently were *unwilling to do Her Service.* But all this fine reasoning of our Author's will Evanish, when that part of the Address is *truly repeated*; For our Author has omitted one part of it, which will clearly Answer all the Objections he made against it, it runs thus 'We can't in Conscience neglect this op-'portunity of expressing our deep Regrate, that the Gentlemen and 'People of our Persuasion are depriv'd of *that Capacity* of serving your 'Majesty and their Country, which they *so successfully improv'd* upon 'all former occasions, especially considering the present Circumstan-'ces of this Kingdom'. This is a transcript of that Copy that was taken from the very *Original*, before it was sent off to her Majesty. And as I observ'd before, it clears the point to that degree as to refute all

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Our Author has advanc'd against it: for all Men must own that the *Test-Act* depriv'd all that cou'd not comply with it, of *that Capacity* of serving their Queen and Country, which they had Successfully improv'd before. How often have common Centinals been prefer'd to Eminent Posts in the Army? And the Meanest among the Dissenters (for Station) were *capable* of being rewarded and prefer'd for their Services; which is a mighty Encouragement to People of all Stations and Circumstances, to Engage and Enlist 'emselves either in the standing Army, or in the *Militia*; and where, on the Contrary, Men's hopes of reward are sunk and bar'd by a positive Law, 'tis a vast discouragement to every brave Soul, and Man of Honour. But of this more afterwards, in the *last Chapter* of this Book.

'Tis certain that many worthy Gentlemen of the Establish'd Church did at that time heartily wish that the Protestant Dissenters were Reliev'd from the Disabilities & Incapacities put upon 'em, by the *Test-Act*; and some of 'em fairly insinuated this in their humble Addresses to Her Majesty, and particularly the City of *Dublin*, with which our Author is much offended *p.* 33, and bestows his Censure very Liberally upon them, and all who were of their Opinion, in these Words, 'But it seems 'these Undertakers for the Party, had less opposition in *Dublin* where 'they gained their point, and had this Grievance insinuated in the 'Address of that City, that Her Majesty might be induc'd to believe 'Her *Metropolis* had interpos'd in behalf of the Persecuted Dissenters of *Ireland*, to have them put in Places of Trust and Profit. This 'raised an Amazement and *Indignation* in *all worthy* and *considerate* 'Men, to observe how the City shou'd be Influenced to Act what was 'Judged so contrary to the Sentiments of a Majority of *Aldermen*, '*Common-Council Men* and *Free-men.*'

All those who were for repealing the *Test-Act* as a grievance to the Nation, are, in the judgment of this Author, *unworthy* and *inconsiderate* Men; For he asserts *all worthy* and *considerate* Men to be *raised to Indignation*, when it's but insinuated in an Address: But how far this Author has shown himself to be neither so *worthy* nor *considerate* himself as he ought to be, in making so bold with the Characters of so many *Excellent Worthy* Gentlemen, to whom he seems to be in all respects inferior, I won't take upon me to Determine. He that wou'd behave like a Gentleman, & Argue like a Scholar, ought calmly to Consider the Arguments of his Adversaries, and not to intermix *Personal Reflections* with the Debate, which very often *weak hot* Men

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fall upon, for want of better reasons.

Our *Author* falls foul upon Mr *Adair* of *Carrickfergus*, for his unfair practices in procuring such an address in *Carrickfergus* as had been agreed to by the City of *Dublin*: In answer to which, I shall here Insert a true Copy of Mr *Adair's* Letter to his Friend, which is as follows.

SIR, *Carrickfergus* 30*th April* 1713.

'In your last to me you desire to know, how far I am able to 'Vindicate my self from what I am Charged with in that pamph-'let, Called, *the Conduct of the Dissenters* &c. I shall therefore set 'what relates to me in such a clear light, as may undeceive those who 'have been Impos'd upon, by the Author of the said pamphlet & his 'Correspondents.

'I am Accused by the said *Author* of 2 things, the first is repre-'sented (p, 32) in these words "Great art was used, and Ap-"plication Made, wherever they had the least Influence to obtain "Addresses to Her Majesty with *Innuendos*, that their Incapacities "by the Test-Act was a Grievance to the Nation. Amongst the "Managers in this Affair there was one *Adair*, the *Presbyterian* "Teacher at *Carrickfergus*, who had Clandestinely procur'd an Ad-"dress of his own to be subscribed by *some few of the Town-jury*, with-"out the privity either of the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder or "Burgesses of that Corporation; which they so highly resented, "that they sent up the following Advertisement to *Dublin*, to be "published in a Printed News-paper, which was accordingly done "in the *Flying-Post* for *September* the 30*th* 1708.

'The true state of the case is this: The Grand Jury of the County 'of the Town of *Carrickfergus* drew an Address to the same purpose 'with that of the City of *Dublin*; and it was presented to Her 'Majesty by the Earl of *Penbrook* at St. *James's May* 21 1708, and 'Her Majesty was pleased to receive it graciously, as appears from 'the *London-Gazette* Published by Authority from *thursday may* 20*th* 'to *munday May* 24. 1708.

'As to the charge against me for mannageing the said adress, 'it consists of three parts; one is, that I should have *Clandestinely* 'procured an Address of my own; another is, that it was subscribed *by* 'a few of the Town-jury, a third is, *without the privity* of the Mayor: Aldermen,

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' Aldermen, Recorder or Burgesses of that Corporation. It is surprizing, to think with what *Assurance* the Author publisheth such *mistakes*: when they can be so *Easily disprov'd*, and my Vindication so well attested, as appears by the following Certificate.

' *WHEREAS, in a late Pamphlet Entitled* the Conduct of the Dissenters &c. *it is set forth, that an Address to Her Majesty Entituled &c. wherein was signified the Grievances the Nation lay under by the Late Test-Act* was clandestinely procured by one *Adair* (by whom we suppose they mean the Reverend Mr *Patrick Adair*) and subscribed by some few of the Jury. NOW *therefore we the subscribers being all (Except one* John Macomb *who is since dead) that were upon the Grand jury, Enquiring for our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and the Body of the County of the Town of* Carrickfergus *at the General Quarter-sessions of the Peace held at the* Tholsel of the *said* Town, *when and Where the said Address was* made, do hereby Certify that the said Address was *done by our order, and by each of us Subscribed, when we were all together conveened, and upon our Oaths, At said Sessions Enquiring for our Sovereign Lady the Queen. Witness our Hands the 21st day of* January 171;

William McHendry	*James Irwin*	*James Morison*
James Watson	*David Morison*	*John Mathews*
William Fairfoote	*Josiah Hamilton*	*Daniel Mckirk*
John Brown	*John Campbell*	*William Jafrie*
William Bell	*John Jackson*	

' From which you see, the Address was procured by the Grand Jury, and therefore, not *Clandestinely procured by me*, subscribed by every Member of the Jury, therefore not by a few only, and by Mr *John* Brown. Mr *James Irwin*, and Mr *David Hood* Burgesses, therefore not without the *privity of all the Burgesses*; withal the Address was put into a shop in the most public part of the Town, and there subscribed by the Gentlemen & Inhabitants of the Town without Distinction, as well those of the Establish'd Church, as Presbyterians.

' This might be done, without the privity of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder: the Grand-jury whose Address it was, very well knew they were bound by their Oath to do what might any way Contribute to the Interest of their Gracious So-

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‘ The second thing Objected against me is, with Relation to my Behavior at the time of the Array of the *Militia*, it's contain'd in a part of Mr. *Mathews*'s Letter inserted by the Author *(p. 39)* in these Words; *You know what opposition the Commissioners of Array met with in the County of* Antrim *upon the Array of the* Militia, *which made our then Mayor Mr.* Horseman, *apprehensive of the same difficulties in Arraying the* Militia *of this Place; and therefore as the likeliest way to obviate them, apply'd himself to* Mr. Adair *the Presbyterian Teacher of this Town; desiring that he wou'd with his Presence and Advice Influence those of his Persuasion, Peaceably to take the Oaths offered to them by the Commissioners; notwithstanding which Request, and that the Refusal of the Oaths in the County of* Antrim *made a great Noise, and was Spreading amongst the Crowds here, whether industriously or no, I cannot tell, That they must all swear to be Churchmen*; when the *prefixed day came, Mr* Adair, *to the Mayor's great surprize, thought it most convenient to Ride out of Town. This, Sir, is the plain matter of Fact, for the truth of which I will be answerable.*

‘ I Communicated this part of my Charge to *Richard Horseman* Esq; the only Person that could fix it on me, if Guilty, and *clear* me if Innocent; he did not only tell me that he remembred no such thing, but has been pleased to favour me with the following Certificate,

‘ *WHEREAS in a Pamphlet, Entitul'd,* The Conduct of the Dissenters &c. *it is set forth, that upon Arraying the Militia of* Carrickfergus *at the time when the Pretender Endeavour'd to Invade* North-Britain, *I being then Mayor of the said Town, should have applyed my self to* Mr. Adair *the Presbyterian Teacher, desiring that he would by his Presence and Advice Influence those of his Persuasion Peaceably to take the Oaths offered them* &c. *I therefore do hereby Declare and Certifie, that I do not remember that I did speak to him upon any such Account. Dated this* 27 April 1713.

Richard Horseman.

‘ Which shows I might have gone out of Town any time that day the Militia was Arrayed without *surprizing, disappointing* or *disobliging* the Mayor: And if I had been spoke to by the *Mayor*, I gave him

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'him no ground to be offended at my going out of Town about six 'of the Clock Afternoon, seeing the Array was over about Noon the 'same day; for which I refer my self to the following Certificate.

'I *Do hereby Certifie that the day the Militia of* Carrickfergus *was* 'Arrayed upon the Pretender's pretending to Invade Great-Britain, *the* 'Reverend Mr. Pat Adair *was in Town in Company with* Richard Horse-'man *Esq*; *then Mayor, and Others, and did continue in the said Town till* 'six of the Clock in the Afternoin of the said day, *long before which time the* 'Array *was over. Dated this* 14*th of* Febr. 1712-3.

Wm. Wilkison.

'It had been the Author's Advantage, he had produced his Authori-'ty for what he advanced against me upon Managing the *Address*, as he 'has done against me in my behavior upon *Arraying* the *Militia*, That of 'the Address falls upon himself, that of the *Array* upon Mr. *Matthews*. 'I hope when the Reverend Mr. *Matthews* hears any thing to my Dis-'advantage, he will give me an Opportunity of Confessing if Guilty, or 'Vindicating my self if Innocent, this will be according to the Rule of 'the Gospel, and a kindness to himself as well as to me. I have sent 'you the Original Certificates, from which I drew the Copies Inser-'ted in my Letter, I am, Sir, Yours *&c.*

PAT. ADAIR.

I have seen those *Original* Certificates refer'd to in Mr. *Adair*'s Letter, and find the Copies he gives of them to be exact. And upon the whole, the Reader will see that our Author's Argument against *Dissenters* wou'd be very good, were it no for two things that are wanting in it, *viz.* Truth in Fact, and good Reasoning in his Consequences.

The *fourth* Fault our Author finds with Dissenters in *Ireland*, during this Period, is, Their joining with the Town of *Belfast* in defending a Suit against the Interest of the Church. He expresseth himself thus, (*p.* 42.) 'About this time the Minister of *Belfast* was cast in a Suit, 'which highly concern'd the Interest of the Establish'd Church of '*Ireland*; the Judgments and Reasons upon which it was grounded 'having entirely defeated the Act of Parliament, for *the Provision of* '*Ministers in Towns Corporate*, and affected most if not all the Com-'missions of Valuation which had been, or cou'd be granted by Vir-'tue of that Act.

He first endeavours to make the Cause Odious, and then he purposeth to gain his End, by shewing the Dissenters engaged in it, of whom

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he says,(p. 43.)'There never surely was any Suit,which the Dissenters
'in general made more a *Party-Cause*, and which they and their Ad-
'vocates laid more to heart; and indeed(all things being consider'd)
'it is not to be wondred at, being likely to prove of the last Conse
'quence to the Interest of the *Kirk*, upon several Accounts.

As to the Merits of the Cause,our *Author* acquaints us that he intends very soon to publish a full *Account* of it: but I hope it will be a more just one, than what's contain'd in the little Abstract of it, he has given in his Book; the unreasonableness whereof will appear to such as seriously Peruse a Printed half Sheet, with the *State of that Case*, publish'd before Judgment was given in the Queen's-Bench, in favor of the Town. The Town of *Belfast* (tho' a Corporation of an hundred Years Standing) never paid House-Mony to their *Vicar*, who was formerly call'd Vicar of *Schankill*,that being the Ancient Name of the Parish of *Belfast*: The late Incumbent Mr. *Echlin*,and his Successor the present Incumbent Dr. *Tisdall*,carried on a Suit against the Town, and Claim'd the House-Mony by Virtue of the Statute 17. & 18 *Car.* 2*di. Cap.* 7. Entitled, *An Act for Provision of Ministers in Cities, Corporate-Towns &c.* Whereupon,the Corporation of *Belfast*, being advis'd by Council, That they were not included in the *Letter* or *Meaning* of the said Act of Parliament, defended their Rights, and Pleaded from the Preamble of the said Statute, which runs thus. 'That whereas there
'are SMALL OR NO TITHES OR OTHER DUTIES settled
'by Law upon the Incumbents who have Actual Care of Souls in the
'City and Suburbs of *Dublin*,and the Liberties thereunto adjoyning,
'and in other Cities and Towns Corporate of this your Majesty's
'Kingdom of *Ireland*. Therefore be it Enacted &c.' That they were not Affected by it, seeing *Belfast* is a *Vicarage* Endow'd by Law with *Glebe-Land, all the small Tithes, and a third of the great Tithes*; and that by a modest Computation, the Product of these and of the other Dues paid by the Inhabitants of the Town of *Belfast* to their Vicar, will amount *Communibus Annis* to 180 *lb. per Annum*, which they Pleaded from Adjudg'd Cases was a Competency for the *Vicar*; and that therefore the Reason of the Law was not binding in their Case. And they farther Pleaded,that tho' the said Sum of 180 *lb. per Annum* shou'd not be look'd upon as a Competency, yet even in that Case, which is the most favorable supposition for the Vicar, he can't legally Recover House-Money from the Inhabitants of the Town, but must

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Sue for an Augmentation to his Maintenance out of the *Rectorial* Tithes, because he that receives the Impropriation of these Tithes ought to Endow the *Vicar* with a Competent Maintenance.

These were some of the Pleas made by the Corporation of *Belfast*, and upon which Judgment was given in their Favor, agreeable to the *Intention* of the *Act* of *Parliament*. And the same can never be *Prejudicial*, either in *it self* or it's *Consequences*, to the Establish'd Church, because it deprives 'em of no Right to which they have any Legal Title; nor can it affect any *Valuation* that has been made in any Town Corporate, *according to Law*. And shou'd our Author be able to produce any Instance of a *Valuation* granted in a Case Parallel to that of *Belfast*. i.e. where the Minister has at least 180 *lb per Annum*, and where there are sufficient Rectorial Tithes to supply the Defects of his maintenance, if there be any, 'twou'd be no Injury to the *Church* that *such a Valuation* were made void, because not Legal. And in the *mighty Noise* this Author has made about this matter, he has not been so tender of the Reputation of the Church, as he ought to have been. For instead of it's being for the *Interest* of the *Church*, 'tis rather a *Reflection* upon 'em, to seek what is *not their own*, and not to rest *Contented* with the Provision the Laws of the Kingdom have made for the Clergy, which is as handsome and Generous in *Ireland* (especially for the Inferior Clergy) as in any Establish'd Protestant *Church* in the World; and therefore our Author, if he had thought fit, might have forbore the heavy Complaints he makes of *sinking the Income of the Establish'd Clergy*, Calling it a *Dragonable state*, into which this Judgment wou'd reduce all Ministers in Towns Corporate in this Kingdom.

That the *Dissenters in general* made this Law-Suit in *Belfast* a *Party-Cause*, is utterly denied. And it can be made appear, from those who Collected the Mony for defending the Right of the Corporation, that not *one Penny* was paid towards it by any, but by the Inhabitants of the Town of *Belfast*, who were all personally concerned it, and were to be affected by the Judgment to be given upon it: And almost all the Inhabitants of any Figure and Substance, of ALL PERSUASIONS, did with equal Cheartulness make their Voluntary Contributions towards it. And the Dissenters were far from following the Example of the *Convocation*, who indeed made it a *Party Cause*, and warmly Recommended it to the Clergy for their *Assistance*, as appears from the

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Public Printed Paper of the *Lower-House* of *Convocation*, directly espousing it as the *Cause of the Church*.

The *fifth* Fault our Author finds with Presbyterians, during this Period is, their Insolent Behaviour about the Tithes, instanced in the Case of Arch Deacon *Ford's* Proctor & the People to whom he was setting his Tithes, where he tells a Ridiculous Story *(p. 46.)* in these Words 'it seems during that Struggle, they were Spirited 'up to the same Height, that they had been, when they Petitioned 'the King for the Church-Livings, as before-mentioned. And this 'you may learn from the second Relation, given to me by the Revd. Mr 'Ford Archdeacon of *Derry*, with Authority to publish it *viz.* That 'when his Proctor *George Leake* was setting his Tithes in the Dioces 'of *Derry* for the Year 1710, several of the Parishoners demanded of 'the said *Leake*, that he should engage before Witnesses, to *return the 'several Sums agreed for, provided that they, who were Dissenters should 'be Exempted from Paying their Tithes, before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due.*

Our Author Compares this Instance with another he had Accused 'em of before *viz.* Their *Petitioning the King for the Church-Livings*; wherein I think he is very much in the Right; the Comparison is very apt, & well Chosen: For I have shown [p. 406. &c.] that they presented no such Petition. And 'tis probable, this Story of the Archdeacon's Proctor is either a *meer-Jest* of some of these Drolling *Country-Farmers*, or the Height of Folly, if they were in Earnest; which needs nothing else to demonstrate it, but the Terms of their own Proposals, *viz.* That he *should return the several Sums agreed for, provided that they who were Dissenters should be exempted from paying their Tithes, before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due.* For how could the Sums be returned before they were paid, or is it credible, that they wou'd be paid before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due? And if they were not paid before that, in case the Dissenters shou'd be Exempted from paying before the Respective payments became due, in that Case they *needed no Covenant* to secure 'em, because there wou'd be nothing *due by 'em.* And therefore such a *senseless Proposal* could come from no wise man, nor cou'd it be the Effect of any *general Concert* or *Resolution* of the Dissenters.

What he offers about their *Synods*, and *Missionaries* as he calls them, *invading the Conformists Congregations*, and their Managments

ments in *Drogheda* (all which he touches ſhortly in this Period) ſhall be ſet in a *true Light*, when I come to conſider his more Particular Account of theſe *Facts* in the *laſt Part* of this Book; Upon the whole, I muſt ſubmit it to the Judicious Reader, whether our Author has not *induſtriouſly rak'd* into a Parcel of (at beſt) ill Atteſted and groundleſs Stories, unreaſonably ſtrain'd, to *fully* the Characters of *Loyal*, *Peaceable* and *Sound* Proteſtants. *I* have been oblig ed (by his Method) to mention ſome *few things*, particularly the *Inſtances* of Charity, under the former Reign, which Properly belong to this Period; which *I* did, to prevent the Trouble of going back to Review his Accounts of 'em, after I had finiſhed what properly belonged to that Reign. Part 2.

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Part 3.

PART III.

Wherein the *Second* and *Third* Parts of the Pamphlet Entitled, *The Conduct of the Dissenters of* Ireland *with respect both to Church and State*, are Examin'd.

CHAP. I.

Wherein the first Four Facts *Charged upon Presbyterians in the* Second Part of the *Conduct of the Dissenters* viz, 1st. *Their Synods and Assemblies.* 2ly, *Their Ruling Elders.* 3ly, *The private Philosophy-School of* Killeleagh, *and* 4thly, *Their Writing and Preaching against the Establish'd Form of Marriage; Are Set in a true Light, and a Modest Apology offered for them.*

Our Author Undertakes in his second Part of his second Letter to give an *Enumeration of some particular Facts well attested, illustrating and confirming what is affirmed of them in the first Part.* And therefore, the natural Method of treating this subject will oblige me, *first*, to

to consider the *facts* by him alledged against Presbyterians, & then, 2*ly*, inquire how far they illustrate and confirm what he has affirmed against 'em in his first part. Part 3.

The first of these he sets forth in these terms p: 48.

FACT I.

'The Dissenters of this Kingdom (*says he*) presume so far to exert the inherent Right of *Christ's Kingdom*, (as they phrase *Presbyterian Government*) that they conveen *when* and *where* they please, form themselves into *Presbyteries*, *Classical* and Provincial Synods: in which Assemblies, by the principles of their Ecclesiastical Polity, they exercise a jurisdiction *superior* to and *Independant* of the Civil Magistrate, in Many Instances. These Assemblys are *Frequent* and *Numerous* of late, very publick, with an appearance of *Authority*, at some times: as private with doors and Windows shut, at other Times: insomuch that all *Considerate* Men are amaz'd at their Presumption, and Alarmed at the Manner of their proceedings.

Let us hear what the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* offer in their own defence, in their *humble Address and Apology to her Majesty*, with respect to this very fact (Vide *present State of Religion in Ireland p.* 28) 'That we not only meet for the Worship of God, but also in smaller and larger Societies, for preserving of *Order*, purging our *Communion* of *Scandalous* and irregular Persons, & for suppressing *Immorality* and profaneness, is what we freely acknowledge to your Majesty. And those Meetings (as their Lordships observe) are commonly called *Synods* and *Iudicatories*, being so termed in these Churches where they have Civil sanction.

'These Judicatories in *North-Britain* being Established by the *British* Parliament, as a FUNDMENTAL of that UNION which your Majesty has in your Gracious speeches from the *Throne* declared to be *One of the greatest Glories of your Reign*: We humbly hope, that your Majesty's *Permission* of them here, to those of the same principles, will not be Prejudicial to your *Prerogative*.

'And we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest Assured, that nothing derogatory to your Majesty's Honor and Safety, nor to the Royal Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown, was ever so much

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'as once moved or thought upon in any of theſe Meetings. No 'Civil Affairs were ever under their Conſideration: None but 'thoſe who *voluntarily declared* themſelves to be of their perſuaſion, 'were at any time affected by them. No Coercive power was ever 'exerciſed upon any, nor was there ever any Circumſtance or 'Management in theſe Meetings inconſiſtent with the peace of the 'Kingdom, or with the Liberties, and Properties of your Sub-'jects.

This Contains a full Anſwer to our Author's *general Charge*, about this *fact*: As to the principles of Presbyterians, about *Church-Government*, and the rules of their *Diſcipline*, and their opinion about the *Inherent* or *Intrinſic* power, I have conſidered them in the firſt part of this book, and Vindicated 'em from our Author's Calumnious Miſrepreſentations of 'em as injurious to the Civil Magiſtrate.

Her Majeſty has been graciouſly pleas'd to allow her Presbyterian ſubjects in *Ireland* the Liberty of Meeting for the Public Worſhip of God, according to their Conſciences: And therefore they Humbly hope, that her Royal *Wiſdom* and *Clemency* will permit them to meet in thoſe Aſſemblies likewiſe, which are neceſſary (in their humble opinion, & according to the principles which their Conſciences dictate to them) for the decent ordering of their *Worſhiping* Aſſemblies, the purging of them of ſcandalous and irregular perſons, for preventing the *ſacred* and *ſolemn ſeals* of the *New Covenant* from being proſtituted to the openly prophane, contrary to the Invariable rules of the Goſpel, and the pious *Conſtitutions* of the *primitive*, & of all the *Reformed Churches* in the world; and for preventing the people from being ſeduced in their principles, and debauched in their Morals, by *Heretical* and *Scandalous* perſons *creeping* into, and *continuing* in the Office of the *holy Miniſtry*.

How can they enjoy the Liberty of public Worſhip, unleſs their *Paſtors* be allowed to Meet and to *Ordain* qualified Perſons, to *preſide* in it? How can they Adminiſter the Sacraments to their People, without Encouraging Scandalous *Enormities*, unleſs they may be allowed a *Liberty of denying them* to impenitently Scandalous Offenders? and how can they do this without hearing them, and endeavoring to Reform them? Wou'd it not be a *Reproach* to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and tend to the Diſhonor of God, to permit a Man that is an open *Heretick* or lewdly *profane*, to be a *Presbyterian Miniſter*? And how

ſhall

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ſhall Presbyterian Miniſters ſhew their Regard to the Honor of Religion, to the Souls of Men whom they have the charge of, and to the Welfare of Civil Society and the Nation, if they ſhou'd not diſcountenance every ſuch Perſon? Might not all Men think them *Partial* and *Baſe*, if they ſhou'd admit any one to be a Miniſter or a Member of any of their Congregations, or to *continue* ſuch, merely becauſe he *profeſſeth* himſelf to be a *Presbyterian*, tho' otherwiſe void of all good Principles and Morality? This wou'd be the *vileſt of Party-Intereſts*, and wou'd ſhow Men to be more Zealous for *Presbytery* than for *Chriſtianity*.

Wou'd it not be an *ungrateful Return* to Her Majeſty's Royal Clemency, in permitting them to enjoy under her Auſpicious Government, the Liberty of their public Worſhip, ſhou'd they allow their Worſhipping Aſſemblies to be the Sanctuaries of Vice and Error, and their Pulpits to Chime the deceitful Notes of *Unſound Doctrine*, inſtead of conveying the *joyful ſound* of the Goſpel to Immortal Souls. Reformation of Manners is not ſo far advanced, as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of a joint vigorous oppoſition, from Proteſtants of all Perſuaſions, to the *Rampant Wickedneſs* and growing Iniquities of the Age. I can't but conclude, that tho' her Majeſty has given all the Proofs which the Church of *England* can deſire, of her being entirely in their Intereſt, it would be very agreeable to a Prince of her Piety, to find that the *Power of Godlineſs* were Thriving and Cheriſh'd in the *Diſſenting*, as well as in the *Eſtabliſh'd* Congregations of her Subjects.

Both Churches, *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian*, are agreed, that *Godly Diſcipline* is very neceſſary in every Church; they are agreed, as to the true ends of it too; only they differ as to the Perſons, with whom the Power of it ought to be Lodged. It is not my buſineſs, in this Book, to Debate *which* of their *Schemes* is the *beſt*; but I wou'd fain know, what harm wou'd there be, in a mutual forbearance of one another in this point. There is a great body of ſound Proteſtants in *Ireland*, who, tho' they Love and Honor all good Men of the *Epiſcopal Communion*, yet never had *freedom* and *clearneſs* in their Conſciences to join with *Epiſcopacy*; and who dare not, for fear of Sinning againſt God, forſake their Principles, until they be once *convinc'd* of their being in the wrong: Theſe People are allowed to Worſhip God publickly in their own way; where can the harm be of allowing them to uſe *all the endeavors* thy can, for *Reforming* wicked Men from their *ſinful*

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Courſes, and for preventing their Congregations from being Infected by the *Contagion* of bad example? 'Tis true, their Brethren of the Epiſcopal Communion do think, that every one ought to ſubmit to their Eſtabliſh'd *Church-Government*, and that this wou'd Anſwer all the ends of Diſcipline; but I muſt obſerve that they are likewiſe of Opinion, that every one ſhou'd Joyn in their Worſhip too, and be *conſtantly* of their *Communion*; and yet conſidering that *Presbyterians* are *ſound Proteſtants*, agreeing with themſelves in *all the Fundamentals* of the *Reform'd* Religion, they muſt think that the difference is *tolerable*, and therefore that the *Diſſenters* ought not to be *Perſecuted* in that point, meerly for *Conſcience ſake*. I muſt confeſs, I can ſee no reaſon why the ſame forbearance ought not to be ſhown 'em in the matter of their Diſcipline, as in their Worſhip: For in both, the Plea is the ſame. The Presbyterians think that their Worſhip is the *pureſt* and moſt *Scriptural*, and they have the ſame *Sentiments* of their *Diſcipline*. They think the Word of God obliges their *Paſtors* to meet in *Collegiate* and *Aſſociate* Bodies, for their joint Acting in matters merely Eccleſiaſtical; and that they offend God the *Supreme Legiſlator*, if they neglect this Duty: And while they and their People retain this Principle, they muſt Act in Purſuance of it.

Hereupon I wou'd offer to the Conſideration of all *ſober* and *moderate Conformiſts*, whether it were not better for the advancement of Piety and Religion, to permit the Presbyterian Miniſters to Meet Peaceably for the ends abovemention'd, without *Moleſtation*; Whether it be not likely, that a Method which is entirely agreeable to the *Conſciences* of the People ſhou'd do them *moſt good*, for Reſtraining them from Sin, and gaining all the ends of Diſcipline; or, whether a *forcible Compulſion* of Men's Conſcience to ſubmit to what is *Repugnant* to it's Dictates can have that Weight and Influence upon them, in the Exercile of Diſcipline, and for gaining it's valuable Ends.

The Queſtion is ſhortly reducible to theſe terms, Whether ſeeing both *Epiſcopals* and *Presbyterians* are agreed, that for the ſuppreſſing of iniquity and immorality, there ought to be *Diſcipline*, and that it is *a great ſin* to neglect it, and ſeeing Presbyterians declare that in Conſcience they can't conform to the *Scheme* and *Model* of it uſed in the Eſtabliſhed Church; whether (I ſay) in this caſe the Presbyterians ſhall have *no benefit* of *any* Diſcipline; or, whether they ſhou'd be *forced to ſubmit* to one againſt their conſcience; or, whether they ſhall be

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be *permitted* to use it, as they have done above seventy years by past in *Ireland?* With submission, I think the Resolution very easy. For, to deny them the *Benefit* of *all Discipline* is to give *loose reins* to all kind of wickedness; and whether *Presbytery* or open *Immorality* be more tolerable, let the world judge. By forcing any one Scheme upon 'em against their Consciences, the ends of Discipline can never be obtain'd. Fines, Imprisonments, & Banishment may make men Hypocrites, but will never make them Good Christians nor good Church-Men, as Experience abundantly shows. *And* therefore it seems plain to me, that 'tis *better to permit* them the Liberty of their *own Scheme*, than either to *force* another upon 'em that won't reach the End, or to *deny them Discipline altogether.*

This *fact* set thus in a true Light, can never be *Prejudicial* either to *Church* or *State*, and therefore can never confirm what our *Author* has affirmed against Presbyterians in the *first Part of his second Letter.* Let him disprove (if he can) what their Ministers aver to her Majesty, in their above-mentioned *Apology.* And unless the *promoting* of Piety, and the *consulting* of the best *Expedients* they can think of for *opposing* Sin, be thought *Prejudicial* to the Church, I know no Prejudice they receive by such Meetings. Besides, 'tis Evident from the Reverend Mr *Hall*'s Letter, in name of the largest Meeting of them, in the case of Mr *Liston*, which I have inserted *p.* 414. that such Meetings are useful and have been accordingly used, for *correcting* the *Indiscretions* of any of their own Members to the *Established Church*; so far are they from doing any thing, that is *unneighbourly* or *undecent.*

But our Author, from the General Account he gives of this fact, descends to a particular instance of the procedure of a Meeting of Presbyterian Ministers, in the case of Mr *William Gray*; (a Minister of their Persuasion, near the City of *London-Derry*) which he thinks may serve for all: He gives the Narrative of this Case, as (he says) it was read by the Reverend Arch-deacon *Andrew Hamilton*, in his information to the Convocation *August* 1711.

I shall give the Reader a short and true Account of it, from the *Minutes* of those Meetings who considered it, and show wherein the Reverend Doctor *Hamilton* has been *misinformed* in some circumstan-

tances; and then *Vindicate* the proceedings of the Miniſters, from the *invidious Reflections* caſt upon 'em by our Author.

Mr *William Gray*, tho' a man of Good ſenſe and a good *Preacher*, finding that he cou'd not obtain the conſent of his Parents, *Marry'd Clandeſtinely*, and conceal'd it for a conſiderable time. As ſoon as it was diſcovered, the Presbytery reproved him, *ſuſpended* him from his *Miniſtry*, and ſent one of their Number to receive his *Penitential Acknowledgment* before his Congregation: which he made very readyly, and very much to the ſatisfaction of all who heard him. In the mean time, they were under ſome difficulty about ſuſtaining his Marriage, becauſe he offered only *one witneſs* to prove it; and refuſed to acquaint them with the name of the Perſon, who Married him, being under ſome Engagement to conceal that, as he affirmed; but upon their Opinion of his *Veracity*, with the *concurrent* Teſtimony of that *one witneſs*, they believed he was really Married. In the mean time, One *Stephenſon* who lived near *London-Derry*, accuſed the ſaid Mr *Gray* of Notorious ſcandalous practiſes, which he with great *Aſſurance* and *Violence* offered to prove againſt him, and this laid the Presbytery under a neceſſity of hearing what the ſaid *Stephenſon* cou'd ſay: The fame of this being ſpread through the Country, *Mr Gray's* Congregation, which is very numerous, came to hear what cou'd be ſaid againſt their *Miniſter*, whom they ſtill believed to be innocent. The Presbytery were obliged, for *their* ſatisfaction, and for the ſatisfaction of many others who were longing to know the iſſue, to inquire into this Matter publickly in the Meeting-houſe of *London-Derry* with *open doors*, where they took an Account of what *Stephenſon's* Evidences cou'd ſay. *Stephenſon* alledging that they were partial in favor of *Mr Gray*, applyed to a *Meeting* of all the other Presbyteries at *Antrim* in *June* 1706, Upon which that Presbytery ſtopt any further proceedings, at that time. The aforeſaid Meeting in *June* 1706, finding *Stephenſon* adhere to his Accuſation againſt *Mr Gray*, and that he pretended he cou'd not bring his Witneſſes ſo far abroad, but that he cou'd prove all, if ſome Miniſters and Elders were allowed by them to hear this Cauſe in ſome *convenient Place*, where they cou'd attend, did therefore concert that *ſixteen Miniſters* and as many Elders ſhou'd meet at *Strabane*, and bring that matter to an iſſue: and that the Presbyterian Miniſter *there* ſhou'd be allowed to ſignifie to *all Perſons of our Perſuaſion*, who either by *Stephenſon* or Mr *Gray* ſhou'd be alledged capable of diſcovering the truth in that affair,

that

that it was *their earneſt deſire*, they might appear and declare it before that *Committee*. Part 3.

When this Committee met, they firſt ſpent ſome time in Prayer for Divine Direction; and there being a great Number of Mr. *Gray's* Congregation preſent, deſiring to be heard in his caſe, and divers Gentlemen and others of the Country, and ſome of 'em of the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, who deſired the favour of being admitted to be preſent as Auditors, The *Committee* cou'd not, in point of *Diſcretion* and *Civility* hinder them, which was the Cauſe of their Managing ſo publickly. They finding, that Mr. *Holmes*, Presbyterian Miniſter at *Strabane*, had ſent *Advertiſements* to ſome Perſons who were Members of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, did publickly declare, it was never *their Intention* to give him any Inſtructions to that purpoſe; and he as publickly declared, that he knew not of their being of the Communion of the Church.

After a full Hearing of all that was offer'd by Mr. *Gray's* Accuſer, and his Defences (wherein they ſpent *ſeveral days*) they came to an *Unanimous* reſolution, that there *appear'd nothing* from whence they cou'd conclude Mr. *Gray* Guilty of any of the Particulars laid to his Charge, by the ſaid *Stephenſon*. And Mr *Gray*, to remove all ground of Suſpicion, gave the moſt *ſolemn Declaration* of his Innocence with reſpect to thoſe Facts, which cou'd be given by any Man.

There was one thing more, which this Committee did in Mr. *Gray's* Caſe; and that was with Relation to the Proof of his Marriage. Whatever Charity might be due to Mr. *Gray*, from their good Opinion of him; yet they concluded, that he himſelf being a *Party*, and having but *one Witneſs* that affirmed his being Married, it might prove a *bad Precedent*, to look upon the *Teſtimony* of a *ſingle Witneſs* as ſufficient Proof in ſuch a Caſe; and therefore they came to a Reſolution, that they wou'd not take off the *Suſpenſion* under which he lay, until he wou'd either produce the *Certificate* of the *Clergy-man* who Married him, concurring with the *Teſtimony* of that Witneſs; or, make ſome other *good* and *ſufficient* proof that he was married; and gave Inſtructions to ſome of their Number, to remove his Suſpenſion, as ſoon as he did *either*. And accordingly in ſome ſhort time after, Mr *Gray* produc'd a Certificate of the Clergyman who married him, and a Reſolution of the *Official Court*, judging and approving the ſame to be a

Legal

Part 3.

Legal and Valid proof of his Marriage; whereupon, without *any further* Cenſure, he was reſtored to the *Exerciſe* of his Miniſtry.

The Reverend Dr. *Hamilton* has been Misinformed in ſome part of his Narrative of this Caſe (and his miſtakes are imputed to nothing elſe) and particularly in what he offers in theſe Words 'The Committee, as I am informed, took an Oath each of them to examine, 'and judge Impartially, Swearing after the manner of *Scotland* with 'their *Right hand* lifted up——The Witneſſes were called, and moſt 'of them Sworn after the ſame manner'. For tho' the Committee made a Declaration to that purpoſe he mentions, they took no Oath, nor were any of the Witneſſes Sworn, but made a *ſolemn Declaration* as in the ſight of God, that what they ſpoke was true. And that this is the general Practice of ſuch Meetings in ſuch Caſes, is plain from the following Paragraph of the *ſecond Apology* of the Presbyterian Miniſters in the *North* of *Ireland* to her Majeſty (vide *Preſent State of Religion in* Ireland *p.* 34.) 'For we Adminiſter no Oath (*ſay they*) to Witneſſes 'examin'd by us, unleſs a ſolemn Voluntary Declaration of the truth 'before us may be accounted as ſuch'. Neither did the Members of that Committee, nor the Witneſſes who appear'd there *lift up their hands* at the making of theſe Declarations, neither was the Diſſenting Miniſter of *Strabane* Clerk to that Committee, nor was there any ſuch Reſolution taken, that the whole expence that ſhou'd attend this Affair ſhou'd be defray'd out of the common Stock.

But there are ſome things in the Dr's Narrative, which are true in Fact, but ſeem to be ſaid (at leaſt quoted by our Author) with an Air of reflection upon the Conduct of that Meeting at *Strabane*, as namely, *firſt*, 'That they continued ſitting with their *doors open*, and vaſt crowds 'of People, and their whole Proceedings were as *public* as any *Court* of '*Judicature* poſſibly cou'd be'. But this I have obviated already, and ſhown the reaſons why that was inevitable. 'And *2dly*, That one of 'the Articles of *Stephenſon*'s Libel againſt Mr. *Gray* was, *that the ſaid* '*Gray Converſed much with thoſe of a different Perſuaſion*'. The Anſwer is plain; that was *Stephenſon*'s Impertinence only, for which the Miniſters were not to be blam'd, and they reprov'd him for it; and *3dly*, That they *iſſued out Summons for Witneſſes*. The form whereof the Reverend Dr. ſets down. But let us hear what the Presbyterian Miniſters of the North of *Ireland* affirm to be their conſtant Practice in ſuch Caſes, in their laſt mentioned Apology to her Majeſty (Ibid. p. 35): Nor do we

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'we issue out Summons to any, but *earnestly desire* (without any Penalty) such as we suppose can give us a true account of Scandalous Immoralities in any of *our Persuasion*, to acquaint us with 'em, in order to the suppressing of Sin, and Convincing and Reforming the Guilty: These *earnest desires*, in complyance with the *Customary* way of speaking, are *sometimes call'd Summons*, being all we use instead of them'. And the very Copy of the Paper which the Archdeacon inserts is a proof of this: for it runs thus, 'These are therefore to *desire* and *obtest* you, as you value the Glory of God, the good of Religion, and the Maintaining of Truth, to appear before a Committee of Ministers at *Strabane &c.*' What can this be call'd but an *earnest desire without any Penalty*?

Our Author proceeds some Invidious Reflections upon this proceeding in Mr. *Gray*'s Case, and he can't have patience till he come to the Case it self, but must prejudice his Reader with a *false State* of it, in the Contents prefixt to his Letter, in these Words, *p.* 3*d.* 'Fact I. Of 'their Synods and Assemblies, in what manner they Exercise their Illegal Jurisdiction, an instance given of their whole procedure in the 'Case of *William Gray* a Dissenting Teacher, *for being Married by a 'Minister of the Establish'd Church*'. This is a notorious Mistake in Fact, for Mr. *Gray* was never Censur'd for being Married by a Minister of the Establish'd Church, but because he *Married Clandestinely*, and because for *some time* he did not make *satisfying Proof* of the Marriage: so far was he from being Censur'd on the account mentioned by our Author, that it was agreed, that as soon as he shou'd produce a Certificate of his Marriage, from the Clergyman who Married him, his *Censure shou'd be taken off.*

He insinuates grievous reflections in two Questions proposed by him. The first is 'if the Presbyterians of this Kingdom dare act 'with such an appearance of Authority in the Exercise of an illegal 'Jurisdiction; if they presume to act in so public & avowed manner 'as in the case mentioned, what may be reasonably supposed to be the 'subject of their consultations, when their assemblies are kept with 'the *greatest privacy*, with their doors and windows shut and guarded? if such be their works of light, what may we suppose to be 'their works of darkness?

Our Author is resolved to find fault with those Meetings, let 'em carry as they will: for if they do their business publicly in the face of the World, this is reckon'd a *daring* and a *presuming*. And

Part 3.

if to prevent any One's taking *Umbrage* from their *appearing publicly*, they manage their affairs in a more retired manner, preſently he is for infuſing jealouſies of there being ſome dangerous thing in theſe works of darkneſs; this is hard treatment.

But to ſatisfie all *ſober Proteſtants*, that there are no bad deſigns hatched amongſt Presbyterians in ſuch *private Aſſemblies*, either againſt *Church* or *State*; I freely publiſh to the World the reaſons of their holding their Meetings more privately upon ſome occaſions. Sometimes ſuch affairs come before them, as they cannot ſhun a more public way of hearing them, for ſuch reaſons as I have Mentioned in the caſe of Mr *Gray*. But then a great deal depends upon the prudent way of *concerting a Method* of treating ſuch Affairs, that precious time be not ſpent by hearing *needleſs Altercations*, and multiplying Buſineſs unneceſsarily. To prevent which, The Miniſters uſually *conſult among themſelves* how to Manage decently and expeditiouſly, and ſometimes fall upon an happy *Expedient* for agreeing the Matter, and preventing trouble to themſelves and others; and where is the fault of all this?

Frequently Vacant Congregations apply to ſuch Meetings, for their Advice & concurrence, about fit Perſons to be recommended to their Choice for Paſtors: In ſuch caſes, Miniſters think it prudent to conſult privately amongſt themſelves, that they may uſe their own *neceſſary freedom* about the *Characters* of men; and it wou'd be *imprudent* and *uncharitable* to uſe that neceſſary freedom *openly* before the World; what needs, or why ſhou'd the World know, what every Miniſter *freely diſcourſes* about the *gifts*, *temper*, and *fitneſs* or *unfitneſs*, *of ſuch* and *ſuch* a man for *ſuch* a Congregation? is not this a very Innocent ſecret?

The public *Gazettes* and other News-Papers ſhow, that the Presbyterian Miniſters in the North of *Ireland*, have oft preſented to her Majeſty and her Royal Predeceſſors, moſt *Loyal* and *Dutiful Addreſſes*; and that when troubles were brought on them, upon account of their *Non-Conformity*, they have been obliged by humble Petitions to apply for Relief: And it being the *Right of the Subject*, to have a Liberty of Petitioning and Addreſſing the Civil Magiſtrate both *ſupreme* and *ſubordinate*; I know no Law, to hinder Presbyterian Miniſters to meet for that purpoſe. If they have a Right to Petition, muſt not they have a Right alſo to *meet*, in order to *prepare* and *Sign* their Petition, and

and to consult of prudent Methods for Managing it? To deny them the *latter*, is to deny them the *former*, which is the *Right of every Subject.* Now the Presbyterian Ministers can't be blam'd, if they retire and consult amongst themselves upon these points; what Right has any man to be present with them? or what injury is done to any man by their being together without his presence, when they deliberate upon such matters? What reason has any man to take it ill, that the Presbyterian Ministers do not think fit, to let him in to their business with the Government? I'm sure the more *peaceable* and *modest* they are in their applications, not only in the *matter*, but the *manner* of 'em, they are the more Commendable; and the way to show themselves to be of that Temper, is not to make a noise with open doors about their Grievances, and their *Representations* of 'em to their *Superiors.* Part 3.

I hope this *Ingenuous* and *Candid* account of what the Presbyterian Ministers Transact in their more private *Concerts* and *Assemblies*, will satisfie all the *Charitable* and *judicious* of *another* Persuasion, that there is no harm in them; tho' our Author has done what he cou'd to *foment uncharitable* jealousies, when he can prove nothing.

His *second* Question is of a piece with the first ' Since (*says he*) by ' these Synodical Meetings, as well as by their Monthly and quarter- ' ly Communions, the Dissenters take occasion of calling their Mem- ' bers together, *when* and *where* they please: whether this device ' seems not more *Political* than *Religious*, and whether this Liberty ' of Numbring their people, at such times and places as they shall ' judge convenient, may not prove of dangerous consequence?

Hardly can any thing be more uncharitable than these insinuations. For all Protestants look upon the *Lord's Supper* to be the most *solemn Act of devotion*, and Covenanting with their Blessed Redeemer; and to insinuate that Presbyterians *call their Members together*, and take a liberty of *numbring* their people at such times, and places, more from a *political* device than from Religion, is to call them *abominable Hypocrites*: They can appeal to the searcher of Hearts, that they never had, nor have such a design in Meeting for the service of God, nor yet in (what he calls) their *Synodical Meetings*, the true ends whereof have been described above.

As to the business of *Pentland-hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*, and the Sanguinary Laws which occasion'd 'em, and the tumults in King

Part 3. *Charles 1ſt's* time, which, he ſays, *were concerted at theſe Aſſemblies*, they have been conſidered already in their proper place. All I ſhall ſay of 'em here, is, that what he calls Tumults in King *Charles 1ſt's* Reign in *Scotland*, were (in their opinion) nothing but the People's juſt defence of their Liberties, if he underſtands this of their aſſiſting the Parliament of *England* in the Civil War: but he is wretchedly miſtaken, if he thinks that either the Inſurrection at *Pentland hills*, or at *Bothwell-Bridge* was concerted in any *Synodical* Meeting; for it's known, that before *either* of them, the Miniſters were under ſuch hot *perſecution*, that they could have no *Synodical* Meetings at all. And if they had been allowed to keep ſuch Meetings, 'tis highly probable that they might have *uſed* ſuch means for preſerving the peace of the Country, as wou'd have *prevented* theſe Inſurrections.

But it's time now to come to the *ſecond Fact*, objected to the Presbyterians, in our Author's 2*d* Letter p. 51. in theſe Words,

FACT II.

'In the ſeveral pariſhes of this Kingdom, where the Presbyterian 'Congregations are fixed, their Teachers have a conſiderable num-'ber of Anxiliaries, called *Ruling Elders*; a kind of Eccleſiaſtical Vo-'lunteers of the *Kirk Militant*, who act as their Teachers aſſiſtants 'in propogating their Schiſm amongſt the Common people.

'The eminent danger of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Officers to the Eſtabliſh'd 'Church will appear, *Firſt*, by the Deſcription of them taken from 'their Books of Diſcipline, Acts of Aſſemblies and moſt Authentick 'Writers. *Secondly*, from ſome Practices in their Eccleſiaſtical Capa-'cities amongſt the People.'

The Presbyterian Miniſters Judge it agreeable to the Word of God, and for *Edification*, to have ſome of the more *knowing* and *diſcreet* People of their Congregations, to join in Conſultation with them, for the better Ordering their Affairs, and advancing the Ends of Diſcipline; theſe are called *Ruling Elders*, and repreſented by our Author, as *dangerous Auxiliaries*; but if the *Miniſters themſelves* cannot be proved *dangerous*, then their *Auxiliaries* may paſs without this Reflection.

In our Author's Deſcription of the *Ruling Elder*, he ſets forth his *Inherent Power in Church-Aſſemblies, to excommunicate Magiſtrates, Intermeddle in Peace & War, abrogate all Laws, which are found Noiſome and*

Un-

Part 3.

Unprofitable, and agree not with the times, or are abused by the People, having *an appeal* to himself in *those Assemblies*, from the Parliament, with a Power according to their Discipline *to declare a Law void*, when he's Over-rul'd in Parliament. But I have fully Answered all this in the first part of this Book *p.* 56 *&c*; whether I refer my Reader.

Our Author having Describ'd an imaginary *Formidable Power* in these *Ruling Elders*, with Relation to the Prince and Laws, he adds *p.* 53. ' Nor is this Power less exorbitant with respect to the People. ' It is plain to any Person acquainted with their Discipline, that the ' Common-people are *perfect Slaves* and *Vassals* to these Elders, especi- ' ally when these Elders have a good understanding & Act in Consort ' with their Minister, they command not only the mind and bodies ' but the very *Substance* of the *poor people*, whom I take to be Actually in ' a *State of Persecution*, when ever their Elders please to be Tyranni- ' cal.

Here is a *bundle* of *uncharitable* and *unprov'd* Assertions. These Elders are all chosen by the People, are commonly of the *discreetest* and *wisest* among them, and neither have nor can have any *separate Interest* from them. Wherein then and by what possible Means, can they exercise this Tyranny over them? have they any Compulsory Power? they *can't Command* their Substance, nor do they ask them to employ it *any way*, but as they do themselves employ *their* own. He must have a very discerning Judgment, who can find *Persecution* in this.

He's Alarm'd (*Ibid*) at the Kirk of *Ireland*'s endeavors for some Years, to *single out the most Considerable and Active Men, and who have the most Numerous Dependance in point of Trade*, to be Elders; and this in the Course of their History (*says he*) will be *generally found to Presage some Attempt towards the Erection of Christ's Kingdom.* I cou'd heartily wish our Author had forbore, and that for the future he wou'd forbear, the scoffing Jears with which he Treats the *Kingdom of Christ*. But however that be, I can see no force in his application: For his meaning is, that whenever the better sort of the people are made Elders, then they must have some attempt for a Legal Establishment in View; as if none but Legal Establish'd Churches were to have any rich or wise Men to be of their *Officers*; and all others must content themselves with *fools* and *poor* folks.

He makes these Elders Powerful Labourers *in Building up the Kirk*, (p. 54.) *taking for their Materials all the loose Stones and Rubbish they can pick from the Church.* No Church can be the worse to want her Rubbish;

biſh: And for her *looſe Stones*, the Church has more advantage to *Cement* them, than the Elders have to pick them out. And if any of them be ſo *looſe*, as to fall by their own weight, and never ſtop till they get into a *Meeting-Houſe*, I know no reaſon why the *Miniſter* and his *Elders* ſhou'd *caſt* 'em out again. As for any Induſtrious Practiſing upon the Members of the Church, to draw them from her Communion; 'tis utterly deny'd, that the ſaid Elders make that their buſineſs. The *Presbyterians* do generally in all mixt Companies forbear the *raiſing* of any *Debates* about their *Perſuaſion*; when they have been attaqu'd by others, they frequently have declin'd to engage 'em, for Peace ſake: When they have been much *provok'd*, they have given a modeſt Account of the reaſons of their *Diſſenting* from the Church, but are ſeldom or never the Aggreſſors. And if any of 'em have at any time from *Indiſcretion* begun ſuch *Diſputes*, or Maintain'd them with too much *Acrimony*, the Body of Presbyterians don't approve ſuch Practices, and are not Chargeable with them.

But Our Author has found out the *Artifices* of thoſe *intriguing* Elders, when he tells us (*ibid*) 'They level and adapt themſelves to 'the failings of the Common-People, they *ſigh* and *groan* to *ſeduce* 'the Melancholy; ſmile in the face of thoſe *ſtubborn* and undutiful 'Children, at whom the Church *frowns*; and are ready, with open 'arms, to embrace thoſe whom ſhe *Excommunicates*' I can't but call this *mere Calumny*, I'm ſure it deſerves *no better name*. For I neither know nor believe, that there is any Elder ſo *profligate* and void of *Conſcience*, as to be guilty of this: If a man be excommunicated for meer *Non conformity*, for an *Eſther-groat* or a *Trifle*, The Diſſenters are not ſo very *ſcrupulous*, as to refuſe to join in Communion with him: If the Excommunicated perſon has been a member of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and Excommunicated by them for *notorious ſcandalous* ſin Impenitently perſiſted in, tho' the Presbyterians *can't ſhut* their Meeting-houſe doors upon ſuch an one, more than they can do upon a *Papiſt*, a *Jew* or an *Heathen*, yet they *never admit* ſuch a perſon to fellowſhip in the Lords-ſupper with them, before he repent of his ſin and become a new man. And our Author is *put to his defiance*, to ſhow an inſtance to the contrary, unleſs it has happen'd thro' *Inadvertency* and *Ignorance*, and without *any deſign*.

Seeing Presbyterians neither confine *trade* nor *Charity* to themſelves, nor are ſo *baſe* as to make quitting the Eſtabliſhed Church and going to Meeting, the Condition of any perſon's ſubſiſtance among them;

as

as I have shown p. 433, 440 &c. the Author's pretending to *fix* these things upon their *Elders*, is a *groundless* aspersion. Part 3.

He is either mightily under the dominion of a *pannick fear*, or of a strong *propensity* to pretend it, when he tells his Reader 'that if 'some effectual care be not taken to protect the common-people 'from *these perverters* (i. e. *the Elders*) the *whole mass* must be in dan-'ger of being seduced from their *Conformity* to the Establish'd Church, 'to which end, that part of their Discipline seems principally calcu-'lated'

He wonders great numbers are not drawn over, and he gives this reason 'For it must be considered, in the Conflict between the *Church* 'and the *Kirk*, in the preservation and enlargement of their respect-'ive Flocks, the Dissenting Teacher with his 18 or perhaps 36 *volun-'teers*, is permitted to engage with *one* Establish'd Minister, and his 2 'Church-Wardens (both perhaps *prest-men*); and then it is easie to 'see, what may be expected of this unequal Engagement; neither is it 'consistent with the *Character* of a *true Minister* of Christ, to *amuse* 'the people by *pious frauds* and such *tricks*, as I am firmly persuaded 'many of the *Lay-Elders* do.

He must be *very Ignorant* of *History*, that thinks that part of the *Presbyterian Discipline* concerning *Elders*, to be calculated for the purpose mention'd by our Author. For there are Elders in many of the *Reform'd Churches* abroad, where neither the Establish'd Churches of *England* or *Ireland* ever had Footing, and the Elders in *Ireland* were calculated for the *same* and *no other* ends, than these design'd by Elders in *France*, *Holland*, *Geneva*, and other places.

Our Author speaks as if he were drawing out the Forces of the two Parties into the *Line of Battle*; and indeed as he marshalls 'em the Engagement is very unequal, if they were going to blows in Earnest: But he may rest assur'd, the Dissenting Minister and his 36 or 18 Volunteers (which, by the way, is a *greater number* than I ever heard of in any Congregation in *Ireland*) will take no Advantage of his Brother, with his *two prest men*. And for amusing the people with *pious Frauds* and *Tricks*, they leave it to him either to prove the guilt *in them*, or to confess it *for himself*. Let him take his choice.

And upon the whole, I wou'd recommend it to the Author to review this *second Fact*. and consider what he has proved. Why, he has just prov'd, that, amongst the Presbyterians in *Ireland*, there

are

Part 3. are ſuch Officers, as are in many excellent *Reformed Churches abroad*, called *Elders:* But that theſe Elders are dangerous either to *Church* or *State*, he has ſtoutly averr'd, and left it unprov'd as he found it, with many *Calumnies* and *groundleſs Jealouſies* rais'd by him againſt an *harmleſs people*. I thought this ſecond part of his Letter was to have given an *Enumeration of Facts well atteſted*; but if his bare Teſtimony be enough to do the work, he has got a *cheap* and *eaſie* way of atteſting all he advances.

He cloſes his Narrative of this *Fact* with a grave Propoſal, which ſeems to be his Principal Aim *p.* 55. 'Wou'd it not become the Wiſ-'dom of the Legiſlature, to preſerve the Common People from the 'Contagion of that *Schiſm*, which is thus Induſtriouſly ſpread, with a 'deſign to Corrupt the whole Maſs of the Common people, to take the 'Firebrands from theſe Foxes Tails, and make any baſe Methods of 'perverting the People Penal, as they muſt be allowed Criminal.

This Gentleman not Content with the Penal Laws already in being againſt his *Diſſenting* Brethren, wou'd have theſe *wholeſome ſeverities* encreas'd. But we have too Gracious a Queen, and too wiſe a Nobility and Gentry, to liſten to ſuch *peeviſh unſeaſonable* Counſels.

The Application he makes of the *Foxes* and *Fire-brands* had been more Judicious, had it pointed at the Jeſuitical cunning of Popiſh Foxes, & their ſubſervient Tools, who blow the Coal of Fierce *Contention* and *Perſecution* amongſt Proteſtants; the Reſtraining of whoſe Fury, were indeed a Work worthy of our Noble Legiſlature. But if the Preſbyterian Miniſters and their Elders muſt paſs for *Foxes* and *Firebrands*; I hope they will be only ſuch Foxes and Firebrands, as *Sampſon* made uſe of againſt the *Philiſtines*: and that our Gracious Queen, and after Her, the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, will prove *Britiſh Sampſons* in uſing them in Conjunction with all other good Proteſtants, for *extinguiſhing Popery* and all its Devices.

But I come next to conſider what our Author Advances, with reſpect to

FACT III.

'The Diſſenters of *Ireland* (ſays he *p.* 55) in order to perpetuate 'their Schiſm by a Succeſſion of *Planters* and *Waterers*, (as they uſu-'ally Phraſe their Teachers) have Erected a Seminary in the *North* of *Ireland*

Part 3.

'*Ireland*, at a place call'd *Killileagh*, where Students are Taught their
'Course of *Philosophy*, and afterwards have been sent to be instructed
'in their Divinity Lectures by the great Professor Mr. *Mc. Bride* at
'*Belfast*.

The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* Answer to the first part of this charge in their *second Apology* (vide *Present State of Religion in Ireland* p. 35) 'We own (say they) there is one of our Per-
'suasion, who teacheth a Philosophy-School by Licence from the
'*Chancellor* of the *Diocess*, under the Seal of the Court, and who hath
'taken the Oaths by Law required. And as there is *no other Seminary*
'amongst us to our Knowledge, so we are assured that *no Anti-monar-*
'*chical Principle* is Taught either *there*, or by *any* of our Communion;
'who are all according to our known Principles and Practice, *unani-*
'*mously* for the Monarchy of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, as an happy
'Constitution, which ought to be Inviolably preserv'd in these King-
'doms.

If the Author's design be, that when any Presbyterian Minister Dies, he shall have *no Successor*, let him speak out. But if Presbyterians be permitted to have a Succession of Ministers, they must either have unlearned and unqualified Men; or, they must go abroad for their Education, which, besides the carrying of so much Mony out of the Kingdom and putting *hardships* upon Loyal Subjects, won't be very Serviceable for the Interest of the Establish'd Church, unless they Imagine that *Scotch* Presbyterian Education will make 'em less dangerous to the Church of *England*, than *Irish* Education wou'd; or, they must be allowed some Philosophy-School at home, which is no singular thing in *Ireland*: For the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Gowan*, a Man of bright Parts and Learning, for many Years Taught both *Divinity* and *Philosophy* in *Antrim* in King *Charles* 2*d*'s Reign, without disturbance, & with great dexterity and success. And his printed Works are justly valu'd, even in a time when Philosophy is much improv'd since they were publish'd. He had a peculiar faculty of Managing a great Variety of business both in the exercise of his Ministry, and his public Prelections; and acquit himself in every part with such Accuracy, as if each Branch of his employment had engross'd the Studies of his Life. And Mr. *John Hutchison*, an Ingenious Man, and one not only of a very Philosophical Head, but of Universal Learning, Taught Philosophy for divers years at *Newtown* in the County of *Down*.

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The Revd Mr. *James Macalpine*, who has for many Years Taught a Philosophy-School at *Killileagh*, hath given such Proof of his Abilities and fitness for such an employment, as gives his friends good ground for believing that he is able to stand the Test of the most *Critical* and *severe examen* that his Adversaries are capable of trying his Qualifications by. He is cordially satisfied, that the most narrow Scrutiny possible be made by his Accusers into the *Loyalty* and *Peaceableness* of his Conduct, and is perswaded that it wou'd Issue in his Advantage.

Our Author is much concern'd for the Number of Presbyterian Expectants, which he imputes to the *Philosophy-School* at *Killileagh*. But let him show any Disloyalty or Misdemeanor in these Expectants; & if he can't, I think he may make himself easie, if he pleases. But he's afraid that if they *be not employ'd, they'll quickly find Work for themselves.* I do not know what *Work* he means, but if he suspects they'll fall about any *evil Work*, he ought to give a better reason for it than his own Suspicion.

He's impos'd upon by his Informers, when he asserts that these expectants not only eat up a considerable proportion out of the 1200 *lb.* allow'd upon the Establishment, but also of the *Sacrament-Mony collected at their quarterly Communions*; for he may assure himself, that they never received *one farthing*, out of either of these funds. As to the first, the Presbyterian Ministers (who have better reason to know that matter, than the *Author* or his *Informers*) do in their *second Apology* (p. 36) *humbly take leave to acquaint her Majesty, that no part of her Royal Bounty is given to their Probationers, as the Convocation Alledges*; and they do all averr the same concerning the *Sacrament-Mony*, and are ready to Certify it under their hands, if it were worth while. But I come to the consideration of

FACT IV.

'The Dissenting Teachers (*says he p.* 56) do avowedly and publickly, both from the Press and Pulpit, assert the Unlawfulness of 'Marrying according to the form of the Church of *Ireland*.'

I never heard before, that they *managed* or ever *mention'd* this Controversie in their Pulpits; and I believe, there can be very few Instances given of it, if *any* at all. And there was but *one* instance of going

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going to the *press* upon it, by a Pamphlet Entituled a *Vindication of Marriage as Solemnized among Presbyterians in the North of Ireland*, printed *Anno* 17. And that had not been publisht neither, but upon extreme provocation given (about that time) by numerous and violent prosecutions in the *Spiritual Courts* of many of untainted reputations, who were libel'd and prosecuted as *Fornicators*, meerly for *cohabiting with their own wives*, whom they had marryed according to the Presbyterian way. The Presbyterian Ministers in the *North* of *Ireland* represent this case in their *first Apology p.* 26. Tho' 'it has been our *constant custom* since our first Settlement in this 'Kingdom, to solemnize the Marriage of those of our Communi-'on, who scruple that office in the Liturgie, (for which the Papists 'are seldom troubled) yet several of our Ministers and people have 'been prosecuted in the *Ecclesiastical Courts* for this cause, and some 'of 'em Excommunicated.

It is not my business, in this Book, to debate whether the scruples of the Presbyterians against the *Office of Marriage* in the Liturgy, be *sufficient* and *justifiable* or not. But I can see no Prejudice to Church or State, that the Consciences of People who have these Scruples be indulg'd so far, as to allow them to be be married by their own Ministers; and there is a clause in the Toleration-Bill allowing the like Liberty to the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, whereas there is much more reason to allow it to the Dissenters of *Ireland*. For besides, that many more of the Episcopal Persuasion there marryed with the Establish'd Church before the said Act, than there are Dissenters in *Ireland* who now marry according to the *Liturgie*; The Presbyterian *form of Marriage* is exactly the same with the *form* that was practis'd by those of the *Episcopal Persuasion* in *Scotland*, when they were Establish'd themselves; and therefore, 'tis not possible that they can pretend any Scruple of Conscience against the practice of it now. And I am perswaded the Presbyterians in *Ireland* wou'd Chearfully comply with the terms upon which the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland* enjoy that Liberty i. e. that they wou'd be all willing that the *Banns* of *Matrimony* shou'd be proclaim'd in their parish Church.

And as there is (at least) a parity of Reason, from the nature of the thing, for extending Her Majesty's gracious connivance to the same Liberty to her protestant Dissenting Subjects in *Ireland*, as there can be for the above-mentioned Clause of the Toleration-Bill in *Scotland*;

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And they can't but think it an hardship, that they shou'd be *libel'd* in the Ecclesiastical Courts as *fornicators*, and (by that means) their children declar'd *Spurious*, when their Marriages have all the *essentials* of Marriage. They enter into a solemn vow in these words, I *A. take thee B. to be my lawful Married wife, and I Covenant and vow in the sight of God, and before these Witnesses, to be a Faithful and an Affectionate Husband to thee, until God shall separate us by death*; and the Woman vows in the same words, *Mutatis Mutandis*; these marriages thus solemniz'd, and afterwards consummated are *indissoluble*, except for the causes of *Adultery* and *wilful Desertion*. And therefore, it is a trifling distinction, to say, that the persons cohabiting upon such marriages, tho' not guilty of *Fornication before God*, are guilty of Fornication in the *eye of the Law*; for that places an high reflection upon the Law, as if it declar'd *that* to be Fornication, which the Law of God declares to be *none*. Nothing can be *Fornication*, but what is *declar'd* by the Law of God to be Fornication; and all that humane Laws can do with respect to that crime, is to *detect* and *punish* it, but they can't *jure* make a *new Species* of Fornication, which is not so in it self by the Divine Law, Antecedent to any *Humane Constitution*. And it were in all respects as rational, to say, that such and such a practice is *Idolatry*, or *Murther*, or *Robbery*, or *Sabbath-breaking*, in the *eye of the Law*, tho' not before God (which every one must acknowledge to be absurd); as to *say so* of Fornication.

Upon the whole, it wou'd exceedingly become the *Charity* and *Moderation* of good Protestants, to be more cautious and tender of the *Reputation* of their Brethren, and of the *ease* of their *Consciences*, even in *those points* wherein they judge them to be *needlessly Scrupulous*; while the Peace both of *Church* and *State* may be very *well preserv'd*, notwithstanding of such a Condescension. In a word, the Presbyterians are not only willing to be proclaim'd in their Parish-Churches, but to make proof of their being married by what number of unexceptionable witnesses the *Legislature* shall require, to be at the expence of having such *witnesses sworn*, and such examinations *Registred* in *what manner* and before *what Court* shall be thought most proper; and to do every thing that can be reasonably requir'd of 'em in this matter,

matter, to procure a *Liberty of Conscience* to those, who scruple being married according to the Liturgy; and therefore, humbly plead upon the great Law of *Charity* and Brotherly Compassion, and upon their Right by the *Law of Nature*, that they may not be depriv'd of the benefit of Marriage (which is one of the Rights of Mankind) meerly for their scrupling to comply with the Establish'd Form of it; and that themselves and their posterity may not be *declar'd Infamous*, nor troubled with *Vexatious Prosecutions*, for a point of *meer Non-Conformity*. Part 3.

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CHAP. II

Wherein the laſt four Facts *Charged upon Presbyterians in the* ſecond part *of the* Conduct of the Diſſenters, *&c.* viz. 1ſt, *Their erecting New Congregations, and particularly one in* Drogheda. 2dly, *Their diſturbing the Eſtabliſh'd Clergy in the Burial of the Dead.* 3dly, *Their Printing Books of bad Principles, againſt the Government, and,* 4thly, *Their Entertaining ſome Miniſters amongſt them who have not taken the Abjuration-Oath; are examin'd, and anſwer'd.*

The Author of the *Conduct of the Diſſenters* &c. gives the following Repreſentation of the 5*th* Fact charg'd upon them *p.* 57.

FACT V.

'FOrmerly the Seeds of *Non-Conformity* were ſcattered, and 'ſown through the conforming Congregations of this King-'dom; and grew under ground by imperceptible degrees, till num-'bers of the people were perverted, ſufficient to ſupport a Labor-'er in their Vineyard, and then they gave their Teachers *regular* 'Calls, as their Diſcipline requir'd. There ſtill remain'd ſeveral Towns

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'in this Kingdom, in which by the pious care of the Eſtabliſh'd Miniſters, with the concurrence of the Civil Magiſtrates of ſuch 'places, the Conforming Congregations, were preſerv'd entire, 'without *any mixture* of Diſſenters. Theſe Congregations had long 'ſtood proof againſt all their ſecret Attempts, and therefore thus 'finding themſelves oblig'd to alter the nature of their attacks from 'a conſciouſneſs of their growing power and intereſt, they reſolved 'upon an experiment *never before tryed* that we know of, which 'was, to ſend their *Miſſionaries* to pervert the Conforming Congregations, without any call from ſuch places, which they had formerly expected.

'This was done *generally through the Nation*; new Miſſions were '*ordered every day*, by their Presbyteries and Synods, to unſettle 'and divide ſuch of the Conforming Congregations of this Kingdom, 'as were hitherto preſerved.

The Presbyterian Miniſters in the North of *Ireland* utterly deny this to be Fact, in their *firſt Apology* to the Queen *p.* 26, 27. 'The ſaid 'Presbyteries never ſent any Miniſter to *any place*, but *at the deſire* 'and *Invitation* of People of their Perſuaſion there. The Principal Occaſion of their Preaching in ſeveral Places, where there were no 'Meetings before, is, that many parts of the Country were laid Deſolate by the late War; whereupon, ſeveral Proteſtant Landlords '(and even *ſome of the Eſtabliſh'd* Church) encouraged thoſe of our 'Perſuaſion to ſettle themſelves and their Families on their Eſtates, 'formerly occupied by *Iriſh* Papiſts: And to draw 'em to ſuch New 'Settlements, have *aſſiſted them* in Entertaining Miniſters of their 'own to Preach amongſt them; and they hope it can neither appear 'reaſonable, that ſuch Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhou'd be *deprived* of the 'ſame *Liberty* of Worſhipping God in their own way, which their 'Brethren *every where elſe* enjoy, nor that it will be thought dangerous to *Church* or *State*, that *Britiſh* and *Proteſtant* Inhabitants, tho' '*Diſſenters*; ſhou'd be ſettled in Places that before *had ſcarce any but* '*Papiſts*.

The Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters in the City of *Dublin* and South of *Ireland*, aſſert the ſame thing with their Brethren in the North, in their Humble Addreſs to her Majeſty *p.* 44. 'We beg leave to aſſure your 'Majeſty, that no Miniſters were ever ſent by us where there were 'not a Competent Number of thoſe of our Perſuaſion, who gave 'em an Invitation and Call.

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From all which the Reader may Judge, that if all the Presbyterian Ministers in *Ireland* have any Truth and Veracity in them; Our Author asserts that which was *never done in any part of the Nation*, to be *done generally thro' the Nation*, and *every day* too. This is so *bold a mistake*, that *nothing but* Credulity and Ignorance can give it the *extenuating* Circumstances of an *involuntary* Error; and he must be allowed the benefit of his *Weakness*, to defend his *honesty*.

From his general Charge of this Fact, he descends to an instance of it in *Drogheda*; The true State of which case I shall give the Reader, as it is represented in the *first Apology* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* to Her Majesty p. 21.

'In the Reign of King *Charles* the second, Dr. *Daniel Williams* (now in *London*) was Dissenting Minister to a settled Congregation in *Drogheda*, and was succeeded by one Mr. *Toy*, who continued in the exercise of his Ministry there till about the time of the *Late Happy Revolution*: the *Remains* of that Congregation have several times, at their own desire, enjoyed the occasional Labors of divers Ministers of our Persuasion while they wanted a *fixed Pastor* of their own. And upon *their Invitation* and *earnest Request* in the Year 1708. Several of our Brethren Preach'd among them, of whom Mr. *Fleming* mention'd by their Lordships was one, who, for *no other Cause* pretended or objected against him, but that of Preaching, was bound over to the next Assizes at *Drogheda*: tho' there is a vast Number of Papists there, much superior to the whole Protestant Inhabitants openly going to *Mass*, undisturbed, while some of our Persuasion were obliged to pay *Twelve-pence* a piece, to prevent their being *set in the Stocks* as they were *Peaceably* going home from their Meeting, upon pretence of Travelling upon the Lord's Day; and yet others at the very same time were really Guilty of Profaning it by carrying Loads openly, with Impunity.

'Another of our Brethren Mr. *William Biggar*, who succeeded Mr. *Fleming* in Preaching to that Congregation, was on the same Account, committed by the Mayor of *Drogheda* to Prison, and after his Imprisonment for six Weeks, was Released by the Mayor without any farther Prosecution. Whereupon we had assurances given us, that the Prosecution against Mr. *Fleming* shou'd be Dropt. And tho' Mr. *Biggar* was advis'd that he might have had an Action for false Imprisonment against the Mayor, and the whole Proceedings against

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'against us in *Drogheda* seem'd to Thwart your Majesty's Royal Intention of Protecting us in the free exercise of our Religion, signified 'in your Gracious Answers to our humble Addresses; yet we were 'so far from a complaining Temper, or from charging the Members 'of the Establish'd Church with Oppression and Persecution, that we 'were Patient and Silent; when we humbly conceive we had some '*just ground* for Representing to the Government, the hardships put 'upon us.

'Mr. *Fleming*'s Prosecution being Reviv'd, and three Members of 'the Presbyterian Congregation in *Drogheda* being Indicted only for 'Hearing him Preach, after Amicable and private Measures taken on 'our part for preventing any further trouble had prov'd unsuccessful, 'we were Constrain'd in our own Defence to apply to the Earl of '*Wharton* then Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, who, by your Majesty's Direction wrote to the *Lords-Justices* to Order *Noli-Prosequi's* 'for our Relief; upon which Account, we Crave leave to express 'our Dutiful and grateful Sense of Your Majesty's Princely Favor and 'Goodness.

Let the Reader be pleased to take a farther Account of this matter from the Reverend Mr *James Fleming* (who was particularly concern'd to know it) in his Letter to his Friend, the true Copy whereof is, as follows,

SIR, *Lurgan 1st January* 1712.13

'Upon my Perusal of a late book Entitul'd *the Conduct of the Dissenters of* Ireland *with respect both to* Church *and* State, I was surpriz-'ed to find a relation of my Conduct and Management at *Drogheda*, 'in the year 1708, which to me seemed either *Misconstrued* or *not* '*fully* given; which has obliged me (according to my promise when 'last with you) to set that affair in a true light, and give you this '*short* and *impartial* account of *matter of Fact*.

'On Friday the 27*th* of *August* 1708. I went to *Drogheda* with a 'design to preach to those of our Persuasion there, upon the RE-'PEATED INVITATIONS of Severals of them, whom I had oc-'casion to converse with, and hear from; who then again at that 'time *pressingly renew'd* their former Requests to me. And accord-'ingly I did preach the Lord's-day following to a considerable number 'of people; most of them *Inhabitants* of the Town, *some*, of the Country

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about it, and *two* or *three* ſtrangers, that were travelling that road, either to or from *Dublin*.

'And I was ſo far from taking ſuch a number of ſtrangers with me, as is alledged, that I had not the advantage of any company from the time I left *Lurgan*, till I came to *Drogheda*, but that of my ſervant only, ſo that it either muſt be a *Miſinformation*, or a deſign to make the world believe, that there was not the face of a Congregation, without the addition of ſeveral ſtrangers to make it up.

'But ſeeing they were giving the *number* and *Characters* of my hearers, I admire how they came to omit ſo many of them (unleſs willing induſtriouſly to avoid making their relation too bulky and tedious) being well aſſured, they might have inſerted a *far greater* number; who, tho' they were not of the *Rulers*, yet *honeſt* and I hope, *well inclin'd*, whoſe Souls are as precious to God (and ſhou'd be to us) as the greateſt; And therefore tho' *Coopers* and *Shoemakers* and *Taylors* &c, (As they are at large diſtinguiſhed, for what end, I ſhan't pretend to determine) yet no reaſon why the Goſpel ſhou'd not be preach'd to them, nor why they ſhou'd be aſhamed, theſe being lawful & neceſſary Callings; tho' they are reproached with 'em.

'On *Munday* the 30*th* of *Auguſt* I was ſent for by the *Major*, & *Town Council* then ſitting in the *Tholſel*, I immediately waited upon them, was ſtrictly examin'd, and the ſeveral *Queſtions* propos'd to me, with my *anſwers* to them, are as follows:

'The Mayor ſpeaks;

Queſt. I ſuppoſe you are Mr *Fleming*, the Presbyterian Miniſter of *Lurgan*?

'Anſw. *Yes, Sir, I am:*

'*Q.* We are inform'd that you preach'd yeſterday in this Town?

'A. *Yes, Sir, I did.*

'The Dean ſpeaks;

'*Q.* Had you any call to come to this place, by the People of the Town?

'A. *I had no formal call from them, but had their frequent and earneſt Invitations and deſires to come, with aſſurences of their readineſs to entertain me. And therefore to oblige them and ſeverals of our Perſuaſion, who frequently travel this road, I came here to preach, and accordingly did.*

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'*Q.* By what Authority did you come here to preach?

'A. *Sir, I am an ordain'd Minister, and so Authorized to preach the Gospel, wherever Providence may open a door for me.*

'*Q.* I am not in this place to dispute your Ordination, but were you sent or appointed by any to preach here?

'*A. Yes, Sir, I was.*

'*Q.* By whom?

'*A* By the *Presbytery of* Ardmagh, *of which I am a Member.*

'Q. Have you any written Orders or Commission from that Presbytery?

'*A. No, Sir, I have not, nor did I require any from them, that not being usual with us in such cases.*

'*Q.* Who was Chair-man, when you were appointed?

'A. I *was Chair-man at that time my self.*

'*Q.* Oh! then you sent your self here?

'A. *No, Sir, I suppose it is proper for a Chair-man to hear, and receive the judgments of others; rather than give his own, and tho' I had not a Vote in my coming here, yet I readily obeyed the appointment of my Presbytery.*

'*Q.* Did the *Presbytery* promise, or give you for your encouragement in coming here, any of the *twelve hundred pounds*, allow'd by the Queen?

'A. *They neither did promise nor give me any, nor do I seek or expect the least reward from any person whatsoever, it was not gain nor advantage that I propos'd to my self in coming here.*

'*Q.* Have you any licence or orders from the Government to preach here; I am told by some that you have?

'A. *I wou'd look upon it as my honor and happiness, to have so much countenance and encouragement from the Government; but I assure you, I have no such Licence as you speak of; tho', Blessed be God, by their Mildness and Moderation we peaceably enjoy the Liberty of our Consciences.*

'*Q.* Why did not you upon your coming here, apply to the Magistracy of the Town, or come to me, and ask my leave to Preach, this being my Parish?

'A. *I never knew hitherto, what it was to ask leave from any* Man to Preach, wherever I have been; and so look'd upon it no more ne-

'ceſſary here than in other Places, and withal I am perſuaded that 'any Application to you or them wou'd have been unſucceſsful.

'You came in here amongſt us (ſaid the Dean) to Create di'viſion and diſturbance, where is nothing but Unity and Love, not 'as it is with you in *Lurgan*, where are *Quakers*, *Presbyterians*, and '*Papiſts*, and all ſorts.

'A. *My deſign and buſineſs is not to Create diviſion, nor diſturbance* 'amongſt any, *but to Preach Unity and Love to all, and in* Lurgan *tho'* 'there *are theſe ſeveral Perſuaſions, yet no diſturbance; but Peace and a* 'good *Underſtanding among them, and I'm ſorry it is not ſo here too.*

'*Q.* If you trouble us no more, we ſhall not trouble you; ſo you 'had beſt make off with what you have done, and there ſhall be no 'more of it; be plain, Sir, do you Reſolve to ſettle here?

'A. *No; Bleſſed be God, I have a more comfortable Settlement elſewhere,* 'but *I told my Hearers yeſterday, that I did reſolve to Preach to them next* 'Lord's-Day, *and ſo God willing I intend to do.*

'*Q.* I Sir, You had a parcel of ſad fellows Hearing you, ſuch as *J.* 'T. &c. and it is no great Honour for you to have ſuch?

'A. *We look upon it as no Honour to have ſuch of our Communion,* 'but *it it our Grief and Trouble that there are any ſuch, of our Commu*'*nion, and we do therefore Pray for them, and Preach to them, in Order* 'to *their Reformation and Amendment.*

'*Q.* What! do you think by your Preaching to do any good to 'ſuch Men as theſe; No, you need not expect it?

'A. *I deſign good to them and all to whom I Preach, by the bleſſing of* 'God, *without which the Preaching of Men and Angels will be to no pur*'*poſe*; *and* withal our Savior came not to call the Righteous but Sin'ners to Repentance, *ſo that ſuch are to be Preached to as well as others.*

'*Q.* Were you appointed to Preach here three Sabbath-Days?

'A. *No, only Two.*

'*Q.* And will you Preach here again next Lord's-day?

'A. *As I ſaid before, I told my Hearers that I wou'd, and I reſolve* 'God-willing *ſo to do.*

'*Q.* It is great Aſſurance in you to come here to Preach, and 'to promiſe to Preach again; but you *may depend upon it,* 'that I will oppoſe you with *all my might*, I will complain you to the '*Government*, and will put the Laws in Execution againſt you; ſo 'that I ſhall prevent your Preaching here any more.

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'A. *I can't but return you thanks for so mild an Expression as* Assurance; *I am Subject to the Law and Government; & if they think fit to Punish me for what I have done or prevent my preaching here any more, I must submit*; tho' I hope by the *Queen's Repeated promises of her Protection, and their own Mildness and Moderation, they will be led to do otherwise.*

'This is what then past betwixt us, And I don't doubt but these Gentlemen will readily acknowledge it, tho' they have much abridg'd these *Questions* and *Answers*, probably for brevity's sake: and with all the Reverend Dean *Cox* Minister of *Drogheda* may remember that when he was with his Grace the *Primate* (then one of the Lord's Justices) tabling this matter before him, that these *Questions* and *Answers* as *here inserted*, were Read to him; And being asked by his Grace whether this was Matter of Fact, he acknowledged it was; and made not the least Objection against any part or 'em, except only to that of the Word *(formal)* in my *Answer* to his *first* Question, alledging that I did not say I had *no formal Call*, but that I had *no Call*; yet the latter part of the Answer shews that this could be no otherwise meant than that I had *no Call to be their Minister*, seeing I plainly asserted that I *had the Peoples Desires and Invitations* to come and Preach to them; And if this has escaped the Dean's Memory, there are some Gentlemen who were then present, who might confirm this passage.

'But now after all this Bustle, one might have expected that the Reverend Dean with a *Gamaliel-like* Mild and Moderate Disposition, wou'd really have given the Advice of that Grave and Learned Doctor, *to refrain from those Men and let them alone, for if this Council or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God we cannot overthrow it, least happily we be found even to fight against God*; but instead of this, he *complains* me to the Government, *discharges* me to Preach there any more, and threatens me with the Execution of the Law if I did; but I willing to do my Duty, and in this to *obey God rather than Man*, Preached the next Lord's-day, upon which I was again sent for on *Monday* Morning the *6th* of *September* by the *Mayor* and *Town Council*, and when I appeared before them the Mayor spoke to me as follows:

Mr. *Mayor*. Seeing you have Preached here again, notwithstanding of the fair offers we made you before, we have sent for you in order to *Bind you Over* to the next General Assizes, to be held for this Town and County.

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'*Fleming.* Pray Sir, what is my Crime for which I am to be bound over?

'Mr *Mayor.* It is for your preaching in this place.

'*Flem.* That is what I hope I shall never be ashamed of, either before God or Man; But, pray, *Gentlemen*, do you charge me with preaching any *Doctrine* that is *Heterodox* or *Unsound*, or any thing against the *Queen* or *Government?* if so, I think you have just reason to bind me over.

'Mr *Mayor.* No we don't charge you with any thing of that Nature.

'*Flem.* Then I think strange, that you will *bind any man over* for *preaching the Truths of the Gospel.*

'*Mr Dean.* No, Sir, it is not for that, but for *preaching to*, and *assembling* people together, *contrary to Law.*

'*Flem.* As it is *not contrary* to the *Law* of *God*, so I hope it can't be contrary to the Laws of these Nations, nor do I know any Law that this is a breach of.

'Mr *Dean.* Come, Sir, let us have *no further reasoning* upon it, you must be bound over (and so accordingly I was) and the Dean speaking thus so bitterly, as I apprehended; I said, Mr Dean, *I admire to see you so eager in this matter, the Queen (may Her Reign be long and Glorious) hath given us so many gracious promises of her protection, which with the Clemency and Mildness of a very good Government in this Kingdom, might encourage to Moderation and Brotherly love.*

'*Mr Dean.* We have as well as you the promises of the Queen's protection, and the protection of the Laws too, which you have not.

'*Flem.* Sir, you have; and I hope while we behave our selves as good and Loyal Subjects, we shall have both too: which as we have *always hitherto done*, by the help of God we shall *still continue* to do.

'I thought not to have been farther tedious, but I can't omit some few remarks upon *their* relation of this affair.

'1*st*, It is observable, that they Endeavour to persuade the world, that it is our *great design* to pervert the Conforming Congregations: But whatever Credit may be given to this, our Consciences can *bear us witness*, that our study is to instruct and take care of our own.

Part 3.

own. And I know not, with what justice such a consequence can be drawn from our practice, Unless they hold it for a *Maxim*, that men can't mind their own Business, without being prejudicial to the Interest of Others; nor take care of Instructing *their own* Congregations, without (what they reckon) perverting *the Conforming* ones.

'2*dly*, They assert that we had *no Call* i. e. *no Invitations* from the people of *Drogheda*. And yet it is *positive*, that we had, which I doubt not the people themselves will own, And if need were, it might be instructed under their hands; and therefore there was no ground for that Charge against us, *of resolving upon an Experiment never before try'd*; it being our *known constant* practice, that upon the Invitation & desire of any number of our people, we have sent Ministers to preach to them from time to time, before there has been any regular Call given to any one of them to be their Minister.

'3*dly*, They say the Congregation there, was *partly made up of strangers* which I brought with me, which indeed was not so: and this can be confirm'd by the Oaths of several persons, if there were any thing in such a Circumstance to make it necessary.

'4*thly*, They tell us there was a *cause instituted against me and some of my hearers*, & might as well have been *plain* in *this*, as in *other* things, and inform'd the World, that *I was Indicted, and three or four of my hearers for a Riot and an unlawful Assembly*: while in truth we *only met together to Worship God*, according to the rules of the Gospel, on the Lord's day; And behaved our selves *peaceably* towards all Men, *dutifully* towards our Superiors, praying heartily for the Queen and Government, and endeavouring to have *Consciences void of Offence towards God and Man*.

'Thus, Sir, I have given you a true Account of this affair; which if it may be serviceable to you or the public, I shall be heartily pleas'd; & if I have used any freedom that any may take offence at, I do Declare it was far from my design to give it. I am

Your Affectionate humble Servant
JA: FLEMING

As to the Discourse and Conference of Mr. *Boyse* and Mr. *Fredel* with my Lord *Primate* upon the Affair of *Drogheda*, I shall here insert the True Copy of a Letter which Contains Mr. *Boyse* and Mr. *Fredels* Sentiments

Part 3. timents of that Affair, with a Vindication of Mr. *Boyse* in some other particulars laid to his Charge by our Author, it runs thus:

SIR,

'Since you desire my thoughts on what the *Author* of the *Conduct of the Dissenters* &c. has mentioned in that Book relating to Mr. *Boyse*, 'I have in Complyance with your Request, sent you all the Animadversions I can think needful, in Reference to those Passages wherein Mr. *Boyse* is concern'd.

'For what he speaks *p.* 39. of Mr. *Boyse's Traducing the Establish'd Ecclesiastical Constitution, in an Uncharitable and Scurrilous Manner*, for which he appeals to Mr. *Boyse's Works*, the Charge is too general, to deserve any other Notice than that he has offer'd nothing in Proof of it.

'That Mr. *Boyse* has *Misrepresented* the *Bishops* of the Establish'd Church as Idle or Scandalous (as this Author insinuates) is utterly groundless, as may sufficiently appear to any that consult the Printed Sermons he refers to in his Margin, and the *Postscript* in Defence of 'em, and the *Appendix* to a late *Account of the Ancient Episcopacy*.

'For the *Vindication* of the *Dissenting Protestant: Case*, which he saith was evidently confuted by the Bishop of *Dromore p.* 65. The Reader is refer'd to the Papers themselves that pass'd on that occasion. And if they do, perhaps what he is pleas'd to call an *evident Confutation* will appear but a *Lame Answer* to more Unbyass'd Judges. The only reason why the Author of the *Vindication* did not Answer the Bishop's last Paper was, because there was no farther occasion to Prosecute that Debate.

'That Mr. *Boyse* ever Assaulted the Doctrine of the Establish'd Church (as he insinuates) is utterly false. What he has said in his *Sermon* of the *Scriptural Bishop* against the *Claim* of a *Divine Right* for *Diocesan Episcopacy*, was only in Order to the necessary defence of our own *Ordinations* as *valid*, in opposition to such as declar'd 'em *null* and *void*.

'For the Affair of *Drogheda*, and the Account this Author gives of what pass'd between my Lord Primate and Mr. *Fredell* and Mr. *Boyse* on that occasion, he has run into some *gross mistakes* as well as *Omissions* in matter of Fact, of which I shall mention the following particulars. 1st. 'Tis

Part 3.

'Tis utterly false, that any such Condition of Mr. *Biggar*'s Enlargement was ever agreed on, as that *there shou'd be no more Preaching at Drogheda*, as he insinuates *p.* 96. The *Lord-Primate* himself proposing, that they shou'd Live Amicably for the future. And they never consented to any other Condition of that kind, than that Mr. *William Biggar* shou'd not Preach there for some time after his Discharge, so that Mr. *Ramsey*'s Preaching there was no breach of any Agreement they had come to with the Lord Primate.

'2*dly*, There was no such thing propos'd by Mr. *Iredel* and Mr. *Boyse* to his Grace, as that he shou'd by any public *Instrument* signifie his dislike of the *Presentment* at *Drogheda*, but only that he shou'd use his Endeavors with the Magistrates of *Drogheda*, to get the Indictment against Mr. *Fleming* and others (mentioned therein) quash'd, and to promote an Amicable Understanding between them and the Dissenters for the future. And the *Lord Primate* never signify'd to them, that he thought their *Proposals Insolent* or *Unreasonable*.

'The first Application by 'em to my Lord Primate was upon Mr. *Dawson's* Suggestion, that it wou'd not be unacceptable.

'Again this Author has been Guilty of Two Material Omissions in his Account.

'The first is, he do's not tell his Reader, how ill my Lord Primate Resented it that the *Dean* and the *Mayor* of *Drogheda* shou'd make use of his Certificate without his Knowledge or consent, in Order to Mr. *Biggar's* Imprisonment. And that he declar'd such *Severity* to his Dissenting Brethren, to be both against his *Principle* and his *Inclination*.

The second is, That he has not told his Reader, That one Condition insisted on by my *Lord Primate*, and agreed to by Mr. *Iredel* and Mr. *Boyse* was, that Mr. *Biggar* shou'd not Prosecute the *Mayor* for false Imprisonment, which he had all Advantage to have done, because the Clause in the *Act of Uniformity* on which he was Imprison'd, does not concern the *Protestant Dissenting Teachers* at all, of which I need only alledge this Demonstrative Proof, That that Clause is not Repealed in the *English* Act of *Indulgence*; And therefore if it extended to them, the *Act of Indulgence* in *England* cou'd not be Security for their Religious Liberty there.

'I shall only add, that the Prosecution of Mr. *Fleming* upon the *first Indictment*, was a real Breach of the Agreement made with the *Lord Primate*.

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'For the Passages this Author has quoted out of Mr. *Boyse*'s Writings themselves *p.* 113, 114. for which he refers us to Mr. *French*'s Collection; He need only consult the Answer given to Mr. *French* in a *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, wherein Mr. *French*'s Insincerity and Prevarication were so fully discover'd, and Mr. *French* in his Reply made so Lame a Defence of himself, as shou'd have discourag'd this Author from Copying after him. And if this Author will undertake to refute those Passages, as they lie in Mr. *Boyse*'s Writings themselves, what he offers of that kind shall be Impartially consider'd.

'This is all I have thought needful to suggest in Reference to what concerns Mr. *Boyse* in that Book: if what he has said of others be with as little *Sincerity* and *Truth*, he will not much recommend himself to the World by Writings, that have so little of Candor or Charity in 'em. I am,

Sir, Yours &c.

I conclude upon the whole, that our Author's Representations of this Fact being false & groundless, the pretended *Fact* it self can neither be Prejudicial to Church nor State; And therefore is so far from confirming what he has offer'd in the *first part* of his *second* Letter against Presbyterians, that it effectually refutes it, by showing that he has *built* upon a *Sandy Foundation*.

FACT VI.

But I come to consider the 6th Fact charg'd upon Presbyterians, which our Author represents thus *p.* 65. 'The frequent Disturbances given 'to the Establish'd Ministers of this Kingdom in their Burial of the 'Dead, is so well known, that I presume it may pass for a received 'Truth without Descending to particular Proofs.

'With respect to this point, the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* Vindicate themselves in their *first Apology* p. 25. 'We beg 'leave to assure your Majesty, that we do not know any Instances 'whereever the Ministers of the Establish'd Church were *openly* and '*violently* assaulted by us in the Discharge of their Sacred Office, un'less this be understood of some Acts of *Indiscretion*, whereof some 'few of the meaner sort were Guilty; while the Clergy were performing

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'ing the *Office* for the *Burial of the Dead*, which Practice, as 'tis not 'approv'd by us, so we believe it has still been Punish'd by the Ci-'vil Magistrate upon Conviction.

Now this Fact being the Practice but *of a few*, and Disclaim'd and Disapprov'd by the Body of these of their own Persuasion, can never tend to any prejudice to either *Church* or *State*; and therefore 'tis not worth while to trouble the World with a Tedious Narrative of the True State of these few particular Instances, mentioned by our Author under this Head: But I come to examine the Account he gives of the *7th* Fact, which he expresseth thus *p.* 67.

FACT VII.

'The next Fact I shall mention, which I take to be of the most 'Diffusive and dangerous consequence, is their Printing and Publish-'ing Books, to Corrupt the Principles of the People, and prepare 'them for the old Work of Popular and Tumultuous Reformation; 'some of which are attended with such particular Circumstances, as 'may better discover the Artifice and design of these *Incendiaries*, 'who intend to ferment the Dissenters of this Kingdom.

The particular Instances he gives of these Books are the *Hind let loose*, *Milton's Works*, the Solemn *League* and *Covenant*, Mr. *Stewart's* Collections concerning the *Worship*, *and Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland*. Mr. *Mc. Bride's* Writings, The *Parallel* by *Daniel DeFoe*, and Mr. *Boyse's* Writings. Out of all these (except *Milton*) he quotes Passages, to prove what he alledges. But the Answer is very obvious, *viz.* that no Church is Accountable for any Writings, but for those which are Written in *their Name* and with *their* Approbation, both as to *matter* and *expression*, and therefore supposing all that he says of these books to be true (which yet I don't grant) I can't see how the Presbyterians either in the North or South of *Ireland* are bound to Answer for them. Were it fair to make the Church of *England* answer for every Book written, printed, and publish'd by any of her Sons? No sure; must she answer for *Dodwel's* Impugning the Immortality of the Soul? for Dr *Brett's* popish Doctrine in his Sermon about the *Remission of Sins*, and for *hundreds more* that contain vile Errors and dangerous positions both to *Church* and *State*?

Part 3.

If any body wou'd charge her with these Books, she wou'd no doubt reply, that she is accountable for nothing in them but what is agreeable to her *Articles*, and what has been espous'd by some publick Act or deed of the Church, That these Gentlemen's writings were not the *deed of a Convocation* or *Collective body* of Churchmen; and that they leave their Authors to make their own defence for themselves. If our Anthor has a mind to take these Authors he quotes to task, he may do it if he pleases; and let *him* and *them* deal it amongst them; but then I think as the Church is not to Answer for what he says, neither are the body of *Dissenters* accountable for *them*. It were easie to show, that he has Wrested both Mr *Boyse's* & Mr. *McBride's* Writings; but the doing it wou'd lead me quite off the Subject of this *Historical Essay*, and therefore I Wave it.

There are some few Circumstances in his *Reflections* upon these Authors and Books, which seem to be mention'd by him, with a design to prove that what he quotes from 'em is approv'd by the Presbyterians or Dissenters in General; and I am only concern'd in *these*. And first with respect to the *Hind let loose*, after he had produc'd a Certificate from a *Clergy man* shewing that a Parcel of these Books were sent over to *Belfast*, and there seiz'd in the Custom-house, he concludes *p.* 71. That *this precious Cargo* (as he calls 'em) *cou'd not be sent over by some Hair-brain'd Covenanters*, for which he gives this reason *p.* 72. 'When we consider, that Mr. *Shields* the famous Author of the *Hind* 'let loose, was made Chaplain to a Regiment in *Flanders*, and admit-'ted a Member of the General Assembly of *Scotland* since the late Re-'volution, and that neither the Book nor the Author underwent any 'Censure by a Synodical Act of that Assembly, it gives us just grounds 'to suspect that some Project of popular Reformation, to promote 'which this Book was Writ and Publish'd, must have been concerted 'by a more considerable Number, than that *poor Remnant*.

But this reasoning is very inconsequential, being grounded upon this false Maxim, viz. *that a Church approves every book which she doth not expresly pass some censure upon, by some special decree or decision:* Was it not mov'd in the lower house of Convocation, that Dr *Brett's* popish Doctrine in his printed sermon upon the *forgiveness of Sins*, shou'd be Censur'd; and yet it was not confured: but shall any man conclude from thence, that the House approv'd his Doctrine? Multitudes of Examples can be given of Books wrote by

Clergy-

Clergy-men in *England*, and Members of the Convocation too, which can't be said to be the *sense of the Establish'd Church* there, tho' she never pass'd any decree against 'em. But in this Case of Mr *Shields*'s, there was a special reason which justified the Conduct of the Assembly. For he and two more had embrac'd too narrow principles, and headed that Faction which are commonly known in *Scotland* by the name of *Mountain-people*: The Assembly wisely concluded, that the best way to heal the Rent was to take off the Leaders, and therefore receiv'd those Ministers upon terms of Submission to them, and as a prudent expedient to *gain* the *people* as well as *them* Entred no judicial process against 'em, for what had been formerly amiss in them; which had a good effect, for many of the people quit their *Schism*; and Mr *Shields* himself wrote an accurate refutation of the principles of those who continu'd in it. He show'd a peculiar *bravery* of Mind, and Loyalty in *Flanders* amongst the Soldiers, which King *William* took particular notice off. But tho' the Assembly (for the Reasons mention'd) did not Record any Censure of that book wrote by Mr *Shields*; yet, I am credibly inform'd, they testify'd their dislike of it to himself. Part 3.

As to the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, I refer the Reader to what I shall offer upon it in Answer to his first *Presumptive Fact*, in the next Chapter; and tho' the printing of it in *Belfast* was not the deed of the Presbyterians, yet *I* don't know how *many Histories* and debates that *refer* to it will be very intelligible, unless men may see and read it. And tho' it be against Episcopacy, I don't think it so ill, as our Author and many more represent it; it's but fair, that the World see what sort of thing this is, about which so much bustle is made, and for that end it must be *publish'd somewhere*.

The Clergy man, who informs Our Author of the seizing of a parcel of Copys of the Book, entitul'd the *Hind let loose*, tells a story about *Milton's* works, with some air of reflection upon Dissenters as if they had been industriously spreading them: For his Letter begins thus, *since you desire an account of what I formerly told you, concerning the method, which the Dissenters take, to propogate their Republican principles, by aispersing up & down the Kingdom such books as manifestly avow the same*, & as one instance of this, he tells the following story, in these words p. 68. 'I further Certifie that about the same time the Right Hono-'rable the Earl of *Donegal*, meeting me in the street of *Belfast* ask'd

me

Part 3.

'me if I had seen all Mr *Milton*'s works; I answer'd his Lordship, I 'had seen some but not all, His Lordship said he had them bound 'up in one *folio Volume*, and wou'd send it me to read, which he did: 'And sometime after meeting his Lordship, he was pleas'd to ask my 'Opinion of it: I told his Lordship, that *Milton* still stuck to his '*King-Deposing and King-Killing Doctrine*, that I hoped his Lordship 'wou'd not spend his time so ill as to read so dangerous a Book: That 'I plainly perceiv'd one of the Methods taken by *Antimonarchical* 'Men, to debauch the Young Nobility and Gentry of these King-'doms, was to Print, Publish and Industriously disperse those sort 'of Books among them; upon which his Lordship told me with a 'smile, that Mr *McBride* (the Dissenting Teacher of *Belfast*) had 'sent him that Book, and he doubted not but that other Gentlemen 'in the Country had received the like present.

Mr *McBride* do's positively averr, that he got *Milton's* Works from My Lord *Donegal* and not My Lord from him, and that his Lordship told him he had the Book sent him from *London*; which Mr *McBride* did return to My Lord's Brother. And therefore I believe, the Clergy-man who asserts this, has either misapprehended that Noble Lord's words to him and their Meaning; or, if his Memory be so exact as to remember them and be positive in them, that my Lord has only spoke the thing in jest; for he said it *with a Smile*, as the Clergyman himself observes. But 'tis certain, that the getting or giving of a book, which is Mr *McBride's* Case, can be earlier remembred, than words past about it can be, 14 or 15 Years after they were said, which is the Case of the Author of this Certificate But however that be, no Presbyterian will industriously propagate *Milton's works*; because he rails so much at them, and justifies the Regicide and Usurpation, which they condemned with all their might, as I have prov'd p. 240 &c. and 'tis a meer aspersion, to alledge they are men of *Republican Principles*: there being no party of men, who made a braver stand against the Republican sectarian Usurpers, than they did, as I have shown from p: 284 to *p.* 304.

I come next to examine the *eight Fact* charg'd by our Author upon the Presbyterians in these words p: 79.

FACT

FACT, VIII. Part 3.

'When the Oath of Abjuration was enjoined by *Act* of Parliament, 'The Dissenting Teachers of the North had it under Deliberation, 'whether they might safely Qualifie themselves by taking that Oath. 'Mr *Mc Bride* the most Celebrated amongst them, both for his 'great abilities and Authority amongst the people, first advised 'them to abjure the *Pretender*, but was in some short time after taken 'with such Qualms of Conscience, that he cou'd not digest that Oath 'himself, which he had so lately advised his Brethren to take; this 'occasioned no small Contention amongst them, and provoked Mr '*Malcom* a Dissenting Teacher to tell him very freely, *That he was no* 'better than a knave to advise them to take that Oath, and then refuse it 'himself.

To support this Charge, our Author publisheth a long Letter from *Westenra Warring* Esquire, containing an Account of three Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, who have not taken the Oath of Abjuration, viz Mr *McBride*, Mr *McCrackan*, and Mr *Riddal*, and of many passiges relating to them and their Conduct: upon this Letter our Author builds his Argument both against these 3 Ministers, and the rest of their Brethren for countenancing them. I shall first lay before the Reader that part of the first Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland*, which relates to the matter in hand, and then shew the weakness of our Author's *reasoning* upon this Head. The Apology runs thus:

'What their Lordships observe concerning a very few of our Number, who have not taken the Oath of Abjuration, is occasion'd by 'their Scrupling some Expressions only, and not the substance of that 'Oath. They have several years ago at our desire, *solemnly declar'd* 'before us their *inviolable Affection* and Loyalty to your Majesty their '*Opposition* to the *Pretender*, and to all *Jacobitish* Principles, and their 'steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House 'of *Hanover*. They daily Pray for your Majesty and the said Succession, and observe all publick Fasts and Thanksgivings with respect 'to the Success of the present War. From which it appears how unreasonable it is, that we and our Persuasion in General shou'd be 'Loaded with Reproaches upon that Account by some (we don't

mean

Part 3. ‘ mean their Lordships) who Improve it as an handle against us upon all occasions.

To Justify the above Apology, I shall trace our Author in what he proposes viz. 1st, in *his reflections upon the Reasons which induc'd those three Dissenting Teachers to Refuse the Oath of Abjuration.* 2dly, *upon the Countenance and protection given them by the Northern Dissenters of all degrees.*

The design of the first, is to prove them to be in the Interest of the *Pretender*; and *first*, he gives Mr *McBride's* reasons, and tells two stories of him; first a Conference between Dr Ferguson in *Belfast* & Mr *McBride* about the *Oath*, this he relates from Mr *Waring's* Letter, who says p. 80. About the time when Mr *McBride*, first scrupled ‘ the Oath of Abjuration, I happened to travel between *Carrickfergus* ‘ and *Belfast* with one Dr *Ferguson* a Physician and an Eminent Elder, ‘ on the road we fell into Discourse of Mr *Macbride*, the Doctor told ‘ me that he had talked with Mr *Macbride*, and asked him the rea- ‘ sons of his refusal of the said Oath of Abjuration; which as I cou'd ‘ gather from him were, that he thought it oblidged Men to swear ‘ that the *Pretender* was not King *James's* Son, and that he had ‘ no Title whatsoever to the Crown of these Realms, and that he ‘ the said Mr. *Mc. Bride* was not a *Judge of Titles*, and also obliged ‘ them, as he conceiv'd to endeavor to support the Episcopal Church ‘ as by Law Establish'd, which he said he cou'd not in Conscience do. ‘ These were the *Principal* of his reasons, but he said he was advised ‘ by Friends not to Publish his Reasons against a Law in force. After ‘ I had Answer'd these Reasons, I asked the Doctor if Mr. *Mc. Bride* ‘ had not advised his Brethren to take the Oath? The Doctor own'd ‘ he heard he had. I further ask'd the Doctor if he did not think Mr ‘ *Mc Bride* had seen and Read the Oath, before he advised his ‘ Brethren to take it? He said he believ'd he had. And also whe- ‘ ther he did not hear that Mr. *McBride* had met Mr. *McCrackan* at ‘ his return from *Scotland*, before he declar'd his scruple against the ‘ Oath? The Doctor said he believed he might. The Doctor blamed ‘ Mr. mc*Bride*, said he endeavor'd to convince him, but to no pur- ‘ pose, and that it was an Unfortunate Business.

‘ The Improvement our Author makes of this Story is *p.* 86. ‘The ‘ Reasons with respect to Mr. Mc. *Bride* as appear by Mr. *Waring's* ‘ Letter, are *first*, he own'd to Dr. *Ferguson* he refused that Oath, be-

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'because he was *no Judge of Titles*, and that he apprehended the Oath 'obliged him to Swear that the *Pretender* was *not King* James's *Son*. 'which must amount at least to this, he did not know but the *Pre-* 'tender might be King *James*'s Son; and if he were, he might have 'a *good Title* to the Crown, and therefore wou'd not Abjure him. 'This it seems was one of the Reasons which he was *Advised* by his 'Friends not to Publish; and how far he followed their Directions, 'you may judge from what he told a *Reverend* Clergyman in the 'Diocess of *Down*, expostulating with him about his Refusal of the 'Oath *viz.* that he wou'd tell him a Story, the Sum Total whereof 'was, *That once upon a Time there was a Bearn, that cou'd not be persua-* 'ded to bann the De'el, *because he did not know but he might soon come* 'into his Clutches. By all which it seems, that Mr. *Mc Bride* has a par- 'ticular Regard, not only for the *Hereditary*, but for the Indefeasable 'Right of the *Pretender*, and is in expectation of being soon in his 'Power.

Let us hear Dr *Ferguson* upon this Head, in a Letter to his Friend, the true Copy whereof I shall here Insert;

SIR, *Belfast June* 8. 1713.

'Had I dream't that my two Neighbours and Acquaintance wou'd, 'so *ungentleman-like*, have made use of my name in print, on a pri- 'vate accidental discourse in a mile or two's riding, I had rectify'd 'both their judgments, when I was inform'd this Author was pen- 'ning the *Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*. And now I do assure 'you, I did not tell Mr *Waring* that I had discoursed Mr *McBride* 'concerning the Abjuration Oath, or the reasons of his refusal; but 'told him, others had; and that Mr *McBride* was advised not to 'vent his reasons, least he shou'd give offence. And thus Mr *Waring* 'unjustly places on Mr *Mc Bride* these things which *he and* I in dis- 'course told each other, were the *common fame*, And shoves it in as 'my *Opinion too*. And this Author groundlessly descants upon it: for Mr '*Waring* seem'd to me to believe, Mr *McBride* was as firm for the late 'Glorious Revolution against the *Pretender* & all his Abettors as my 'self. They must also find other Vouchers for that story of Mr *Mc-* 'Bride's and Mr *Mc Crackan*'s meeting, which I *know nothing of*, & ne- 'ver heard till *I* perused Mr *Waring*'s Letter. But O! that men wou'd

Part 3.

'look into their own state, and infirmities, and lay aside all this *Bigotry* and *unchristian Calumny*, and attempt more the Conversion of 'Souls by the *Gospel Rules*; which is the far better method to *unite* '*Protestants*, and make them *truly Loyal*, than by these uncharitable 'aspersions. I am

Sir, *Your Humble Servant*
VICTOR FERGUSON.

There is hardly any Gentleman in the North of *Ireland*, whose *veracity*, *probity* and *moderation* are more universally known and allowed of, than Dr *Ferguson*'s; and whose testimony will gain more Credit, than his.

Upon which the Reader is desired to observe 3 things, 1*st*. That Mr *Waring*'s Evidence is but a single Testimony. 2. That it was not from his *own knowledge*, but only upon *hear-say*, as Dr *Ferguson* told him. 3*dly*. That Dr *Ferguson*, from whom he pretends to have heard it, contradicts him. As to the other story about *banning the Deel*, all men who know Mr *Mc Bride*, know him to be of a *pleasant temper*, and that he *can't baulk his jest*. He declares this story was no more than a *jocular entertainment* in Conversation, and that he told it meerly to divert the Subject, and avoid *entring seriously* upon the *Debate*, and that he was not influenced by any fear of, or regard to the *Pretender*, or any pretended *Title* of his.

Now it will be pretty hard to give a good reason, why these storys, the *first* whereof has no evidence to support it, and the *second* but a Comical jesting story, shou'd be allowed as good Arguments to prove him a *Jacobite*, contrary to his solemn Declaration before his Brethren and on many other Occasions, and contrary to his public prayers and constant profession. Our Author professeth, that he lays a greater stress upon what Mr *Mc Bride* has owned in this point, from the opinion he has not only of his Veracity, but courage to own his principles p. 86. I think this Observation of our Author's, which is very just, is an *undeniable* Argument to prove Mr *Mc Bride* to be no *Jacobite*; for he himself *frequently*, *publickly*, and *solemnly* has denyed himself to be a *Jacobite*; and therefore if he be a Man of *Veracity* and *courage*, they Mistake him egregiously, who take him for a *Jacobite*.

He Offers 3 things to prove Mr *Mc Crackan a Jacobite* p. 87. the *first* is, *that he was the person* that influenced Mr *Mc Bride*, in their conference held upon Mr *Mc Crackan's* return from *Scotland*. Our Author speakes

speakes as if he had been at that Conference,& heard all that past,tho' he cannot prove anything of what he asserts of it;&if it cou'd be prov'd that Mr *Macrakan* did influence Mr *McBride*,'tis nothing to the purpose, unless he can prove that Mr *Mc Crakan* dissuaded him upon *Jacobitish* principles: Cou'd our Author prove, that Mr *McCrackan* advis'd Mr *McBride* not to abjure the *Pretender*, because he shou'd *rather bring him in to be King*, and not to swear to maintain the *Hanover*-Succession, because he shou'd rather oppose *that succession as wrong* and unjust; cou'd he (I say) prove any such thing, I shou'd be as ready as any man to conclude Mr *Mc Crackan* a *Jacobite*, but Mr *Mc Crackan* is so far from being guilty of any such absurd and Disloyal practice,that he desires it may be publish'd to the world in his name, that he joins with his Non-juring Brethren of the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, in the Loyal Declaration they have made, for the Queen, the House of *Hanover*, and against the *Pretender*. The Reader will find this Declaration inserted afterwards in this Chapter; and will be satisfyed, that words can't be contriv'd more significant and expres against *Jacobitism*. And seeing Mr *Mc Crackan* approves all they have said (which is for substance the same with the Declaration made formerly by the 3 Non-juring Ministers in *Ireland* before their Brethren, to which they still adhere) Charity obligeth us to believe him to be no *Jacobite*.

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But Our Author proceeds thus (*Ibid*) 'it must be remembred '(*says he*) that the reason given by the Dissenters of *Lisburn* for the 'refusal of the Oath was the same with that given by Mr *McBride* 'to Dr *Ferguson*, God forbid *that they shou'd swear that the Preten-* 'der,*was not King James's son*; by which it is plain, they were in- 'fluenc'd by the same person *viz.* Mr *McCrackan*, he being Teacher 'in that Dissenting Congregation.

How Inconclusive this Argument is, will appear if we consider. 1st, That the Dissenters of *Lisburn* deny they gave any such reason for refusing the Oath, as I have shew'd p. 475 from Mr *Grainger*'s Letter, and the rest of the Dissenters in *Lisburn* do all say the same thing for themselves, as Mr *Grainger* has said for himself. 2*dly*, If they had given that very reason, it wou'd not conclude them *Jacobites:* for a man may be a stout asserter of the Interest of the *Hanover*-Succession, and yet be unresolved and doubtful whether the Pretender be King *James's* Son or not, and therefore cannot swear that he is not his son,but are ready to abjure him, whoever be his Father. 3*dly*, It is no necessary

Part 3.

consequence, that the people were influenc'd to give this reason by Mr *Mc Crackan*; because he is their Teacher; the most that can be made of it is that 'tis probable, and so it may be, or may not be, for any thing our Author knows; and consequently is not sufficient, to impeach any man's reputation upon, contrary to his own solemn Declaration, as above, but especially seeing 'tis not true in fact.

'But it seems (says our Author) he has given another reason for 'himself for his Refusal of the Oath which concludes against him as 'directly as the former, viz. he *wou'd not Abjure the Pretender, lest 'he shou'd Abjure Divine Providence.* This I can prove by a Certificate 'Sig'd by the Reverend Mr. *Ratcliff*, a Person of Credit and Vera-'city, who undertakes to make it good, shou'd Mr. *Mc Crackan* de-'ny it.

To this Mr. *Mc Crackan* Answers, that he wrote a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Ratcliff*, desiring him to favour him with an Account of the Time, Place and Witnesses, *when*, *where*, and *before* whom he had used the above Expression; and that he never remembred to have been in his Company, but once or twice; and does not in the least remember, that he ever spoke with him or in his Company, upon that Subject; but Mr. *Ratcliff* gave no written Answer to this Letter; but sent him a Message, by a Gentlewoman of the Communion of the Church who deliver'd his Letter, in these Words, or Words to this purpose (as that Gentlewoman said); *that as for what he* (i. e. *Mr.* Ratcliff) *had said of Mr.* Mc. Crackan, *it was so far from an Accusation of him, that it was the most to his Advantage of any thing that had been said.*

And therefore Mr. *Mc Crackan* thinks, that Mr. *Ratcliff* never said any thing of him which cou'd fairly imply his being a *Jacobite*, because he has said, that *what he said of him was the most to his advantage of any thing that had been said*; and that Mr. *Ratcliff*'s Testimony ought not to be turn'd into an Accusation, contrary to his own Intention. And Mr. *Mc Crackan* farther offers in his own Defence, that it is unfair in our Author or any one else, to bring in any broken expression of his, without shewing the Connection or occasion of it, and to make use of such an Expression as an *Innuendo* of his being a *Jacobite*, contrary to Mr *Mc Crackan*'s deliberate, plain and full Declarations against the *Pretender*, and on behalf of the Queen and House of *Hanover*.

As to Mr. *Riddall*, our Author is so modest as to deliver his thoughts of his Principles, only as what he suspects *p.* 87, 88. 'I have never yet heard

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' heard the reasons *(says he)* given by Mr. *Riddall* for his not taking the *Oath of Abjuration*, but I here offer one Fact with respect to him, ' which may give us grounds to suspect that he also Acts upon the very same Principles with his *non-juring Brethren*. The Fact Certified ' by *Brent Spencer* Esq; is as follows *viz.* that Mr. *Riddal* came to ' the House of Mrs. *Jackson* of *Waterfoot* (as she assur'd the said Mr. ' *Spencer)* with Pistols before him; whereupon, she being Surpriz'd ' desir'd to know what was the Matter; to this *his Answer* was, that ' on the *Pretender*'s Landing all Non-Jurors were to be taken up, and ' that he wou'd Defend himself, but that he kept out of all public ' Roads to prevent his being taken. *As* Mr. *Riddal* followed the exam- ' ple of Mr. *Mc. Crackan* in his Refusal of the Oath, so do's *Mc Crackan* ' at this time follow the example of *Riddal*, in Riding *Arm'd* through ' the Country in an unusual Manner. This occasions no small Specu- ' lations *&c.*

The Strength of the Evidence runs thus, *he said, that she said, that Riddal said* &c. I shall envy no Man the Satisfaction (if he can find any) of Chasing those *diverting Tales*, and of finding out the Monstrous *Jacobitism* of Mr. *Riddal*'s Pistols, and Mr. *Mc Crackan*'s Sword; upon which our *Author* bestows a Paragraph, with many fine Speculations *p.* 88.

Before I leave this Head, I must make a Remark upon Mr *Waring*'s Answer to an Objection he Represents against his own Uncharitable Opinion of these 3 Ministers. He represents 'em all as friends to the *Pretender*, and Answers this Argument advanc'd for them *p.* 85. ' I ' have heard that some Dissenters of substance and of no mean Con- ' dition, do take upon them to Answer for the Loyalty of these Men, ' by offering to enter into *Recognizance* of *Twenty Thousand Pounds* ' for their Fidelity to her Majesty, and their Adherence to the Pro- ' testant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, as now settled by Act of ' Parliament, and presume that by this Method, they have answer'd ' all Objections against them, on account of their refusing the *Oath* ' *of Abjuration.*

' Many substantial Reasons may be offered to shew the weakness of ' this Argument; to instance but one, Those *Recognizancers* for the ' Loyalty of the said *Non-Jurors* are pretty well assured, knowing ' their Craft, that they will not by any Overt-Act in favour of the ' *Pretender*, however sly their Insinuations may be, incur the Forfeiture

of

'of their *Recognizances*, unless the *Pretender*'s Interest shou'd be Powerful enough to prevail in these Kingdoms (which God forbid); and in that case, there cou'd be no danger to those who enter'd into *Recognizance* for the *Non Jurors*; on the contrary it's Rationally to be suppos'd, the *Non-Jurors* Interest wou'd be sufficient to recommend their Bail to his *Pretendership*'s Favour.

The Weakness of this Reply will appear, if we consider, that if these Men be suppos'd to be *Jacobites*, no body can have an assurance that they won't Forfeit such a *Recognizance*; If ever the *Pretender* shou'd make an attempt (which God forbid) upon these Nations, may not his Friends think that Attempt hopeful, when it may prove unsuccessful; & upon that hope, declare for him? And why may not these three Men (if they were *Jacobites*) be flatter'd into *such* an hope, and *such* a Declaration in that case, as well as others? do's any Man believe that ever he will or dare make such an Attempt, without Encouragement from his Friends in these Nations? And will they encourage a thing to their own Ruin, which they don't look upon as Feasible? And won't they endeavor to engage as many as they can into their Measures? And therefore, those Gentlemen who offer to enter into *Recognizance* for 20000 *lb.* for the Loyalty of those 3 Men, neither can nor wou'd be easie in their Minds, unless they were firmly persuaded, that they were Loyal in their Principles, and quite opposite to the *Pretender*.

But 2*dly*, Let us consider what our Author alledges, of these Non-juring Teachers being *Countenanc'd and Protected by the Northern Dissenters of all Degrees, and other Persons of Eminent Station.*

Seeing our Author goes upon a Mistake, as if these 3 Ministers were *Jacobites*, and had refus'd the Oath upon that Account, the *Odium* he endeavours to cast upon those who countenance them, has no *just* Foundation. For their being true Friends to her Majestie's Person and Government, and to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, do's Plead for Compassion, and that a difference shou'd be made *between them* and *other Non-Jurors*, whose Refusal of the Abjuration-Oath proceeds from a Zeal for the *Pretender*. And all the Countenance given 'em by the Northern Dissenters says no more. If we consider the Intention of the *Legislature* in imposing the Oath, which was to Defeat the *Designs of the Pretender*, we can't suppose that they ever mean'd to discourage those who were true friends to the *Protestant* and Enemies to a *Popish* Succession: But that the Penalties of this

Act

Act were intended to Reach *Jacobites*, as dangerous Enemies to the Government. And therefore, tho' those who scruple the Oath upon *another Account*, may be so unhappy as to fall under the Penalties, if the *Letter* of the Law be consider'd *Abstractly* from the *Reason* and ground upon which it was fram'd; yet it can't be deny'd, that the Case of such Persons Renders them fit Objects for Her Majesty's *Princely Clemency*, and consequently for the *Compassion* of their Protestant Neighbours, who know them to be Trusty Friends to her *Title* and Government. And this Remark seems to me to be a just Inference from what our Author observes as a *Seventh Instance* of the Countenance given them, which he finds fault with in these Words, *p.* 89. Part 3.

'*Seventhly*, the whole proceedings of the Judges in Mr *McBride*'s 'prosecution, Tryal and acquittal seems (from what account Mr 'Waring gives) to be so very extraordinary, that I purposely decline 'animadveting upon it, fearing that my Excursions might carry me 'too far, both with respect to *them* and my self; however, thus 'far I will Venture to affirm, that had not those non-jurors met 'with that countenance, Protection and support from all *Degrees* 'of People both *Dissenters* and *others*, they wou'd never have insulted 'the Laws as they did; nor have influenc'd such numbers of the 'Common people to follow their examples, in refusing the Oaths 'upon the *expected Invasion* of the Pretender.

I believe the proceedings of her Majestie's Judges in the above case can be very well defended, against those *undecent Insinuations* of our Author. And it is no great wonder, that *Presbyterians* should meet with his Censure, seeing the *Judges on the Bench* must not escape it, But I hope it will be allowed, that the Judges and other *worthy Gentlemen* of the *Establish'd* Church, don't deserve to be accounted friends to the *Pretender* and his *abettors*; and therefore, the *Northern Dissenters* who are reputed guilty of a *pretended* joint crime with them, are in less hazard.

And this will yet further appear, if we consider wherein the Countenance those 3 Ministers have met with, do's consist. No man that has any knowledge of the practice of the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland* can affirm, that they in the least influenced these three Ministers to refuse the Oath. On the Contrary, all the Gentlemen of their persuasion, who being then in *Civil* and *Military* Employments were obliged to qualifie themselves, *cheerfully* took it; and so did their

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Part 3. Brethren in the holy Ministry, conceiving it to be their duty so to do. This was as great a discountenanceing & discourageing of those who refus'd it, as they thought was required, and as Christian Charity cou'd allow. But seeing those 3 Ministers who scrupled it, did well approve of the Substance of it, and their Scruples were founded only upon some little expressions, which neither cou'd conclude them to be *unsound* in the Faith, nor *immoral* in practice, nor *disloyal* in principle, their Brethren cou'd not think that their differing from them in Judgment about so *small a point* was any just ground (according to the *Rules* of Christian *Discipline*) for casting them out of *Ministerial* Communion: notwithstanding whereof, they resolved in a general Meeting of all the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, that they wou'd Censure any of them who shou'd be found guilty of *practicing upon people*, either in *preaching*, *writing*, *private* conversation, or *otherwise*, in favour of their *own opinion* and *scruples*.

The present practice of the Church of *Scotland* is a Confirmation of this point; for those of their Ministers who have scrupled the same Oath have given a most *ample declaration* of their Loyalty, almost in the *very words* of it; and their Brethren have entred their Declaration in their Records; and both *they* who have *taken*, and *they* who have *refus'd* it, have join'd in a very strong and Express Act against the *Pretender*, and for the Queen, and House of *Hanover*: And I hope the Reader won't take it amiss that I present him with a true Copy of the said Declaration (the Act of the Commission having been inserted p. 456); the Declaration runs thus:

'We under Subscribers Ministers of the Gospel in the Synod of '*Lothian* and *Tweddale*, considering that by an Act of the last Session 'of Parliament, the Ministers of this Church are required to swear 'and Subscribe the Oath of Abjuration, concerning which as it 'stands, especially as relating to two *Acts* of the *English* Parliament 'we were not clear, but that it might import a Consent unto and 'Approbation of some qualifications requir'd of the Successor to the 'Crown, not agreeable to our Principles.

'Wherefore to prevent all *Misconstructions* which may possibly be 'entertain'd of our not taking the said Oath, We hereby declare 'our *firm Allegiance* and *stedfast Loyalty*, in all Duties, and upon all 'Occasions Incumbent on us, to her Majesty Queen *ANNE*, as our 'only Lawful and Rightful Sovereign. We do also in the Sincerity

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'of our Hearts, Declare and Believe that the Person pretended to 'be the *Prince* of *Wales* during the Life of the late King *James*, and 'since his Decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile 'and Title of King of *Scotland* by the Name of *James* viii, or of *Eng-*'land by the Name of *James* III. or the Stile and Title of King of '*Great-Britain*, hath no Right to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, 'or any Dominions thereunto belonging: Therefore we disown 'and refuse any manner of Allegiance or Obedience to him; 'as also we firmly resolve, through Grace, in our Stations to 'Maintain, Defend and Support the Succession to the Crown in the 'Illustrious Family of *Hanover*, for which we *MOST HEARTILY* '*PRAY*, reckoning it next to the Preservation of Her Majesty, the on-'ly support under God, of our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

'And seeing we are heartily agreed upon all that's contain'd in the 'said Oath, which may be thought any real Security to the Govern-'ment and Protestant Succession, which we judge to be a strong Bul-'wark against Popery and Tyranny: We earnestly desire and firmly 'hope, That our not taking the said Oath, shall not be thought to 'proceed from any Principles of Disloyalty and Disobedience to Au-'thority, but entirely from fear of Counteracting our known Principles, 'and Crave that this our Declaration may be inserted in the Records 'of the Synod. Written and Subscrib'd at *Edinburgh* the 5*th* of *No-*'*vember* 1712.

This is a Demonstration, that a Presbyterian may be a Non-Juror, and no *Jacobite*; And that it may be neither prejudicial to Church nor State, to give *such* all the Countenance *that has been given 'em*, either in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, in that Case. And this fully answers all that's advanc'd by our Author upon this Head, so far as his Assertions are true in Fact. But there are some of 'em which indeed deserve another Answer, and particularly his *second* instance of the Countenance given 'em p. 88. '2*dly*, Mr. *Mc. Bride* having taken Sanctuary in *Scotland* upon a 'Legal Prosecution in this Kingdom, was recall'd to his Congrega-'tion by *Mr. Smith* a Ruling Elder Merchant in *Belfast*, Pursuant (as 'I am inform'd) to an Act of Presbytery, and conducted into *Belfast* 'in great Triumph, attended by numbers of People of all Degrees, 'and this while the Suit was Actually depending, all which appears 'by *Mr. Waring*'s Letter.

Mr. Waring has been strangely impos'd upon in his Narrative of this Matter, as will appear by the following Certificates.

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'WE do hereby Certify, That when the Reverend *Mr. John Mc-Bride* came to *Belfast*, after Mr. *Samuel Smith* Merchant had gone to *Glasgow*, to invite the said Mr. *McBride* (who was then at *Glasgow*) to return to his Congregation, the said Mr. *McBride* Landed in the Dock of *Belfast* about three of the Clock in the Morning, and walked straight to the House of Mr. *John McMun* Merchant in *Belfast*, being Accompanied by none but Sir *James Agnew* Heretable Sheriff of *Galloway*, our selves and some Servants: and all this we Certify from our own Knowledge, having been Passengers in the same Boat and Voyage with Mr *Mc. Bride*, alongst with the said Sir *James*; and we are ready to confirm this our Certificate upon Oath, if requir'd. Given under Our Hands at *Belfast*, *September* the 25th. 1713.

James Adair.
William Mitchell.

'I do hereby Certify when the Reverend Mr *John McBride* Landed in *Belfast*, at the time mention'd in the above Certificate he came to my House, while I and my whole Family were lying in Bed, & that I was waken'd by one of my Servants who acquainted me with it; and that I Arose & Entertain'd the said Mr *McBride*, and found no Company with him but one of my Servants. Given under my Hand at *Belfast Septe nber* 25. 1713. *John Mc Mun.*

I shou'd not have thought it worth while to have taken notice of this *small Circumstance*, were it not necessary to caution the Reader against that *excessive Credulity*, which is the *visible Infirmity* of our *Author* and his *Informers*; who are so unaccountably mistaken in their History of the very Facts done in the places of their own residence, and in their own time, that it procures 'em no great Credit when they speake of things done *before they were born*, and in *other places* of the World.

While Mr *Smith* was in *Glasgow* waiting upon Mr *McBride*, the *Pretender* and his *French* Forces came upon the *Scots* Coast; upon which Occasion, Mr *McBride* gave as plain a Demonstration of his being no *Jacobite*, as any man in his Station. The Presbytery of *Glasgow* (of which he was then Moderator) drew a most Loyal Address to Her Majesty, expressing their *Abhorrence* of that Traiterous *Attempt* of the *Pretender* and his *Abettors*, and their Zealous Disposition and Resolution to *Oppose it* with their utmost might, and to adhere to Her Majesty's Title. This Address was amongst the very *first* that was sign'd upon that Occasion, and Mr *McBride* was the

first

Part 3.

first man who sign'd it; and the Man, to whom Mr *Nairn*, (sub-Secretary at that time) return'd Her Majesty's Answer, wherein she express'd a particular Satisfaction with their Loyalty.

The Ministers of that City at the same time, made a Proposal to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, that they would raise men for her Majesty's Service, and the Defence of their Country against the *Pretender*, and furnish 'em with *Arms* and *Ammunition*, and pay each of 'em 8*d. per diem*, for 40 days, *all upon their own proper Charge*. Each Minister propos'd to raise, arm and pay 5 men; and Mr *McBride* offer'd his Proportion as chearfully as any of 'em, & over & above his Proportion, offer'd to send one of his own Sons into that Service. This *Loyal Proposal* of the Ministers *animated* the People, And the *Magistrates*, *University* and *Ministers* of the City, were every day in *Consultation*, sending *Expresses* and using their *utmost Interest* for the Queen, and against the *Pretender*. And in all the measures taken, Mr *McBride* was as Active as any man of his Station. And it had been Rational, to have expected, that those who are Accusers of Mr *McBride* for Disloyalty, should have first shown such seasonable and clear Demonstrations of their Zeal against the *Pretender* upon that Occasion, as he did, before they had laid *Jacobitism* to his Charge. If any one Contest these Particulars of his Behavior at *Glasgow*, he is ready to prove 'em from the Authentic Testimonies of the Magistrates and Ministers of that City; and the *Privy-Counsellors*, and Subsecretary of *Scotland*.

His 5*th* Instance of the Countenance given 'em seems to me to be very confus'd ' Mr *McBride* (*says he p.* 89) is continued a Trustee ' also in the patent for receiving the Royal-bounty of 1200 *l.b. per an-* ' *num*, as was prov'd by *Westenra Waring* Esq: before a Committee ' of the Right Honorable House of Lords ' What Mr *Waring* offer'd to that Honorable Committee, I can't tell, but I am sure, all that's true in the matter is this, that in her Majestie's parent for that pension, which is dated *March* 11*th* 1702, and consequently before the Oath of Abjuration was imposed upon *Ireland*, Mr *McBride* is named as one of the Trustees, but that since he scrupled the Oath, has never acted as a Trustee, and that all the other Trustees have taken the Oath. Wherein this can be a just ground of reflection either upon Her Majesty, or the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, I can't discern. And I am apt to believe, that if Mr *Waring*'s Evidence was given to the Committee that prepar'd a *Representation* with relation to the Presbyterian Ministers, their Lordships wou'd

Part 3. have taken some notice of the matter of it in their *Representation*, had they found it any thing to the purpose.

That Mr *Malcom* told Mr *McBride*, that he was a knave &c. (which our Author asserts *p.* 79) is what both of 'em absolutely deny, and aver it to be a meer fiction.

CHAP. III.

Wherein the four Presumptive Facts *charg'd upon Presbyterians in the* Third Part *of the* Conduct of Dissenters &c. viz. 1. *Their taking the Solemn League* &c. 2*dly*, *Their Common Funds against the Church.* 3*dly*, *Their Enslaving People by their Certificates*; *And* 4*thly*, *The many Dreadful things, prevented by the Test-Clause*, are Examin'd.

The *first* of these *four* Facts is Represented by our Author *p.* 91. in the following Words.

FACT I.

'THE first Presumptive Fact I will mention shall be, that we have 'several Reasons, which may give us sufficient grounds for a 'violent Suspicion, that the Dissenting Teachers, if not their Ruling 'Elders are oblig'd to take the Solemn League and Covenant, before they

'they are admitted to Teach and Govern the Northern Congrega- Part 3.
'tions.

The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* in their *Second. Apology* to Her Majest. p. 33 give a full Answer to this Accusation 'We are surpriz'd (say they) that the Convocation shou'd Insinuate 'any cause of Fear, that our Ministers shou'd be obliged at their Ordinations to take the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*; seeing they can't 'but know that all our Ordinations are solemnly perform'd in the 'face of public and numerous Congregations, where generally divers 'of the Establish'd Church are present: And yet we are assur'd, that '*not any one* Instance of that kind can be given, nor is it done either 'in the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, or amongst us.

And the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the City of *Dublin*, and South of *Ireland* agree with their Brethren in the North, in giving the *same Assurance* to her Majesty, as appears by their Printed Address in Answer to the Representation of the Convocation. And tho' neither the Address from the *North* nor *South* makes mention of the *Ruling Elders*, because the Convocation don't express the least Suspicion of their taking the Covenant; yet 'tis plain, from our Author's Reasoning upon this *Presumptive Fact* (as he calls it) that his greatest Suspicion is of the Ministers, for he speaks of a violent Suspicion that the Dissenting Teachers, *if not their Ruling Elders*, are oblig'd &c. And therefore seeing all reasonable ground is given for removing his Suspicion of the *former*, I think he needs not be in pain about the *Latter*. But to show that there is no design to Wave a positive Answer about it; I do here for the Satisfaction of all persons whatsoever, who desire it, declare that *no Ruling Elder* amongst the Presbyterians, is *ever* oblig'd to take the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, either *before*, *at*, or *after* their Ordination; and that all the Presbyterian *Ministers* and *Elders* in the Kingdom of *Ireland* are ready to Certify the Truth of this Assertion under their Hands.

But our Author perhaps won't be Satisfied with this Account, for if they assure him, they don't take the *Covenant*, he has another fear, that they *do something like it*. 'Wou'd it not be highly expedient (*says* '*he* p. 94.) to require some public Assurance (which they never yet 'wou'd give) that they do not in their secret Assemblies bind their 'Elders with some such solemn Oaths as formerly &c. for my part 'I think it Prudent in them to give such assurance (if they be Innocent) 'and necessary for us to demand them.'

What

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What he means by *ſome ſuch ſolemn Oaths as formerly*, is very hard to gueſs, until he explain himſelf. But I ſhall inform the Reader faithfully of the *promiſes* made by the *Elders*, when they are ſet a part to their Office. They promiſe in *one word*, that they will be faithful in the Execution of the Office of an Elder. *i. e.* that they will be *Impartial* and *Diligent* in *enquiring* into, and Cenſuring the Scandalous behaviour of ſuch Members of the Congregation, as ſhall be *known* to be *Guilty*; and for that purpoſe, they ſhall meet in the Aſſociated Aſſemblies of *Miniſters* and *Elders*, and therein *Act*, *Speak* and give their *Voices*, according to the *beſt* of their *Knowledge* for the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, and the good of the Church of Chriſt, according to the Word of God, and the Methods of Chriſtian Diſcipline *Conformable* thereunto, and *Practis'd* amongſt Presbyterians. The Presbyterians have not an Invariable *Set Form* of Words, in which they take theſe promiſes: But what I have Repreſented, is a juſt Account of the *Subſtance* and *matter* of them. If the fault of this be; that they have *Diſcipline* at all, or ſuch People as *Elders* at all, that belongs to another Head. & has been conſider'd in the former Two Chapters. But if they be allowed to have any *Elders* or *Diſcipline*, no body can reaſonably find fault with them, that they take *ſome Engagement* of the Perſons choſen to that Office, and entruſted with that Power, to be *faithful* and honeſt.

But Our Author has calculated ſome of the reaſons of this *Violent Suſpicion* about the Covenant, to ſerve *his turn* equally, whether the Presbyterian Miniſters take the Covenant or not. And therefore I muſt Conſider what he offers in his *1ſt* and *4th* reaſons ‘ Firſt (ſays ‘ he p. 91) Becauſe it muſt be allowed that they are from their prin‘ ciples obliged (when able) to extirpate Epiſcopacy, as a human Inſti‘ tution; and to enter into all Methods for a farther Reformation, ‘ and the Erection of the Presbyterian Government, as a *Divine Or‘ dinance*, ſo that abſtracted from any ſuch Covenant *actually enjoyn'd* ‘ to be taken, they are *Antecedently* obliged to the thing it ſelf, ‘ from the Stated principles of the *Presbyterian* Kirk, and their ‘ obligation to prefer a Divine to a humane Ordinance.

In his *fourth* Reaſon he complains that Mr *Mc Bride*, the reputed Author of the *Animadverſions* upon a paper of the Biſhop of *Dromore's*, wherein the Biſhop expreſſeth his apprehenſions of the Presbyterian Miniſters taking the Covenant, pretends to reſolve the Biſhop's doubt

in

Part 3.

in such a manner, that he plainly appears rather to allow than deny the Fact. He quotes the following words of the Author of the said *Animadversions* 'We suppose he (i. e. the Bishop) intends the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, and here we believe he may be mistaken of their zeal for that, as it is a League with *England* and *Ireland*, obliging them to a Reformation; seeing as a League it can have no greater obligation upon them than those Leagues formerly made with *France* oblige *England*, since the *French* have violated them. Upon which our Author Reasons thus p. 93. 'it was Impossible but he must know that the Bishop's fears were, that they were Zealous for a Covenant to extirpate Episcopacy &c. instead of denying which, he says he believes *he may be mistaken*; for their Zeal for that Covenant as a League with *England* &c. Which does not infer, but they may be Zealous for it, as a solemn Oath to, and Covenant with God, to extirpate Episcopacy; but he seems to me rather to Imply it. when he pretends to Explain the matter more fully, and tells us, that as a League it can have no farther obligation on them than Leagues formerly had with *France*, oblig'd *England*, since the *French* violated them. Now, I desire to be resolv'd by this Gentleman, whether when the matter of any Covenant be of it self necessary, and Obligatory by the Command of God, and for the more effectual Obedience to that Command, several Countries should enter into a League, to promote an Universal Observation thereof; *I* say, I desire to be resolved, whether upon the Failure of one Party in that League, the Obligation upon the other party ceases? this I presume he is not so Ignorant to assert, and yet he answers the Bishop by drawing a Parallel, betwixt the Ancient Leagues with *France* and *England*, which were purely Conditional, and no farther Obligatory then as they were mutually kept, whereas the Covenants entered into to *extirpate* Episcopacy *root* and *branch*, and *erect* Presbytery, and further a Reformation, are all of Eternal Obligation to all Presbyterians, from their *Principles*, *Antecedent to* and *Abstracted from*, any Conditional Leagues, or breach of them which can be made.

The Scope of all this reasoning, is to prove that the Presbyterian Ministers and People are a Society of Intolerable Men, and that the Magistrate shou'd neither Tolerate nor connive at their Religious Liberty, because their Principles make 'em dangerous to the Establish'd

Church

Part 3. Church. That I may give a full and satisfactory Answer, I shall *1st*, give a true Representation of the Principles of Presbyterians with Respect to a *Reformation*, and the *Extirpation* of *Episcopacy*, and how far their Principles bind them to it, *Abstracting* from, and *Antecedent* to any Covenant for that purpose, and *2dly*, Show that their Principles in these Matters, do not render them *Intolerable* by the Civil Magistrate.

As to the *first*, I shall recommend to the Reader a paragraph of the *first Apology* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, to Her Majesty *p.* 24. 'That our Consciences do not allow us a freedom 'of Conforming to the present Model of Episcopacy in the Establish'd 'Church, nor to Her Liturgy; and that we found our Dissent upon 'the Holy Scriptures, is as well known as that we are Presbyterians, under which Denomination we have always Humbly Addressed 'Your Majesty and your Royal Predecessors. But we humbly beg 'leave to be excus'd from giving your Majesty the Trouble of any Debate from us, upon points controverted among Protestants: A Mutual forbearance in those Matters, and a Christian Management, 'with a *Spirit* of *Moderation*, free of all bitter Invectives is what we 'highly approve; being Cordially agreed with all the *Reformed* 'Churches at home and abroad, in *all the Doctrines held by them in Common*, and in all that's Essential to the Reformation.

And let us consider what the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the City of *Dublin* and South of *Ireland* deliver as their Sentiments upon this Head in their Address *p.* 43. 'Tis indeed our known Judgment, 'that the Holy Scriptures, make not *Bishops* and *Presbyters* two *distinct* 'Orders; and our Opinion herein we humbly conceive, is conformable to that of *most* of the *Reform'd Churches*, declared in their *publick Confessions* of Faith, and 'tis no more than what many Learned 'Divines of the Establish'd Church, and even several of those that 'were Eminent Instruments in the *English* Reformation, have Asserted 'and Maintain'd.

From these Accounts it is plain, that they look Upon Episcopacy (as it is now model'd) to be an *Human* Ordinance; and so far our Author do's them Justice. There is a Consequence which follows Natively from this Principle, *viz.* That they think a *Divine* Ordinance *better* than a *human* one, and another from that, *viz.* That they cannot but heartily wish that all other People were of their Opinion too. Nay, it must be own'd, that their *Principle inclines* and

obliges

obliges them to wish seriously, that the Queen and all the Peers and Commons of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* were Zealous and Good Presbyterians: For he that thinks Presbytery the *best Government* of the Church, Condemns himself and acts uncharitably, if he do's not desire every one to *partake* of the *benefit* of it, as well as himself. If his Principle be good, he ought to wish that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Archbishops and Bishops in *Christendom* wou'd be contented to be Presbyterian Ministers; and in all this, he do's no more than to wish *every Man's Soul as well as he does his own*, which no body can take ill. He can't help believing that the Presbyterian Church is the best Reform'd of all Churches: and therefore he must sin against the light of his own Conscience, if he wou'd not Desire and Rejoyce in the *Reformation* of *other* Churches, and fain have 'em *all* to embrace the *same* Discipline and Worship as well as Doctrine in *common with her*. He must say to them all as the Apostle *Paul* said to *Agrippa*. *Acts* 26. 29. *I wou'd to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were almost and altogether such as I am, except these Bonds.* If this be reckon'd an *Extirpation of Episcopacy*, I won't contend about Words, the Presbyterians are oblig'd from their *Principle* to desire it, in the Sense I have explain'd. Part 3.

But there is *another* Sense wherein the Reforming or Extirpating of Episcopacy may be taken, wherein I *don't think* the *Principles* of Presbyterians oblige 'em to wish and endeavor it. And that is, by *Tumultuous*, *Oppressive*, *Persecuting* and other *Illegal* Methods. I don't see any thing in the Principles of Presbyterians, which oblige them by Force to *Invade Churches*, to possess themselves of *Church Livings* by *Violence* against the Laws of the State, to Rob the Clergy of their *Temporalities*, to ruine any Man for being *Episcopal in his Judgment*; and to Depose the *Prince*, and *insult the Legislature* unless they'll Establish Presbytery and lay aside Episcopacy. These are all unwarrantable Methods of Reformation, which no Presbyterian Principle gives any Countenance to. The Reader may perceive by Mr. *Hall*'s Letter in Name of all the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* (inserted *p.* 414.) that they allow of no such things, and that they Reprov'd Mr. *Liston* for going into a Church to Preach contrary to Law. What is Objected against Presbyterians, as Counteracting this Principle, by Tumultuary Reformations and Persecution, is abundantly Answer'd in divers Books, written in their Defence; and belongs not to

Part 3. my *Province* in this place, nor will I *undertake* the *Defence* of any who are Guilty of it.

But I come *2dly*, to show that the Principles of Presbyterians, notwithstanding of their carrying them so far as to desire and endeavor by Lawful Methods, to have a *Reformation* and *Reduction* of Episcopacy in the Manner Explain'd, do not render 'em *intolerable* by the Civil Magistrate. And this must either be allow'd, or else *all Toleration* under a Protestant Government of any sort of Protestants, who for *Conscience sake* dissent from the Establish'd Church, must be Refus'd and Condemn'd. This is so narrow and uncharitable a Principle, that it wou'd be an Abuse put upon the *Reader*, to tire his Patience with the Refutation of it. In a *Calviniſt* Country, shall all *Lutherans* be Abridg'd of the Liberty of serving God, according to their Consciences? In a *Lutheran* Country shall the *Calviniſts* be Treated the same way? In a *Presbyterian* Country, shall none that are *Episcopal* or *Independent* be allowed Liberty of Conscience? The very Naming of these things, is Argument enough against 'em to the Moderate and Sober of all Persuasions. And therefore I shall take it for granted, that *no such* Principle is *good*, as wou'd *exclude all Toleration* and mutual forbearance amongst Protestants: And yet without Maintaining that unwarrantable Principle, Presbyterians must be allow'd to be as Tolerable as other People.

For I wou'd fain know what Argument can any *Establiſh'd Episcopal* Church give against the Toleration of *Presbyterians*, but what will *serve a turn*, and prove as strong an Argument to any *Establiſh'd* Protestant Church whatsoever, for denying a *Toleration* to any of her *fellow Protestants* who dissent from her. Is it, because *Presbyterians* think their Persuasion the *best*; and because their *Principles* oblige 'em to *wish*, and by *all peaceable* and *lawful* methods endeavour, to have all others to be of their mind? This very reason wou'd infer, that those of the *Episcopal* Communion ought not to be tolerated in *Scotland*: For the Establiſhed Church there may say, that the Episcopal Dissenters look upon Episcopacy as the only *Apostolical* Government of the Church, and that therefore *Abstracting from* and *Antecedent to* any Covenant or Oath, their *Principles oblige* 'em to *Extirpate Presbytery*, and to ruine the Church Establiſhed, and therefore being Dangerous people they Must not be Tolerated. And 'tis certain, the Argument can be managed there with more *colorable* pre-

pretences against the *Toleration* of *their* Dissenters, than the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* can do against the Toleration of *theirs*. For, besides that a conscientious *Episcopal* Dissenter in *Scotland* is obliged from his own Principle to use the same Efforts for Prelacy in *Scotland*, as the Presbyterian Dissenters are, for Presbytery in *England* and *Ireland*, they are more dangerous in another respect; because the Presbyterians in *England* and *Ireland* are not such *High-flyers* in their Principle about Episcopal Ordination, as, the *Episcopal Dissenters* are about Presbyterian-Ordination. The *former*, tho' they *can't in Conscience Comply* with Episcopal Ordination, yet they do not deny the Validity of it, nor of the sacred Ministrations of those who receive it; but *many* of the *latter* look upon Presbyterian Ordination to be null and Void, and therefore are more oblig'd from *their principle* to endeavour the *subversion* of Presbytery, than the Others are to endeavour the *subversion* of Episcopacy. And may not the Established Church of *Holland* argue the same way against tolerating Episcopal Congregations there? The *Lutherans* may tell the *Calvinists*, that they must not be tolerated, because they i. e. the *Calvinists* look upon their own Doctrine and Worship to be grounded upon the word of God, and that the *Peculiar Points* of *Lutheranism* are erroneous *Tenets*, contradictory to the Scriptures, and therefore ought to be *extirpated Root and Branch*, and all this is realy true; For the *Calvinists* are firmly of that Opinion; and yet it would be unreasonable to infer from thence, that they shou'd not be tolerated in a *Lutheran* Country. Part 3.

This kind of Argument is so far from being strong enough for refusing a *Toleration* or *Connivance* to any Party of Protestants; that on the Contrary, it is one of the necessary qualifications, which any party that demands a *Toleration* or *Connivance* ought to have. For those who think an Establish'd Church so well *constituted*, as they may join safely in *Constant Communion* with her without sin, *dissent from her*, *not from principle but Humour*, & therefore have no *plea* from *Conscience* to entitle them to the Protection of the Magistrate, in their *separation* from such a Church. In a word, No party ought to be *tolerated* except they think their own *Communion better* than that of the Established Church, and except they wish all other people whatsoever may approve of, embrace, and profess the *same* principles, and join in the *same* Communion with them. And therefore the Presbyterians having such a Principle, can never render them intolerable; of w ich her Sacred Majesty and the *English* and *British* Parliaments were so fully convinc'd,

Part 3. that they have declar'd, that the Toleration in *England* ought to be *inviolably* Maintain'd, & yet the *Principles* of those comprehended in it are *exactly the same* with those of Their Brethren in *Ireland.*

But to return to the subject, that gave occasion for these observations, viz. the *solemn League* and *Covenant*, all I shall say for it is, that it was full of Loyalty to the King, and was a *particular Means* of the Restauration of the Royal Family, tho' it was against Episcopacy. The Presbyterians always *pleaded the Covenant*, as an unanswerable Argument to prove the Disloyalty of those who beheaded King *Charles* 1*st*, and opposed Monarchy. They thought they were obliged by it, to stand by the *Royal Family*; to *insist* upon the *Restauration* thereof, and to *deny* and *refuse* all allegiance and compliance with the *Usurper:* this abundantly appears from the Representations, Remonstrances, Reasonings and Actings of the Presbyterians, and particularly from Mr *Drysdail's* defences to Col. *Venables*, & the other Papers of the Presbytery which I have inserted p. 285. &c. They were sworn in the Covenant to support His Majestie's Person and Authority, and that *they wou'd not diminish his just greatness and power*; and therefore their Loyal principles and affections were cherished by the Additional obligation of their Covenant; which they improv'd upon all occasions as an Argument for Monarchy, and the Right of King *Charles* 2d to the Crown, and for pressing all that had taken it, to do the same as they wou'd avoid the *horrid sin* of *Perjury.*

As for its being against Episcopacy, it being Foreign to the Design of this Book to enter into that Debate, I shall neither offer any thing for Justifying or Condemning it on *that* Head. These who look upon *English* Episcopacy to be a Divine Ordinance, cannot but according to their own Principle, condemn the Covenant for having any thing in it that tends to the *Extirpation* of a *Divine* Institution, and therefore must look upon it to have been an Oath sinful in it self. On the other hand, those who are for the *Divine Right* of Presbytery, are not convinced that it was sinful in it self, because their Principle leads them to approve of the Matter of it as good and Lawful; they are all against Episcopacy, and they wish heartily that every Man in *England* were of their Opinion; But they don't think themselves oblig'd by the Solemn *League* and *Covenant* to do any thing more for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, than if there had not been such a Covenant. Our

Author

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Author himself puts a Case in the Passage I last quoted from him, which is indeed the true State of the Case of those who were the first promoters of this *League*, and a very *Charitable Construction*, if he had stuck to it: For he says p. 93. 'I desire to be resolv'd, when the matter of any Covenant be of it self necessary, and obligatory by the command of God, and for the more effectual obedience to that command, several Countries shou'd enter into a *League* to promote an universal Observation thereof: I say, I desire to be resolv'd whether upon the failure of one Party in that League, the Obligation upon the other Party ceases.' This was indeed the case. For the Presbyterians thought it necessary, that there shou'd be a Reformation and Reduction of Episcopacy, and that the same was necessary by the command of God, and their *Covenant* was design'd for nothing else, but to *bind* Men to what they thought God had *bound* them to by his *Authority*, *Antecedent* to their Covenant. I think it wou'd exceedingly contribute to the promoting of Christian *Charity* and *Peace* among Protestants, to put no other Construction upon the design of the *Covenanters* than this, which shows that they Acted upon a *Conscientious* Principle; and that they shou'd not upon all occasions be reproach'd, for following the light of their Consciences.

There are *two* Objections more against the Covenant made by our Author, in both which he is Mistaken. The *first* is contain'd in his *second* part of the *Conduct of the Dissenters &c.* p. 73, where (after he had given the Abstract of the Covenant) he calls it *that accursed Instrument of all our National Calamities in the former Rebellion.* But if he will be at the pains to look into the History of those times, he will find that there were many National Calamities during the time which he calls the *time of Rebellion*, (by which I suppose, he means the *Civil War* between the King and the Parliament) before ever the Covenant was fram'd. For it was not receiv'd by the Parliament of *England* before the Year 1643; whereas the Civil War had broke out a Year before that, and he must be very *little acquainted* with History and reason, who will say that there were *no National* Calamities while the Nation was groaning under the *Miseries of* an *Intestine War*; or, that the Covenant was the Instrument of those Calamities before it self had a being: & yet one of these two must be true, or otherwise his Objection is groundless. The true Instruments of all these National Calamities have been laid open in my discourse upon that unhappy Civil war, Part 2d. Chap. 1. Where the Reader will see that those who put the King upon Arbitrary Government, that was destructive to Religion and Liberty

Part 3.

berty were Instruments of all those Miseries, and by engaging *Laud* and the *High-Flying* Episcopal Clergy into the *Measures of the Court against the Interest of the Kingdom*, ruin'd Episcopacy it self, and brought on those Calamities on the Episcopal Church, of which the Covenant was the *Effect* and not the *Cause*.

His second Objection against the Covenant is set down in the close of his Reflections upon his *first Presumptive Fact p.* 94 where he affirms that the Covenant *makes it a Religious Duty to resist the Supreme Magistrate in his Defence of any other Church Government, but that of Presbytery*, he delivers this naked Assertion without any shadow of Proof, and I don't see that any *one* Article or *all* the Articles of the Covenant compared, give any ground for such an Inference.

But I come to consider his *second Presumptive Fact*, which he expresses thus *p.* 94.

FACT II.

'The second Presumptive Fact is, that, they have common Funds 'rais'd among the People and kept in Bank to defend any Advances 'they can make upon the Rights of the Establish'd Clergy.

This Fact supposes that the Presbyterians do attempt to *make advances upon the Rights of the Establish'd Clergy*, which is utterly deny'd, unless their mere Non-Conformity be reckon'd such. I suppose the Clergy will pretend to *no Right*, but what the *Law has given* them, such as the *Tithes*, *the Churches*, and the *Execution* of their Office; and therefore what *Right* of theirs do the Presbyterians deprive them of? Perhaps our Author may say, that it is the Right of their Clergy, that there shou'd be *no separate Congregations*, nor *no other* Ministers, nor *Discipline*, nor *Worship* allow'd but *their own*; if this be all his Meaning, he has just told the World that there are such a People as *Non-Conformists*, which is no great discovery, and need not be call'd a *Presumptive Fact*, being known to the whole Kingdom. But then they must reckon it a great hardship, that they can't obtain Liberty of Conscience, but it must be call'd an Invading of the *Rights* of the Clergy.

It is known to the World, that the Presbyterian Ministers in *Ireland* have no other way of subsistance to their families, than by Her Majesty's Royal Bounty, & the Voluntary Contributions of their *Hearers*.

And

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And therefore, there are Methods laid down in their several Congregations for their support; and because some poorer Congregations are not able of themselves to *Maintain* a *Minister*, those whom God hath blessed with more worldly substance in other Congregations *contribute* towards their assistance, and think it their duty to do so: For Alms-deeds are not *confin'd* to the *bodies* of Men, but ought to be *extended* to the benefit of their *souls* too. And this is not done to *new erected Congregations only*, but to *some* of the *Oldest* Congregations in *Ulster*, and it seems a little *unneighbourly* and *unkind*, to envy poor People's getting a little Assistance from their friends, in order to their enjoying the benefit of the *free Exercise* of their *Religion*.

But Our Author Insinuates several Reflections in these words *p.* 95 'It is evident that no private Clergy-man whose rights they 'invade, is able to bear up against such public frauds'; one suit gain-'ed in her Majesty's *Courts* here, is made a *Precedent* through the 'Nation, and concludes all in the like case, who are not able to 'carry their appeal to the House of Lords of *Ireland*, or to the *Queen's* 'Bench in *England*' All this is groundless, if they never join'd in any Law-suit for invading the right of any Clergy-man. When some Presbyterians have been violently prosecuted for *meer Non-Conformity*, at the Instance or by the Instigation of some *Clergy-men*, they have made all the *legal defences* they cou'd, to prevent the *ruin of* their *families*, and for securing the *peaceable Enjoyment* of their Religious Liberties; and who can blame them for it? and because some who have been thus prosecuted are not *able* to Maintain a *defensive suit*, and because the Consequence of their being cast in such a suit directly affects the whole Body of Presbyterians, therefore in such a case, if the *rest* of their *Persuasion* give some voluntary Contribution, to enable them to make the *best legal defence* they can, and to prevent the prosecution of themselves, I wou'd fain know where the harm of this lies? It is the right of every subject to be heard before he be condemn'd, and to be allowed a full Liberty of making his best defences; and if one man be prosecuted merely for being a Presbyterian, and for acting as a Presbyterian, it is consequently a prosecuting of all Presbyterians: and therefore if the *whole* shou'd contribute to support that *one*, they do no more than *defend themselves*; a priviledge which can't in justice be deny'd 'em.

But I can't see, how the Assisting of *any one* that may be *thus pro-*

secut-

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ſecuted can help him to gain his Suit, unleſs he has a *juſt cauſe*, & in that caſe it were *unjuſt* he ſhould *loſe* it. His having mony to defend the ſuit can enable him to *employ* Agents, and *fee* Council, but can it prevail with the Judges and the Courts to pervert Juſtice? and therefore I can't comprehend his Meaning, when he inſinuates the Neceſſity of carrying an *Appeal* to the *Houſe of Lords*, or to the *Queen's Bench* in *England*. I'm ſure he has no reaſon to ſuſpect the Judges of *Ireland* of *Parliality* in favour of Presbyterians, againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church; or, that all the public funds the Presbyterians are capable of raiſing, ſhou'd be able to *corrupt* their *Judgment*, and make 'em give a *wrong Decree* againſt a Clergy-Man.

Our Author comes next to vent the frightful Ideas he has got of the Royal Penſion of 1200 *lib. per annum*, to the Presbyterian Miniſters in the North of *Ireland*; he ſpeaks of their miſapplying it, and the ſubſtance of what he ſays is fully anſwer'd in the following Paragraph of their *firſt Apology* to Her Majeſty, *p*: 27. 'That any 'even the leaſt part of your Majeſty's Royal Bounty was ever ap-'ply'd either to the ſending out ſuch *Miſſionaries* (as they are called) 'or *Employing* any Agents, or ſupporting any Law ſuits, or Forming 'and Maintaining any Seminaries for the inſtruction of Youth, is what 'we can by no means Aſſent to, believing their Lordſhips opini-'on in this Matter to be entirely owing to Miſinformation; for 'that Fund has been *always divided* amongſt the Presbyterian Mini-'ſters *Purſuant to Your Royal Letters*; as may be fully prov'd when-'ever it is deſir'd, with all the Demonſtrative evidence that any 'Matter of Fact is capable of.

He inſinuates, that Mr. *Hugh Henry* Presbyterian Miniſter at *Drogheda* (whom he calls the *Preſent Miſſionary*, how properly let any Man Judge) was Order'd 18 *lb. per Annum* out of this Fund by a Synodical Act, the contrary whereof will appear by the following Certificate. 'Being Intruſted by the Presbyterian Miniſters of *Ulſter* to receive and 'diſtribute her Majeſties Royal Bounty to them, which I have done e-'ver ſince *June* 1708. I hereby Certify that Mr. *Hugh Henry* Presby-'terian Miniſter of *Drogheda* receiv'd no larger ſhare (nor was he ap-'pointed to my Knowledge to receive any more of ſaid Bounty) than 'any other Presbyterian Miniſter of *Ulſter* ſince his being Ordained 'Miniſter of *Drogheda*. And I further Certify that the ſaid Mr. *Henry* 'received none of the ſaid Bounty before he was Ordained. All which

'I am ready to make Oath of, if needful. As witness my Hand at *Belfast* the 30*th* day of *September* 1713. Part 3

Bryce Blair.

The numbers of Meeting Houses built and new *Conventicles* (as he calls 'em) Erected in *Ireland* since the late Revolution, is not owing to this Royal Bounty, as he alledges, but to other Causes. In divers places the Presbyterian *Meeting-Houses* were *Old* and *Ruinous*, and for that reason were Rebuilt; In some places the Leases of their Meeting-Houses cou'd not be renewed, because of the *Bigotry* of some *Landlords* who wou'd *not suffer them to be Built on their Estates*, and therefore the People (to their great Damage) were forc'd to Build them elsewhere. In some places there are *British* Inhabitants where there were scarce any but *Papists*, and many Families having come from *Scotland* that were Educated Presbyterians there, and continue to be of the same Persuasion in *Ireland* (as our Author himself has allow'd in his first part of the *Conduct of Dissenters*) and settled themselves within the Bounds of Presbyterian Congregations of an old standing, did so encrease them, as they became *too great* a *Charge* for *one* Pastor, and *too numerous* to meet in *one* place of Public Worship; and in such cases the Congregation has been divided, and a new one set up; And no Man who considers truly the Interest of *Ireland* can reasonably deny that it's for the Public Good, both of Religion and Liberty, that the Number of Protestants be Multiply'd there. The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* make an Observation in their first Apology, which ought to have great weight with all true *Protestants*. *p.* 29.

'We Crave leave with all Humility to observe to your Majesty, 'that since our first Settlement in *Ulster*, an hundred Years ago, by 'Encouragement from the Crown, The *British* and *Protestant* Interest which was very weak before, has been considerably strengthen'd by our Means, to that Degree as to have a great Influence 'on the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom, of which your 'Royal Predecessors have been very Sensible.

He concludes his Reflections upon the danger of this Royal Pension, with this surprizing Remark p; 96 'It is Manifest that 1200 *lb.* per *Annum* in the hands of the Leaders of Any Faction, wherein No par-

Part 3. ticular person has a peculiar Property, is likely to promote the Interest of that *Faction*, more than 12000 *lib. per Annum*, divided amongst and appropriated to different persons. ' According to this Argument 'twou'd be safer for the Church, that the Presbyterian Ministers (whom he supposeth to be the Leaders of a *Faction*) had 12000 *lib.* provided it be *appropriated* to them distinctly, and *divided* so as every Man have his own peculiar property, than to have 1200 *lib.* inCommon: And if the Church be *content* with this *Motion*, and think it for *her Interest*, I will Adventure to say, that the Presbyterian Ministers *nemine Contradicente* will thankfully accept of it, And if it shall please Her Most Excellent Majesty to be of the same opinion with our Author, they had rather have 12000 *lib*, *per annum* divided amongst and appropriated distinctly to them, so as the whole shall have no power to touch one farthing of any Man's property; than to have only 1200 *lib.* with the *utmost imaginable latitude* of *Discretionary* power to themselves to divide it and apply it as they shall think fit

His 3*d* Presumptive *Fact* is expressed *p*: 96. in these words;

FACT III.

' The Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* have in my ' Opinion made the whole body of their common People, so Dependent upon them, that they are intirely in their Power, to ' move and direct them as they please, and one main Spring which ' seems to influence all the lesser Wheels in their Political Machine, ' is the Certificates of their Ministers, and the manner of Managing ' them: For it is so contriv'd that there is not one of their Common ' People who dare change his Master, or remove from one place to ' another, but he must apply to the *Dissenting* Minister for a Certificate, and that under such severe Penalties, which neither the Laws ' of God, or Man do justify; for if they produce not such Credentials, they are given to understand by their Teachers in their public ' *Examens*, (as they call it) that they will not be received into Presbyterian Families, that they are to be Prosecuted as Vagabonds, and ' sent to the House of Correction; for the proof of which I here insert an Affidavit, taken before two Justices of the Peace in the Coun-

County of *Antrim*; the Original whereof I have in my Hands. Part 3.

Our Author says *p.* 99. *It must be allow'd the Original and use of Certificates is very Antient and Commendable.* Now the Question will turn upon this single point, whether Presbyterians pervert the *Original Design* of that Ancient and *Commendable* Practice of *Certificates*, which they humbly conceive they do not. They believe that every *Pastor* ought carefully to *watch over the Flock*, and acquaint himself with the Spiritual State of every Soul under his care, so far as he can; that as a faithful *and wise Steward of the Lord's Houshold*, he may give them their *Portion of Meat in due Season*, and may not give the *Children's Meat to the Dogs*. And they believe, That the Original design and use of Certificates was, to enable the Minister to observe the Rules of the Gospel. For when a Man that has Liv'd in *another place* of the World, comes to demand the *Priviledges* of *Christian Communion* from a Minister to whom he is a perfect stranger, that Minister must be persuaded that the Person has a *Title* (so far as Men can judge of such Titles) to Christian Communion, *before* he can in Conscience *admit him* to it: how shall he know whether he was *Baptized*, or whether he was not *justly suspended*, or *excommunicated* from the priviledges of *Christian Communion*, in and by the Church, whereof he was formerly a Member? And in *either* of these *two* cases, he ought not to be admitted to the Lord's Supper any where. For a Man that is *justly* deny'd the *Communion* in any *one* Congregation, ought not to be admitted to partake of it in *any other*, because the *reason is the same* in all places of the World; Now all these doubts are resolv'd by the Person's bringing alongst with him a *Certificate* of his good *Behavior*; if he deserves such a Certificate, 'tis a *kindness* done *himself* to bring it; if he do's not deserve it, why shou'd he Claim *Church-Priviledges*, in a place where he is *not known*, when they have been justly refus'd him by those who know him best. All this being a *Consequence* from the *Institutions* of the Gospel, there can be no Hardship put upon any Man; and this is all the *Intention* the Presbyterian Ministers have in *granting* and *demanding* such *Certificates*.

Our Author Much Misrepresents this *Fact*. For a man may change as *many* Masters as are Members of any one Congregation, and never be ask'd for such a Certificate at all, and the Reason is plain, because the person is still under the Inspection of the *same* Minister. The Law indeed requires such Certificates from their respective Masters,

Part 3. but the Ministers do not, except when they leave *one* Congregation and come to be members of *another*, and that for the reasons above-mention'd.

It is utterly deny'd, that persons wanting such Certificates are threatned to be prosecuted as *Vagabonds*, and to be sent to the *House of Correction* merely for wanting such Certificates, but the case often happens, that such persons of the Presbyterian persuasion as want these Certificates, are *profligate* and *scandalous*; and that, upon the want of them, Presbyterians make search into their former Conversation, and find them guilty of such *Crimes* as occasion'd them either to *fly from Justice*, or to remove because of the *just disgrace* their scandals had brought them under, in the former places of their abode; And for these reasons, they have refus'd to shelter them in their Houses, & have prosecuted 'em as vagabonds & public Nusances to the Country; which, instead of being *criminal*, is very *Commendable*, as being *good service* to their Country, and shows an *Impartiality* amongst Presbyterians, in not Countenancing Men that are a reproach to Religion, tho' they profess to be of *their persuasion*.

That this practice of requiring Certificates, is so managed as to *make the Common people entirely dependent on the Presbyterian Teachers, in all things both Temporal and Spiritual* (as our Author Asserts p. 99) is calumnious and false. Indeed if the Presbyterian Ministers made *their granting* Certificates, to such as deserve them, an *Arbitrary* thing, so as to grant or refuse 'em at pleasure without being *accountable* to *one another* for the reasons of their Practice; and at the same time refused to admit Men to Christian Communion who want them, this wou'd go a great way to prove them Guilty of enslaving the People; and of rendring *Christian Communion* a very *precarious* Thing, but their Practice is quite otherwise. They give such Certificates *ex debito* to all who deserve them; and if any Man be unjustly refus'd one, he has a Remedy according to their Discipline. And they are so *nicely exact* and *accurate* in this Matter, that in many Years there will scarce occur one instance of any Person's complaining of their being injur'd that way, whereas it were impossible to make the People bear such an *Intolerable* Yoke at their hands, as our Author represents it to be, when he Uncharitably calls it the *most refin'd Arcanum of all their Political Schemes*, to gain an Absolute Power over the Common people. And they are as sure as they can be of their own Hearts and Actions, that what they design

design by it, is nothing else but to bring Men into Obedience to the *Scheme* of the *Gospel*, leaving the *Refined Arcana* and *Political Schemes* to those who may have *more occasion* for 'em, and who Love to deal more in *that sort* of Trading. Part 3.

Our Author guesses at a great deal of *terrible things*, that may be the Consequence of this Presbyterian way of *Certificates*. 'This way (says he) effectually Terrifies Ignorant People who are *Conformists* from 'Settling amongst them". Pray how can it? Do the Presbyterian Ministers ever go to Conformists, to ask such Certificates from them? No, they leave their *own Ministers* to Treat them as they see Cause, without concerning themselves with them any further than as one Neighbour may do by another. 'This may (says he, *Ibid.*) be the great 'reason why amongst so many thousand Families who have come o-'over from *Scotland*, since the late Revolution; so few of them have 'Conformed to the Establish'd Church'. I can't well comprehend this way of Arguing; nor can I see any reason, why demanding Certificates from Presbyterians coming from another Kingdom shou'd hinder them from Conforming; they like the *Presbyterian* way better than that of the *Conformists*, and that hinders them from Conforming: But that *Certificates* shou'd do the Business, is pretty hard to Account for, especially, if those Certificates make them such slaves; for their Conformity will deliver them from that piece of slavery, if it be any: and 'tis rather a wonder that when they come to *Ireland*, they wou'd not desire to Breath in a *free Air*, and go to Church, if they had been made such *Arrant Slaves* at home.

'These may also (*says he*, *Ibid.*) put many of the poor Tradesmen, 'and Labourers, who live in Towns where the *Presbyterians* prevail, 'under a necessity of procuring such Credentials, to which they cannot 'be Entitled but by frequenting the Meeting, in Order to get their 'Subsistance amongst them, so that in such places, where there are 'more Conforming Tradesmen and Servants than they of the Church 'Establish'd are able to employ, such poor People are Actually in a 'State of Persecution, for their Conformity to the Church.

The Presbyterians are ill Treated by our Author in this Account; for they disown it, that they Persecute any Man for his Conformity, or lay any under Temptations to *Non-Conformity* against his Conscience; They entertain Servants that are Conformists in their Families, without any such *Certificates*, and employ Conformist Labourers and Tradesmen

men without them, of which Multitudes of Instances can be given, were it needful. How these Certificates shou'd be the *reason of sinking and depressing such Numbers of the Old Conformists in the North of* Ireland, *of worming them out of their Leases, and obliging them to quit their Farms*, (all which he greatly suspects *p.* 100) is such a *Refin'd Arcanum* indeed, as I believe no body will be able to find out.

But I must not neglect the Affidavit inserted by our Author *p.* 97. It was made by one *John White*, and has a passage in it, wherein the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Shannon* Presbyterian Minister at *Portaferry* is concern'd, and therefore I shall here insert the true Copy of Mr. *Shannon*'s Letter to his friend, upon that Subject.

S I R,

'I AM Surpriz'd to find in a late Pamphlet Entitled the *Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland*, my self Misrepresented in what is 'pretended to have been said upon Oath against me by one *John White* in these Words, (*p.* 97.) *This Deponent farther saith, that at the* Examining, *at which time the Servants generally shew these Notes, one Samuel Shannon the Presbyterian Minister in Portaferry, did openly declare to the People, that except they had their Certificates Signed by him upon their leaving the Parish, they wou'd not only be deny'd Admittance into any other Congregation, and to the Sacrament, but be turned out of such Parishes where they went, when it was known that they wanted such Certificates.* To which I answer, my constant Method at such occasions is this, if any Servants or others have lately come into the 'Bounds of my Congregation, professing themselves of our Communion, and that they have not before shown me their Testimonials, 'I do then demand them; and without these or something Equivolent to Satisfie me of their Christian Behavior, and that they are 'not justly excluded from Christian Communion, I do not admit them 'to Church Priviledges: But as for any such Declaration as the Deposition Mentions *viz. that they wou'd not be employ'd as Servants, but be turned out of such Parishes where they went, and that barely because they want my Certificate*, I do utterly deny it, and must look upon 'the Asserting of this to be, in the most favourable Construction, a 'mistake, I, e where it will; for I do very well know it, we have no 'Power to use such Measures for Reclaiming Offenders or Disorderly Persons.

'I have been at some pains to Inform my self of what the above-

'menti-

Part 3.

mentioned *John White* says of the examination printed in the *Conduct* &c; and two very *Worthy Gentlemen* of *Good Credit* having Discourſed him, Returned me the following Account.

'The ſaid *White* acknowledges that he made an *Affidavit*, concerning ſome things mention'd in the Examination contain'd in the ſaid Book, before Captain *Leathes* and Doctor *Tisdall*; and that he ſaid, that he did apprehend there was no need of any *other Certificate* than that of the Presbyterian Miniſter of the Pariſh from whence he came, but he ſays he told the *Doctor* that his Maſter *Robert Welſh* gave him a diſcharge, which he gave to one in *Belfaſt*, tho' the Printed Affidavit imports that he did not get a Diſcharge from the ſaid *Welſh*; and the reaſon (as he believes) why the Doctor inſerted that in the Affidavit (which he wrote himſelf) was, becauſe he the ſaid *John white* told the Doctor, that tho' he got a diſcharge from the ſaid *Welſh* he thought it not needful, ſeeing he had the Miniſter's Certificate, as above; not knowing, that by the law of the Land ſuch a diſcharge was neceſſary. He owns that he ſaid, that ſervants in the place from whence he came dare not quit Maſter or Pariſh without the Presbyterian Miniſter's Certificate, but ſays that he underſtood this of *Scotland*, he having formerly liv'd there. He acknowledges, he ſaid he had heard Mr *Samuel Shannon* ſay at the examining that unleſs ſervants and others brought Certificates from the Congregations where they had been before, he wou'd not admit them to *ſealing Ordinances*; but utterly denies, that ever he heard Mr *Shannon* ſay; that *unleſs they got his Certificate, they would not be Employed as ſervants, but be turned out of ſuch Pariſhes where they went*: and denies, that he aſſerted any ſuch thing in his ſaid Oath. And he farther aſſerts, that all the *ſcope* and *meaning* he had in the whole Oath was, to ſhow that ſo far as he knew or cou'd obſerve, that the practice of Presbyterian Miniſters was this: that ſervants of their Communion when they remove from *one* Congregation to *another*, ought to bring Certificates of their good behaviour with them, otherwiſe they wou'd not be admitted to Chriſtian Communion, and gave an Inſtance of this in what Mr *Shannon* had ſaid at the *Examining*, and that whatever words are in the printed *Affidavit* which import any more than this, were either none of his words, or not underſtood by him at that time, to import any more. And the ſaid *John white* farther

add

'adds, that the Occasion of his making this *Affiadvit* was some debate 'that he had with the *Doctor* (whose servant he had been) about get-'ting a Discharge from him, when he was leaving his service, which 'brought on the discourse about the *Certificates* of *Presbyterian Mi-'nisters*, whose Custom in that matter he told the *Doctor* as above, 'and the *Doctor* asked him if he was willing to swear to it, which he 'complyed with.

'I think, from this account there can be nothing infer'd against 'that *commendable* practice of *Certificates*, as it is used at present a-'mongst the Presbyterian Ministers, and has been *generally practised* 's in the *purest* and *best* Churches of the world. I am,

Sir, Yours &c

SAMUEL SHANNON.

There is one Instance more with relation to Certificates, contained in a Letter from a Clergy-man in the Dioceses of *Down*, *viz.* the Reverend Mr *John Finniston*, published p; 98, wherein Mr *Finniston* alledges, that the Presbyterians *look upon the want of these Certificates to be more terrible, than permitting their Children to die unbaptized*; to support which opinion, he tells a story of one *James Moor*, who had a new born Infant in the Agonies of Death, who seemed inclinable to send for him to baptize the Child, as he asserts, until he was observed to be taken aside by one of the Elders, that was then in the House; after which, he wou'd not suffer any one to call him; and when Mr. *Finniston* was expostulating the Matter with him next day, and asking him the reason why he wou'd suffer his Child to die unbaptized, while he was so near him, he says, the said *Moor* answer'd in these words, 'why then says he, I will confess to you, I durst 'not do it; for if I did, I shou'd neither be admitted to the Ordi-'nances, nor have the benefit of a Certificate from the Elders, in case 'I shou'd have occasion to remove out of this Parish into Ano-'ther.

I have seen a Certificate under *James Moor*'s own hand, wherein he gives such an Account of his *own words*, and of the *meaning* of 'em, as clearly shows that there is no sufficient Foundation from this fact for the Observation that is made upon it: and tho' I am far from accusing Mr *Finniston* of any *wilful perverting*, or *wrong Recital* of *James Moor*'s words, yet I think every man is able to explain his own Meaning best. The Certificate is as follows: 'I

Part 3.

I *James Moor* of *Caſtle reagh* ſolemnly declare that about *June* the 10*th* 1711. my wife was delivered of a very weak Child *ſix* or eight Weeks before her time, and that I was urg'd by Mrs *Woods* and *Jane Stanhouſe* to have it baptized by Mr *Finnyſton*, then keeping Court in *Mr. Wood's* Houſe, but I *ever refuſed to do it*: There was then no Man in my Houſe but my ſelf, and ſeeing *John Montgomery* (Who is no Elder) paſs by the Road, I went out and ask'd his Opinion, and found it the ſame with my own Judgment, and ſpoke to no man elſe, and the Child died within three hours after it was born, and I buried it at *Knock* that Evening.

'Next Morning Mr *Finnyſton* coming by my houſe challeng'd me very ſeverely for letting my Child die Unbaptized, and asked me the Reaſon, why I did not imploy him who was my Miniſter to baptize it; I anſwer'd I knew indeed he was the Eſtabliſh'd Miniſter of *Knock-Pariſh*; but that I was none of his Communion, nor was he my Teacher, and *unclear in my Conſcience* to have my Child baptized by him, and that I did not underſtand how, if I had gone to him for Baptiſm to my Child, I cou'd expect Ordinances from theſe of my own *Perſuaſion*, but might take the reſt of the Ordinances from him as well as that to my Child, and ſo leave my own People altogether, which I was not reſolv'd to do, having found no fault with 'em: Nor cou'd I expect a *Certificate* in that caſe from the Elders ſhou'd I remove, ſeeing that ſuppoſes me to have left their Communion, or words to this purpoſe; But I utterly deny, that I uſed in this diſcourſe theſe words, *I Confeſs to you I durſt not do it*, or any words, that cou'd imply that I was *overaw'd* by the Elders; or for *fear of being denyed a Certificate*, and what I ſaid about a Certificate, was only to ſhow that I wou'd not change my Perſuaſion; and I declare it was nothing but fear of ſinning againſt God that made me not imploy Mr *Finniſton* to baptize my child: Given under my hand this 14*th* of *September* 1713.

James Moor

Our *Author's laſt Preſumptive Fact* is expreſs'd thus, (p. 100.) Fact IV. 'Had not the Legiſlature timely Interpos'd with the Teſt-Clauſe, as a fence againſt the Encroachments of the *Diſſenters*, the *Presbyterians*, wou'd in all likelihood have ſoon wrought themſelves into moſt of the Corporations of this Kingdom, and inſenſibly worm'd out the Conforming *Burgeſſes*, *Aldermen* and *Freemen*, till they had obtain'd a Majority of the Corporations of this Kingdom, and choſen ſuch Magiſtrates, and ſent up ſuch Repreſentatives to Par-

'liament as wou'd list in their Service.

'In what manner and by what Degrees the *Dissenters* wrought 'themselves into the Government of so many of the *Northern* 'Corporations in a few years, I shewed fully in the *first part of* 'this *Paper*; and from what I have there prov'd I wou'd gladly be 'resolved by the Learn'd in Political *Arithmetick* in this one Pro-'blem. If in——o Years the *Dissenters* of *Ireland* gain'd a Majo-'rity of *Aldermen*, *Burgesses*, and *Freemen* in——o Corporations, how 'many years wou'd gain a *Majority* of voices in the Majority of 'the Corporations of this Kingdom? and if such a Computation can 'be reasonably made, the following *Corollaries* may as reasonably be 'infer'd.

This shou'd have been call'd rather a remote *Presumptive Possibility*, than a *Presumptive Fact*. And all these *guesses* of what might have been, are built upon the *mistaken Account* our Author has given of the unfair Practices pretended by him to have been used by the *Dissenters* for getting themselves into Offices in Corporations. And therefore the Learn'd in *Political Arithmetick* may easily answer his *Problem* from the Refutation I have given of those *Mistakes of his*, upon which it is built. His *four Corollaries* have been all considered already, For the *first* relates to the Principles of Presbyterians about the *Extirpation of Episcopacy*; The *second* to their pretending to make Presbytery the Condition of their Allegiance to Princes: The *third* to their setting up for a Power to *Abrogate such Laws as are judg'd Noisom and unprofitable* &c. and the *Fourth* to their claiming an inherent *Right to intermeddle in all points Relating to War and Peace*. All which have been vindicated already from our Author's *gross Misrepresentations* of the Principles and Practices of Presbyterians, with Respect to these Heads.

And therefore when he pretends by the help of his *Problem* and these *Four Corollaries*, to prove that many dreadful Evils and bad Consequences to Church and State have been prevented by the *Test-Clause*, his whole reasoning is groundless, being founded upon palpable mistakes.

I am not resolv'd in this Book to debate that Point concerning the Continuance or the Repeal of the Law that Enacted the *Sacramental-Test* in *Ireland*: But thus far I must affirm, that the Dissenters in *Ireland*, tho' they have always look'd upon it as not only a Grievance to themselves in particular, but a sensible weakening of the Protestant and *British*-Interest in that Kingdom, have behav'd modestly and peaceably under that Pressure. Tho' I won't meddle with what parti-

Particular Authors have publish'd upon that Subject, yet I shall here insert a true Copy of two *public Papers*, which express the sense of the Dissenters in *Ireland* as a Body; the first of 'em was offer'd to the late House of Commons 1704, and is as follows: Part 3.

'To the Honourable, the *Knights Citizens* and *Burgesses* of 'Ireland in Parliament assembled.

'The Humble Petition of *Arthur Upton*, *William Hamilton*, 'Archibald Edmorston, *William Cunningham*, *William Cairnes*, *David But-* 'tle, and *William Mackie* Esquires, in behalf of themselves and the 'rest of the Dissenting Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*.

SHEWETH,

'That your Petitioners Unshaken Fidelity to the Crown of *Eng-* 'land under all Revolutions, their *Peaceable Submission* to the Laws, 'and their Readiness to expose themselves and employ their all in 'the Defence of the Protestant Interest, their Lawful Sovereign and 'the Liberty of their Country, have been Evidenc'd by many plain 'and undenyable Instances, not only in their Sufferings for the *Roy-* 'al-Family, but also in their Signal Services and Sufferings in the Ci- 'ty of *London-derry*, *Inniskilling*, and other places, upon the *late* 'Happy Revolution. The Truth whereof hath the vote of the Honor- 'able House of Commons in this Kingdom, Anno 1695. for it's 'public and Authentic Voucher; And was farther confirm'd by the 'Vote of the House of Commons of *England*, Anno 1698, wherein it's *Resolv'd that the Services and Sufferings at* London-Derry *were ve-* 'ry Emminent and of great Consequence to his Majesty's Service, and the 'PRESERVATION OF THE THREE KINGDOMS. which is 'also further Evident from the marks of Royal Favor, which their late 'Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* of *Glorious Memory*, & our 'present Gracious Sovereign Queen ANNE, were pleas'd in their 'Great Goodness and Wisdom to confer upon your Petitioners, by 'allowing divers of 'em to partake in Common with their fellow- 'Protestants in places of *Public Trust*, both *Civil* and *Military*; to the 'Uniting of the Hearts and cherishing the Mutual Affection of all her 'Majesty's Peaceable and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom; none of your 'Petitioners having been declar'd Incapable of promoting such Bless'd '& Glorious Ends & which their Principles naturally inclin'd 'em to.

'And your Petitioners further Crave leave to represent to your Ho- 'nors, that when the Bill Entitled, *An Act to prevent the farther Growth* 'of Popery was return'd from *England*, your Petitioners (to their Great 'Surprize and Discouragement) found a Clause inserted therein, which

'abled from Executing any Public Trust for the Service of Her Majesty, the Protestant Religion and their Country (tho' as Willing & Ready to do the same as ever) unless contrary to their Consciences they shou'd receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, according to the *Rites* and *Usages* of the Establish'd Church.

'That Your Petitioners Case, as they humbly conceive, is Different from that of the Protestant Dissenters in *England*, who have not so *Numerous* and inveterate an Enemy in the Bowels of their Country as the *Irish Papists* are; who by the most modest Computation are suppo'd to be six to one to the whole Protestants of this Kingdom; whose Common Safety and not the interest, Gain or Mercenary Ends of a Party, can only weigh with Your Petitioners.

'May it therefore please this Honorable House to Order a Bill for Restoring such a CONSIDERABLE Part of the PROTESTANTS of this Kingdom to a Capacity of defending Her Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd; and your Petitioners shall ever pray &c.

The *Second Public Paper* I shall insert is, The *first Apology* of the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland* to Her Majesty: That part of it which relates to the *Sacramental-Test* is in these Words, *p.* 25.

'We must acknowledge to your Majesty that the *Sacramental-Test* (of which their Lordships are pleas'd to take notice) is such a grievance, as doth in the *most sensible manner* touch us and all others of our Persuasion: The Clause imposing it hath placed an *odious Mark* of infamy upon at least the *one half* of the Protestants of this Kingdom, whose *early*, *active* and *successful* Zeal for the *late happy Revolution* gave 'em hopes that they wou'd not have been rendred incapable of serving your Majesty and their Country, where the Papists are Superior in Number to the whole Body of Protestant inhabitants, in the Proportion of *Eight to one* by a Computation allow'd in the Honorable House of Commons of this Kingdom.

'And they hope, that dutiful and Loyal Subjects may modestly set forth the inconveniencies and Hardships put upon 'em by a particular Law, especially when the *Safety of the whole Kingdom* is concern'd, in order to show the Reasonableness of Repealing it, without being guilty of censuring the Legislature: & how far the Author mention'd by their Lordships may be charged with this, in asserting what we believe is *not peculiar to a Dissenter*, we humbly submit it to your Majesty.

'And we beg leave with all Humility to acquaint your Majesty, that our *Non-Conformity* in this particular, among other reasons is founded upon this, that, we believe that holy Ordinance by the Institution of Jesus Christ, was never design'd for a *Civil-Test*, and that none ought to be excluded from a Capacity of serving the *State* for *their* scrupling Forms *not commanded in the Gospel.*

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WALSINGHAM *Sr Francis*; his Letter to Monsieur *Critoy* speaks the Queen's sense and not his own, examined and answer'd from p. 120. to p. 141. WHITGIFT Archbishop his Severity against the *Puritans* his divisive Articles p. 102 &c. WICKLIFFE flourish-ed in the 14th Century, a short History of him; his Doctrine and Followers in *England*, their Doctrine truly Presbyterians, persecuted by Archbishop *Sudbury* countenanc'd by the duke of *Lancaster* Lord *Piercy* and other great men, the progress of his Doctrine to the 16*th* Century; the first who attempted a Reformation in *England*. The University of *Oxford* certify in his favor; countenanc'd by God, clear'd from the groundless imputation of Disloyalty. From *Fox*, *Fuller* &c. from p 70, to p, 82.

WILLIAM III. King, our Great Deliverer under God. 391. The Loyalty of the Presbyterians in the three Kingdoms to him; for which they were Established in *Scotland* tolerated in *England*, and protected in *Ireland*: he gives their Ministers in the latter a Pension of 1200 *lb per Annum*; writes two Gracious Letters in their favor one to D. *Schomberg* another to the Collector of *Belfast*. from p. 193, to p 198 Their Loyalty confirm'd by the vote of the Commons of *England anno* 1693, and the Addresses of the Commons of *Ireland anno* 1709 *ibid.* a Petition to him for the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland* much misrepresented by a Prelate, vindicated: a true Copy of it, and a short History of the Management of it in *London anno* 1716 from p. 464. Remarkable addresses of the Dissenting Ministers of *London* &c. to him and Queen *Mary*, with their Majesties Answers from p. 410. to p. 412.

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